

THE APOCRYPHAL OLD TESTAMENT

Edited by

H. F. D. SPARKS

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PREFACE

The Apocryphal Old Testament was originally planned as a companion volume to M. R. James's *The Apocryphal New Testament*, first published as long ago as 1924.

When, in the mid-1950s, the stocks of R. H. Charles's well-known two-volume work, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament* (1913), were running low there was discussion at the Press about what should be done. Would a simple reprint be sufficient? Ought a revised 'second edition' to be undertaken? Or ought a completely new work to be commissioned to replace it?

There were a number of conflicting factors. After the lapse of nearly half a century there was an obvious need to up-date some of the information: many of the critical opinions expressed seemed less certain than once they did; and questions, too, might be asked about the items selected for inclusion in the second volume – why this, and if this, why not that? On the other hand, Charles's two volumes were one of the outstanding achievements of British biblical scholarship in the early years of the twentieth century: they had been widely used, and continued to be widely used; *but* they were both bulky and expensive. Further, it was clear that there was a much greater popular demand for the second (Pseudepigrapha) volume than for the first (Apocrypha), presumably because the books in the Apocrypha volume were readily available in several standard translations, whereas those in the Pseudepigrapha volume were not. The upshot was that the Press decided to reprint both volumes, as and when circumstances required, and at the same time to commission a much smaller, handier, and less expensive volume, designed on much the same lines as James's.

The idea was to ignore the books in Charles's first volume (the Apocrypha proper) and concentrate on those in the second. But it was agreed that some latitude in selection must be allowed – some of the books included by Charles might be omitted, while others, omitted by Charles, might be included. A volume of translations

was the primary end in view: each translation was to be preceded by an Introduction and a Bibliography; and such footnotes as there were, were to be limited to points of text and translation. Since the Press were the publishers of Charles and were also to publish the new volume, there would be no difficulty in taking over a number of Charles's translations with only, perhaps, minor revision; though, of course, for the books not in Charles, which it was hoped to include, fresh translations would have to be obtained. So a team of translators and revisers was got together. I was appointed Editor, and, in addition to general editorial duties, I assumed personal responsibility for writing the Introductions and compiling the Bibliographies, in order to secure as much consistency as possible.

As with so many undertakings of this kind, the completion of the volume has been delayed beyond expectation. Some of the translators and revisers sent me their contributions within two or three years: others took longer; and a few of them very much longer. But this was not the major problem. A great deal of work had been done in the field since Charles's day, and it continued to be done; and this inevitably had an unfortunate effect on our rate of progress. At first glance it might seem that to revise one of the translations already in Charles was not a very time-consuming task. It might be assumed (especially in the light of the undisputed wealth of scholarship which lay behind Charles's two volumes) that no more than a cursory check-over was required. Yet when a new edition of the text in question had appeared in the interval (based, perhaps, on freshly discovered manuscripts, or on a different recension), or there had been more than one new edition, 'revision' began to take on a new meaning. And the same considerations applied sometimes to those contributors from whom fresh translations had been commissioned. In several instances a contribution was well under way, or even complete and sent to me, when new textual evidence was brought to light, or a new edition appeared, which, although it might not necessarily have to be made the base of the translation, nevertheless had to be taken full account of.

A further problem that became increasingly pressing as the work proceeded was that of translation-style. The style of the

translations in Charles is what used to be called 'biblical' – i.e. a style which imitated the Authorized Version of 1611 and the Revised Version of 1881–1894 (and the same is also true of James's *The Apocryphal New Testament*, though less obviously so). Inasmuch as part of our original plan was to reprint as many as possible of the translations in Charles with only minor revision, it followed that we also were committed to 'biblical style'. In the 1950s there seemed no serious objection to this, and all contributors were instructed accordingly. But as time went on it became clear that our decision was questionable. The 1960s and 1970s witnessed the appearance, not only of The New English Bible and The Jerusalem Bible, but also of several other versions of the Bible (or parts of it) in modern idiom, which found a ready welcome from the Bible-reading public. Hence by the mid-1970s 'biblical style' did not mean what it had meant fifteen or twenty years earlier; and anything deliberately written in old-fashioned 'biblical style' was bound to seem tiresomely dated and artificial.

The issue came to a head over 1 Enoch. A revision of Charles's translation of 1 Enoch was ready when it was learned that Dr. M. A. Knibb was engaged on a new edition of the Ethiopic text, which was to be accompanied by a fresh translation, together with a full Introduction and (mainly textual) Commentary. The Press was to publish it;¹ and Dr. Knibb most generously agreed that we should be allowed to use his translation instead of the revision of Charles's translation we had ready. But Dr. Knibb's translation was in modern idiom. Very naturally he was unwilling to archaize, in order to make his contribution conform in style with the others. The only alternative was to modernize the others. And I undertook to do this as part of my overall responsibility as Editor: I can only hope that the result will not be judged too aggressively modern. Throughout, the convention that God is addressed directly in the second person singular has been retained (as in the first edition of The New English Bible). Also retained from time to time, though not necessarily universally, are certain well-known 'biblical' expressions such as 'And it came to pass . . .': the purpose in retaining them is to indicate that the text translated is itself not

¹ It appeared, in two volumes, in 1978.

without an antique flavour; for there is much to be said for translations in a volume such as ours preserving something of the style of the originals instead of all being reduced to a dead level of uniformity.

Any reader of any translation is apt to assume that there is no need for him to bother about the original behind the translation unless there is some special reason for his doing so. This may not matter so long as no serious questions can be raised about the reliability of the text of the original. But when, as is the case with some of the documents we are concerned with, there are a number of manuscripts available which regularly differ from one another, there are, perhaps, three or four versions in as many different languages, and also, maybe, several distinct recensions,² the identification of an 'original' text is no easy matter. Experts are often deeply divided. In these circumstances it is essential that the user of a translation should be plainly informed about *what the translator has translated*. We have always tried to do this. In each Introduction will be found a precise explanatory statement (usually at the end, or towards the end); and this statement, when read in conjunction with the details given elsewhere in the Introduction about the authorities available for the text, should provide the necessary information.

More particularized information about any significant textual variants, as well as about possible translational alternatives, will be found in the notes underneath the translations. These notes, as already indicated, have been limited to points of text and translation, and make no attempt to discuss any of the often highly controversial literary-critical, historical, or theological issues involved.

The Bibliographies are constructed in three sections. First in each comes a list of editions of the text – in chronological order: then a list of the existing translations in English, French, and

² Since it is a relatively short work, *The Ladder of Jacob* has been chosen to illustrate in its simplest form the situation when there is more than one recension of the text of the same document extant. On pp. 455–463 (below) will be found translations of both extant recensions of *The Ladder*, printed one after the other, so that whoever is so minded can compare the two and form some estimate of the kind of problems that arise.

German – also in chronological order; and last of all, a section headed 'General', whose function is to draw attention to some of the scholarly treatments that have been offered of the work concerned (not necessarily by the most modern authors), which in one way or another assist in its understanding and appreciation. The items in this last section are arranged, not chronologically, but alphabetically. No attempt has been made to be all-inclusive.

Few of our readers, who have been brought up on Charles, will fail to notice, not only a difference in the contents, but also a fundamental difference in general approach. These are not unconnected.

When deciding on the contents of his second volume, Charles seems to have been guided by no exactly definable principle of selection, except in so far as he regarded all the items he included as Jewish in origin, written in the so-called 'intertestamental period', and therefore of the greatest value, first to students of the Judaism of this period, and secondly to students of early Christianity, since they illustrated the Jewish background both of the primitive Church and also of many of the New Testament books.

In his general Preface Charles wrote:

For students both of the Old and New Testaments the value of the non-Canonical Jewish literature from 200 BC to AD 100 is practically recognized on every side alike by Jewish and Christian scholars. But hitherto no attempt has been made to issue an edition of this literature as a whole in English.³

and elsewhere:

This literature was written probably for the most part in Galilee, the home of the religious seer and mystic. Not only was the development of a religious but also of an ethical character. In both these respects the way was prepared by this literature for the advent of Christianity, while a study of the New Testament makes it clear that its writers had been brought up in the atmosphere created by these books and were themselves directly acquainted with many of them.⁴

³ *APOT* i, p. iii and ii, p. iii.

⁴ *Religious Development between the Old and the New Testaments* (The Home University Library of Modern Knowledge; London, 1914), p. 9.

To-day an approach along these lines is barely possible. Despite Charles's ascription of all the items in his second volume to the centuries between 200 BC and AD 100, and his conviction that all of them were Jewish in origin, the fact remains that the textual tradition in nearly every case is Christian.⁵ Here lies the major difficulty.

About the Jewish origin of many of them there can be no doubt; and some of these would seem to have come down to us in very much the same form as their authors wrote them—Jubilees is a case in point. Most of the others, however, have been transmitted to us as what would appear to be an amalgam of Jewish and Christian elements, which to the unpractised eye are not very easily separable. But Charles, committed as he was to the view that all were Jewish originally, had no scruples in explaining the Christian elements as either later additions to, or interpolations into, what were once purely Jewish texts. And in his translations he repeatedly enclosed several words, or a verse, or verses, or a whole chapter, or more, within square brackets, and added in his notes such a comment as, 'The words in brackets are a Christian interpolation, as is evident from . . .'.

For Charles's successors much of this has seemed nothing like so evident. In many instances of alleged Christian addition or interpolation Charles may well have been quite right. We know that Christians did take over Jewish writings, and there is every reason for supposing that from time to time they added to them and interpolated into them bits and pieces here and there, in order to make them more acceptable for Christian use. But there is also evidence to suggest that they sometimes recast a Jewish text altogether, so that for us to think purely in terms of 'additions' and 'interpolations' is irrelevant—such a work will have been a Christian work, though based on a Jewish foundation. We have also to allow for the likelihood that Christians also wrote works with a traditionally Jewish background: they may have been influenced by Jewish legends they had come across, either written

⁵ The exceptions are (i) The Zadokite Fragments, (ii) The Story of Ahikar, and (iii) Pirke Aboth. But Charles made it clear that he did not number these works among 'the Pseudepigrapha' as he understood the term: see his remarks to this effect in his Preface (*APOT* i, p. iv, and ii, p. iv).

or oral, or the influence may have been no more than what they had read for themselves in the Old Testament, expanded by a liberal use of their own imagination (in much the same way as some of the already existing Jewish works had come into being); but again these will have been Christian works from the beginning, and the appearance in them of Christian theological expressions, or what may look like quotations from the New Testament, should occasion no surprise.

In other words, the problem has proved to be much more complicated than Charles imagined, and his approach in consequence was much too narrow. We have, therefore, when considering which items to include in our own volume, thought it best to abandon the concept of 'background literature' entirely. Our single criterion for inclusion has been whether or not any particular item is attributed to (or is primarily concerned with the history or activities of) an Old Testament character (or characters). And we have tried to include all the more important and interesting items that satisfy this criterion, irrespective of date, and irrespective, too, of whether or not a convincing claim can be put forward on behalf of any one of them for a respectable Jewish pedigree.

To have included everything which satisfies this criterion would have been impossible. In making our choices we have been guided principally by a desire to produce a collection as representative as possible of the various types of literature within the field—i.e. History (and Legend), Testament, Apocalypse, Psalms, etc. A number of items, such as 1 Enoch, selected themselves. With others a decision sometimes was more difficult. The extant fragments of the apocryphal Ezekiel, for example, were thought too insubstantial to merit inclusion; and some readers might maintain, not unreasonably, that the same argument should have been applied to the fragmentary Apocalypse of Zephaniah, which has been included (see below, pp. 919–20). And so one might go on.

In practice the differences in content between our volume and Charles's second volume are nothing like so great as the above remarks might suggest. We have naturally dropped The Fragments of a Zadokite Work, The Story of Ahikar, The Sibylline Oracles, and The Letter of Aristeas, as failing to satisfy our criterion: 4 Ezra

belongs, strictly speaking, to the Apocrypha (= 2 Esdras), and it has therefore also been dropped: 4 Maccabees is a doubtful case, and we have decided against it. On the other hand, we have added a number of other items – The Apocalypse of Abraham, The Testament of Abraham, The Testament of Isaac, The Testament of Jacob, The Ladder of Jacob, Joseph and Aseneth, The Testament of Job, The Odes of Solomon, The Testament of Solomon, The Apocalypse of Elijah, The Paraleipomena of Jeremiah, The Apocalypse of Zephaniah, The ‘Anonymous’ Apocalypse, The Apocalypse of Esdras, The Vision of Esdras, and The Apocalypse of Sedrach. Even so, there is an essential core common to both volumes.

The difference in general approach, which has been alluded to, can most satisfactorily be illustrated by comparing the two treatments of the text of The Ascension of Isaiah. Charles explained the existing text as a 2nd cent. AD putting together of three previously independent constituents, one of which was Jewish and the other two Christian: the first (Jewish) constituent he identified as the fragmentary ‘Martyrdom of Isaiah’ (i. 1–2a, 6b–13a, ii. 1–8, 10–iii. 12, v. 1b–14), the second as the ‘Testament of Hezekiah’ (iii. 13b–iv. 18), and the third as the ‘Vision of Isaiah’ (vi. 1–xi. 40) – the remaining verses were ‘editorial additions’ (i. 2b–6a, 13b, ii. 9, iii. 13a, iv. 19–v. 1a, 15–16, xi. 41–43), inserted to give cohesion to the whole. Charles, accordingly, in his second volume printed the text of ‘The Martyrdom of Isaiah’ only, and he described it as such. In our Introduction to the work we have, of course, discussed the various literary-critical hypotheses that have been put forward; but we have preferred to give a translation of the text entire (and we have described it as a translation of ‘The Ascension of Isaiah’) on the ground that this is the form in which the work was popularly known, and the title by which it was popularly known, in the Church.

Occasionally this difference in approach may have a more obviously practical consequence. For example, in Charles’s view The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs were a Jewish work which had suffered heavily from Christian interpolation. Before Charles most scholars had thought of it as Christian in origin, though no doubt modelled on earlier Jewish ‘Testaments’; and some still do.

In three separate passages in the Testaments as we have received them the two commandments, ‘Thou shalt love the Lord, thy God’ and ‘Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself’, are associated together. Charles’s comment here was that the Testaments were the ‘earliest literary authority for conjoining love to God and love to one’s neighbour’.⁶ If Charles was right and the Testaments are Jewish (c. 100 BC), then Our Lord’s so-called ‘Summary of the Law’ (Matt. xxii. 37–40; Mark xii. 29–31) was anticipated; but if Charles was wrong and the Testaments are Christian, then the passages in question are likely to be no more than the reflection of the teaching in the Gospels (and the same would also be true, of course, if the passages were three additional Christian interpolations into his originally Jewish Testaments, which had escaped Charles’s eagle-eye!).

And finally, the term ‘Pseudepigrapha’ has been avoided altogether. Pseudepigrapha is, in any case, an ugly word. And when used in association with ‘Apocrypha’, as it so frequently is, it can be very misleading. Strictly it is ‘a collective term for books or writings bearing a false title, or ascribed to another than the true author’.⁷ Many of the books commonly grouped together and alluded to as ‘the Pseudepigrapha’ are indeed pseudepigraphical – no doubt a majority. But there is nothing distinctive about this: there are pseudepigraphical books in the Apocrypha (e.g. The Wisdom of Solomon), and there are pseudepigraphical books in the Old Testament itself (e.g. Daniel). To refer to ‘the Pseudepigrapha’, without further definition or qualification, creates the impression in the popular mind that alongside the ‘canonical’ Old Testament and the ‘deutero-canonical’ Apocrypha there is a third, universally recognized, ‘trito-canonical’ collection of books – when there is not. Any collection of books of this kind, however chosen, is bound to mirror the predilections and the prejudices of its editor(s); and it is well that this should be realized. The term therefore, though ancient, is best avoided.

It only remains for me to record my personal thanks: first, to my team of translators and revisers, and to express the hope that

⁶ *APOT* ii, p. 334.

⁷ *OED* viii, p. 1542.

whether dead or still living they will not think too unkindly of the liberties I have taken with what they submitted to me: next to certain of my friends – notably to Dr. S. P. Brock, who has assisted me ungrudgingly in various ways over the years in hunting out obscure details, and also to Mr. J. S. G. Simmons, who undertook the final oversight of all the Slavonic entries in the bibliographies in order to ensure a reasonable uniformity in transliterations and other matters; and, last of all, to the authorities and staff at the Press, especially to Mr. Peter Spicer, who originally floated the idea of a volume like this, and to Mr. J. K. Cordy, who has watched over its genesis with a patience for which I am profoundly grateful.

Feast of St. Thomas of Canterbury
29 December 1981.

H. F. D. SPARKS

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

- AjSaB*² P. RIESSLER, *Altjüdisches Schrifttum ausserhalb der Bibel*. 2. Auflage (Heidelberg, 1966).
- AL* C. C. TORREY, *The Apocryphal Literature: A Brief Introduction* (New Haven, 1945; reprinted Hamden, Conn., 1963).
- ALGhJ* *Arbeiten zur Literatur und Geschichte des hellenistischen Judentums* (Leiden, 1968–).
- APAT* E. KAUTZSCH (ed.), *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments*. 2 vols. (Tübingen, 1900).
- APOT* R. H. CHARLES (ed.), *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English, with Introductions and Critical and Explanatory Notes to the several Books, edited in conjunction with many scholars*. 2 vols. (Oxford, 1913).
- CBQ* *Catholic Biblical Quarterly*.
- ChOidr* *Chteniya v Imperatorskom Obshchestve istorii i drevnostei rossijskikh pri Moskovskom universitete*.
- CSCO* *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*.
- CSEL* *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*.
- DBSup* L. PIROT *et al.* (eds.), *Dictionnaire de la Bible: Suppléments* (Paris, 1928–).
- EATAP* L. ROST, *Einleitung in die alttestamentlichen Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen* (Heidelberg, 1971).
- EUX* H. WEINEL, 'Die spätere christliche Apokalyphtik' in H. SCHMIDT (ed.), *Ἐβραϊσθήριον: Studien zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments Hermann Gunkel . . . dargebracht*, ii (= *Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments*, N.F., xix. 2; Göttingen, 1923).

- GCS *Griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte.*
- GjVZJC⁴ iii E. SCHÜRER, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*. 4. Auflage. 3. Band (Leipzig, 1909).
- HJPTJC II. iii E. SCHÜRER, *A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ* (Pt. II, vol. iii, Translated by SOPHIA TAYLOR and PETER CHRISTIE; Edinburgh, 1886).
- HSM *Harvard Semitic Monographs.*
- HTR *Harvard Theological Review.*
- HUCA *Hebrew Union College Annual.*
- IPGAT A.-M. DENIS, *Introduction aux pseudépigraphes grecs d'Ancien Testament* (= *Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha*, i; Leiden, 1970).
- JAOS *Journal of the American Oriental Society.*
- JBL *Journal of Biblical Literature.*
- JE *Jewish Encyclopedia.*
- JJS *Journal of Jewish Studies.*
- JQR *Jewish Quarterly Review.*
- JSh-rZ W. G. KÜMMEL (ed.), *Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit* (Gütersloh, 1973-).
- JTS *Journal of Theological Studies.*
- LAOT¹ M. R. JAMES, *The Lost Apocrypha of the Old Testament: Their Titles and Fragments* (= S.P.C.K., *Translations of Early Documents*; London, 1920).
- NTA R. Mc L. WILSON (ed.), *New Testament Apocrypha*. 2 vols. (London, 1963 and 1965).
- NTS *New Testament Studies.*

- OTI O. EISSFELDT, *The Old Testament: An Introduction, including the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, and also the works of similar type from Qumran* (Translated by PETER R. ACKROYD; Oxford, 1966).
- Peshitta *The Old Testament in Syriac according to the Peshitta Version* (Leiden, 1972-).
- PG J. P. MIGNÉ (ed.), *Patrologia Graeca.*
- PL J. P. MIGNÉ (ed.), *Patrologia Latina.*
- PO *Patrologia Orientalis.*
- PVTG *Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti Graece* (Leiden, 1964-).
- R Bén *Revue Bénédictine.*
- R Bibl *Revue Biblique.*
- SBL Society of Biblical Literature.
- SCS *Septuagint and Cognate Studies.*
- SORYaS *Sbornik Otdeleniya russkogo yazyka i slovesnosti Imperatorskoi Akademii nauk.*
- SPB *Studia Post Biblica.*
- SVTP *Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha* (Leiden, 1970-).
- TS *Texts and Studies.*
- TU *Texte und Untersuchungen.*
- TZ *Theologische Zeitung.*
- UWOT² J. ISSAVERDENS, *The Uncanonical Writings of the Old Testament found in the Armenian MSS of the Library of St. Lazarus, translated into English*. 2nd edition (Venice, 1934).
- VT *Vetus Testamentum.*
- ZAW *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.*

ZDMG *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft.*
 ZNW *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft.*

- † † indicates that the word or words so enclosed are corrupt.
- [] indicates that the word or words so enclosed, though part of the text being translated, are in all probability an intrusion into the original.
- () indicates that the word or words so enclosed are a restoration into the text of what is conjectured to have fallen out of the original.
- thick type** indicates that the word or words so printed are a conjectural emendation.
- italics* indicate that the word or words so printed are not actually found in the text being translated, but they have been added to improve the sense.

JUBILEES

INTRODUCTION

Jubilees describes itself in the Prologue as 'the account of the division of the days of the law and of the testimony, of the events of the years, according to their *year-weeks* and their jubilees, through all the years of the world, as the Lord gave it to Moses on mount Sinai, when he went up to receive the stone tablets of the law and of the commandment, in accordance with God's command, as he said to him, Go up to the top of the mount'.

The scene is accordingly set in the biblical context of Exod. xxiv. 12–18. During the forty days and forty nights that Moses is on the mount 'the angel of the presence' recounts to him all the significant events from the Creation to the Exodus (including the circumstances of his own birth and early history, the passage of the Red Sea, and the celebration of the first Passover) and also initiates him into the mysteries of the secret traditions which had already been communicated to certain of the patriarchs. These traditions had been handed down from father to son, in some instances in writing;¹ and Moses is now instructed to write what is revealed to him 'in a book'² – an instruction obviously inspired by the statement at Exod. xxiv. 4 ('Moses wrote down all the words of the Lord') and the definite instruction at Exod. xxxiv. 27 ('Write these words down'). But the 'book' referred to in Jubilees is not 'the book of the covenant', from which Moses reads at Exod. xxiv. 7. Nor is it one of the books of the Pentateuch, traditionally ascribed to Moses. It is the Book of Jubilees itself. Whereas the Pentateuch, 'the first law',³ had been published by Moses openly, Jubilees is represented as a kind of 'second law' (although the actual phrase does not occur), which Moses is commissioned to write and preserve for the generations in the last times ('... till I descend and dwell with them through all eternity'⁴).

Jubilees is thus in content for the most part a parallel version of Gen. i. 1 – Exod. xv. 22; and it stands in much the same sort of

¹ e.g. vii. 38, xxxix. 6, xlv. 16.

² i. 5: cp. ii. 1.

³ vi. 22.

⁴ i. 26.

relationship to its primary biblical sources as do the Books of Chronicles to the Books of Samuel and Kings. Just as the Chronicler has rewritten Samuel and Kings, concentrating on the religious aspects of Israel's history, especially on the Temple and its worship, and on the part that David played in the preparations for its building, so the author of Jubilees has rewritten the material in Gen. i. 1 – Exod. xv. 22, partly in order to bring it up to date from the point of view of the beliefs and practices of his own day, but more particularly in order to bring it into line with his own special theological outlook and interests.

Many of his additions to the Genesis–Exodus narrative would seem to have been derived from traditional Jewish folklore, since parallels are found elsewhere. His account of how Abraham protested to his father Terah about his worship of idols, how one night Abraham set fire to 'the idols' house', and how his brother Nahor perished in trying to save the idols,⁵ has parallels not only in The Apocalypse of Abraham,⁶ but also in Rabbinic sources;⁷ and, similarly, 'Tharmuth', the name given to Pharaoh's daughter, who rescued Moses from the bullrushes,⁸ is paralleled by the 'Thermuthis' of Josephus.⁹ No doubt, too, many of the names of the patriarchal wives¹⁰ were also derived from tradition. But in any case, whether such details were traditional in origin, or whether the author himself invented them, there is abundant evidence of his concern throughout to trace all the social and religious institutions of which he most approved back to the earliest times, to uphold and assert the eternal validity of the Law, and to present the patriarchs as the exemplary saints of Israel's past, who had in fact observed the Law in all its particulars before it was formally promulgated.

The wearing of clothes, for example, is said to have originated in a specific obligation laid by God on Adam when he left the Garden of Eden, in accordance with the prescription 'on the heavenly tablets that all those familiar with the provisions of the law should cover their shame and not uncover themselves as the Gentiles

⁵ xii. 1–14. ⁶ Apoc. Abrah. i–viii (see below pp. 369–75).

⁷ e.g. Midrash *Bereshith Rabbah*, xxxviii. 13, xxxix. 1, 8; T.B. *Erubin*, 53a.

⁸ xlvi. 5. ⁹ *Ant.* II. ix. 5 (§224).

¹⁰ e.g. iv. 9–33, xxxiv. 20–21.

uncover themselves.'¹¹ Again, the annual celebration of the Feast of Weeks was 'ordained and written on the heavenly tablets': Weeks had been celebrated in heaven from the Creation: Noah had observed it: so had Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Jacob's children; and it was the feast celebrated by Moses and the elders on Mount Sinai at the time of the giving of the Law.¹² And, so that no one might think that anything any of the patriarchs did was discreditable, the deceptions practised by Abraham and Isaac on Pharaoh and Abimelech, described at length in Genesis,¹³ are in Jubilees passed over in silence;¹⁴ and the motivation of Abraham's attempted sacrifice of Isaac is ascribed, neither to God nor to Abraham himself, but to the evil prince Mastema, who prompts God to test Abraham (much as in the Bible Satan prompts God to test Job) and in the event is put to shame by Abraham's faithfulness in obeying the Divine command.¹⁵

By far the most notable feature about the book, however, is the author's very evident interest in chronology and calendars. A calendar of some kind was, of course, an essential requisite for the correct regulation of the various feasts; and the calendar followed in Jubilees seems to presuppose a year divided into 12 months of 30 days each, with an extra day added at the end of every third month (or, more accurately, at the beginning of every fourth – or first). Such an arrangement results in a year of 4 quarters, each of 91 days (or exactly 13 weeks), making 52 weeks and 364 days in all.¹⁶ This calendar was not the only calendar in use in the author's day, as he himself clearly recognized;¹⁷ but it had the advantage of simplicity, in that the days of the week and of the month were the same in each successive year, and that the feasts always fell regularly on the first day of the week in which they occurred.

Fundamental to any calendar must be the week of seven days ordained by God at the Creation. In Lev. xxv the idea of the seven-day week had already been extended to cover not only an additional time-period of seven years (i.e. a week of years), but also a further one of 'seven times seven' (i.e. forty-nine) years, with a

¹¹ iii. 30–31.

¹³ Gen. xii. 10–20, xx. 1–18, xxvi. 1–17.

¹⁴ At xiii. 11, xvi. 10, xxiv. 8–17.

¹⁶ See especially vi. 23–35.

¹² vi. 17–19.

¹⁵ xvii. 15 – xviii. 11.

¹⁷ vi. 36–38.

fiftieth 'year of jubilee'¹⁸ at the end. It was this extension that caught our author's fancy (or, perhaps, the fancy of some other member of the religious community to which he belonged) and prompted him to extend it even further and adapt it to provide the basis for a complete chronological scheme. In the process the word 'jubilee' changed its meaning. No longer was it just a descriptive epithet applied to every fiftieth year, as it was in Leviticus. Now it was used as a standard technical term to mean the whole of a forty-nine-year period; and so it became the most significant of all the units for the measurement of time – presumably because it was the longest. Consequently, the entire course of history could be divided into jubilees and events dated by reference to a particular jubilee and its appropriate sub-divisions (i.e. weeks of years, years, months, weeks, and days).

Thus, the very first week of the first jubilee of all was occupied with creation and the giving of the 'great sign' – the sabbath.¹⁹ The first five days of the second week were taken up with Adam's review of the animals and his naming of them;²⁰ and Eve was created during the night between the fifth day and the sixth.²¹ The temptation by the serpent is assigned to the seventeenth day of the second month after the conclusion of the first seven-year period (in modern terms '17.2.8')²² and the expulsion from Eden to the first of the fourth month of the same year (i.e. '1.4.8').²³ Cain was born in the third seven-year period (or 'week' according to the author's terminology) of the second jubilee (i.e. between 64 and 70), Abel in the fourth (between 71 and 77);²⁴ and Cain murdered Abel in the first 'week' of the third jubilee (between 99 and 105).²⁵ The birth of Abraham is dated in the seventh year of the second 'week' of the thirty-ninth jubilee (i.e. 1876),²⁶ the death of Isaac in the sixth year of the first 'week' of the forty-fifth jubilee (i.e. 2162),²⁷ and the descent of Jacob and his sons into Egypt ten years later – 'on the new moon of the fourth month, in the second year of the third week of the forty-fifth jubilee' (i.e. '1.4.2172').²⁸ Finally, the Exodus, the

¹⁸ Lit. 'year of the ram's horn (or cornet)' – i.e. the year whose beginning was announced by a ceremonial blast on the ram's horn (Lev. xxv. 9–10).

¹⁹ ii. 1–17.

²⁰ iii. 1–3.

²¹ iii. 4–6.

²² iii. 17.

²³ iii. 32.

²⁴ iv. 1.

²⁵ iv. 2.

²⁶ xi. 14–15.

²⁷ xxxvi. 1–18.

²⁸ xlv. 1.

passage of the Red Sea, and the revelation on Sinai, are dated to the year 2410 (and the completion of the forty-ninth jubilee nine years previously is remarked on in passing): there are yet forty years to run before Israel enters Canaan (on the completion of the fiftieth jubilee, i.e. in 2450); after which 'the jubilees shall pass by till Israel is cleansed from all guilt . . . and the land shall be clean from that day forward for evermore.'²⁹

There can be no doubt in the light of all this that the author was a Jew, who lived in one of the later centuries BC; and scholarly opinion has varied between the fifth century and the first, most preferring a date about 100 BC. The earliest evidence for the existence of Jubilees is to be found in the so-called 'Zadokite Fragments' or 'Damascus Document', associated with the sect at Qumran. There are several apparent allusions to Jubilees in the course of this work, and in one passage it is referred to explicitly – 'And the exact statement of the epochs of Israel's blindness to all these [i.e. the ordinances of the Law], behold it can be learned in the Book of the Divisions of Times into their Jubilees and their Weeks.'³⁰ Some would argue that both Jubilees and the Damascus Document were products of the Qumran sect. But whether this be so or not, we are no better informed about the date of the Damascus Document than we are about the date of Jubilees, and so the reference to Jubilees in the Document does no more than establish the priority of Jubilees. In the Rabbinic literature there is no certain reference to it anywhere.

Among Christians the book seems to have been known comparatively early. So far as our evidence goes, the first Christian to refer to it by name was the blind Alexandrian scholar Didymus (4th cent.); and he calls it 'The Little Genesis'.³¹ This was the most popular name for it in the Church, being used, for example, by Jerome (†420).³² The name 'Jubilees' is first found in Epiphanius (†403), who gives 'Jubilees' and 'The Little Genesis' as alternatives.³³ Another alternative, according to the Gelasian Decree,

²⁹ l. 4–5.

³⁰ *Damascus Document*, xvi. 2–4.

³¹ Didymus, *Enarr. in I Ioann.* iii. 12.

³² Jerome, *Ep.* lxxviii. 20.

³³ Epiph. *Haer.* XXXIX. vi. 1.

was 'The Book about the Daughters of Adam'.³⁴ Yet another appears to have been 'The Apocalypse of Moses',³⁵ and another, perhaps, 'The Life of Adam'³⁶ – though this last work may have been no more than an abstract, consisting only of parts of the opening chapters.

Since the book first became known in modern times it has been argued on purely internal and circumstantial grounds that it was originally written in Hebrew, though some (notably C. C. Torrey) have suggested Aramaic. The arguments in favour of Hebrew have recently been considerably strengthened, not merely by the evidence of the Damascus Document, but also by the fact that a number of fragments of Jubilees, from some ten different manuscripts, have been found in four of the Qumran caves, and all of them are in Hebrew. A further fragment, also in Hebrew, has been found at Masada.

At a date unknown a Greek version was made, of which only extracts now survive, mainly in Epiphanius and the Byzantine chroniclers Syncellus and Cedrenus. Later on, the Greek version was translated into both Latin and Ethiopic. Of the Latin there are substantial surviving fragments, preserved in the same 6th cent. MS that contains also The Assumption of Moses: these fragments were edited by Ceriani in 1861, and cover more than a quarter of the complete text; and according to Rönisch (their next editor), the date of the Latin version itself was about a hundred years earlier than the MS – i.e. mid-5th cent. It is probable that there was also a Syriac version; and if the results of Tisserant's study of what are apparently extensive extracts preserved in an anonymous late 12th cent. chronicle are accepted, then the Syriac version was made direct from the Hebrew, without reference to the Greek, and about the same time as the Peshitta.

The Ethiopic version alone has preserved the complete text of the book. Dillmann, the first editor of it, worked from two MSS only, one in Tübingen (19th cent.) and one in Paris (17th cent.). Charles, for his edition of 1895, added two more of the 16th and

³⁴ *Decr. Gel.* v. 4: 'Liber de filiabus Adae, [hoc est] Leptogeneseos, apocryphus'.

³⁵ Syncellus, *Chronographia* (= *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*; ed. W. Dindorf, Bonn, 1829), i, p. 5.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

15th cents. (in London and Paris). Since Charles's day at least half a dozen other MSS have come to light, of which two are probably of the 14th cent. – the oldest yet discovered.

The translation which follows is a thoroughgoing revision of Charles's translation of his own Ethiopic text. Any conflict of any importance between this text and the text of the Latin fragments (where they are extant) has attention drawn to it in the notes; and it will be found that overall, in these instances, we have preferred the Latin rather more frequently than did Charles. Unfortunately, none of the Hebrew fragments so far available is sufficiently substantial to enable us to establish anything like a continuous text in any part of the book. What does emerge, however, from a detailed study of these fragments is the impression that the Ethiopic version, despite the fact that it is a secondary version, is nevertheless to be accepted as a generally trustworthy and reliable guide to the Hebrew original.

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PROLOGUE

This is the account of the division of the days of the law and of the testimony, of the events of the years, according to their *year-weeks* and their jubilees, through all the years of the world, as the Lord gave it to Moses on mount Sinai, when he went up to receive the stone tablets of the law and of the commandment, in accordance with God's command, as he said to him, Go up to the top of the mount.

- 1 And it came to pass in the first year of the exodus of the Israëlites from Egypt, in the third month, on the sixteenth day of the month, that God spoke to Moses, saying, Come up to me on the mount, and I will give you the two stone tablets of the law and of the commandment, which I have written so that you may teach them.
- 2 And Moses went up into the mount of God, and the glory of the Lord rested on mount Sinai and a cloud overshadowed it for six
- 3 days. And on the seventh day he called to Moses in¹ the cloud; and the glory of the Lord looked like a flaming fire on the mountain-

¹ Lit. 'in the middle of': Charles would emend to 'out of' to accord with Exod. xxiv. 16.

- 4 top. And Moses was on the mount forty days and forty nights; and God taught him the first things and the last things, *and* the division of all the days of the law and of the testimony.
- 5 And he said, Listen carefully to everything that I tell you on this mountain, and write it in a book so that the generations *to come* may see how I have not forsaken them on account of all the evil they have done in **transgressing** the covenant that I am establishing between me and you on mount Sinai today for *all* their generations.
- 6 And so, when all these things have happened to them, they will recognize that I am more righteous than they are in all they think and do,² and they will recognize that I have kept faith with them.
- 7 Write down everything, then, that I tell you today; for I know how defiant and stubborn they are, *even* before I lead them into the land about which I swore an oath to their fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, saying, To your descendants will I give a land flowing
- 8 with milk and honey. And they will eat and be satisfied, and they will turn to foreign gods that are powerless to rescue them in their distress; and *then* this evidence will serve as evidence against them.
- 9 For they will forget all my commandments that I give them and copy the Gentiles, their uncleanness and their shame, and worship their gods; and these will prove a stumbling-block to them, a *source*
- 10 of distress and misery, and a snare. And many will perish; and *others* will be taken captive and fall into the enemy's hands, because they have forsaken my law and commandment, and the festivals of my covenant and my sabbaths, and my holy offerings which I have hallowed for myself in their midst, and my tabernacle, and my sanctuary which I have hallowed for myself in the midst of the land
- 11 to make it the dwelling-place for my name.³ And they will make hill-shrines and sacred poles and carved images, and each one will worship his own *carved image* and go astray; and they will sacrifice their children to demons and to all the idols they have made in⁴ the
- 12 error of their hearts. And I will send witnesses to them to witness against them; but they will not listen, and they will kill the witnesses and persecute those who seek the law, and they will abrogate and
- 13 change everything and do what is evil in my sight. And I will hide

² Lit. 'in all their judgements and in all their actions'.

³ Lit. 'that I should set my name upon it and that it should dwell *there*'.

⁴ Lit. 'and to all the works of'.

my face from them and hand them over to the Gentiles to be taken captive and to be preyed upon and to be devoured;⁵ and I will drive them out of the land and scatter them among the Gentiles. And they will forget all my law and all my commandments and all my precepts and go astray as regards new moons and sabbaths and festivals and jubilees and the other ordinances.⁶ And after this they will turn to me from among the Gentiles with all their heart and with all their soul and with all their strength; and I will gather them from among all the Gentiles, and they will seek me, and I will let them find me.⁷ And when they seek me with all their heart and with all their soul, I will grant them an age of peace and righteousness⁸ and set them apart as an upright plant,⁹ with all my heart and with all my soul; and they shall be a blessing and not a curse, the head and not the tail. And I will build my sanctuary in their midst, and I will dwell with them and be their God, and they shall be my people in truth and righteousness. And I will not forsake them nor fail them; for I am the Lord their God.

And Moses prostrated himself and prayed and said, O Lord my God, do not forsake thy people and thine own possession, and let them not wander in the error of their hearts: deliver them not into the hands of their enemies, the Gentiles, and let them not rule over them and make them sin against thee. Let thy mercy, O Lord, watch over¹⁰ thy people, and create in them an upright spirit; and let not the spirit of Beliar rule over them to accuse them before thee and ensnare them from all the paths of righteousness, so that they perish from thy sight. For they are thy people and thine own possession, whom thou hast delivered with thy great power from the hands of the Egyptians. Create in them a pure heart and a holy spirit, and let them not be ensnared in their sins now or ever.

And the Lord said to Moses, I know their contrariness, their thoughts, and their stubbornness, and they will not be obedient till they acknowledge their own sin and the sin of their fathers. And

⁵ Text 'for captivity and for injustice and for devouring'.

⁶ Lit. 'new moon . . . ordinance' (i.e. singulars not plurals).

⁷ Lit. 'so that I shall be found by them'.

⁸ Lit. 'I will reveal to them abounding peace of righteousness'.

⁹ Or 'and set apart for them an upright plant' (i.e. the latter-day community of saints).

¹⁰ Lit. 'be lifted up upon'.

after this they will turn to me in all uprightness and with all their heart and soul; and I will circumcise the foreskin of their heart and the foreskin of the heart of their sons,¹¹ and I will create in them a holy spirit, and I will cleanse them so that they shall not turn away from me *again*, from that day till eternity. And they will hold fast to me and to all my commandments, and fulfil my commandments; and I will be their father, and they shall be my children. And they all shall be called children of the living God; and every angel and spirit shall know (they shall know indeed) that these are my children, and that I am truly and genuinely their father,¹² and that I love them.

And do you write down¹³ everything I tell you on this mountain, the first *things* and the last *things* that shall come to pass in all the divisions of the days, in the law and in the testimony, and in the weeks of the jubilees till eternity, till I descend and dwell with them through all eternity.

And he said to the angel of the presence, Write for Moses the account from the beginning of creation¹⁴ till the time when my sanctuary shall be built among them for all eternity, and the Lord appear in the sight of all, and all know that I am the God of Israel and the father of all the sons of Jacob and king on mount Zion for all eternity, and Zion and Jerusalem shall be established.¹⁵ And the angel of the presence, who used to go before the camp of Israel, took the tablets of the divisions of the years, from the time of the creation of the law and of the testimony¹⁶ – *the tablets, that is*, of the weeks of the jubilees according to *their* years, according to all the number of the jubilees according to *their* years,¹⁷ from the day of the creation until the day when the heavens and the earth are renewed and with them all created things both in heaven and on earth,¹⁸ until

¹¹ Lit. 'seed'.

¹² Lit. 'I am their father in uprightness and righteousness'.

¹³ Following two MSS which read 'Do you write down for yourself': the others read 'I will write down for you'.

¹⁴ Lit. 'from the first creation'.

¹⁵ Alternative reading 'holy'.

¹⁶ The reference here is to the idea that the Law was created before the world.

¹⁷ One MS omits the second 'according to *their* years' and Charles bracketed it as an interpolation. This is probably not the only dittograph in the verse; and in several places both text and translation are highly uncertain.

¹⁸ Lit. 'and all their creation according to the powers of heaven and according to all the creation of the earth'.

the day when the sanctuary of the Lord is created in Jerusalem on mount Zion and all the luminaries are renewed as instruments of healing and of peace and of blessing for all the elect of Israel, and that so it may be from that day on as long as the earth lasts.

II. And the angel of the presence spoke to Moses in accordance with the Lord's command, saying, Write the complete history of the creation, how the Lord God finished all his works and all that he created on the sixth day, and kept sabbath on the seventh day, and hallowed it for all ages and appointed it as a sign for all his
 2 works. For on the first day he created the heavens which are above, and the earth, and the waters, and every spirit that serves before him – the angels of the presence, and the angels of holiness, and the angels of the spirit of fire,¹ and the angels of the spirit of the winds, and the angels of the spirit of the clouds and of darkness and of snow and of hail and of hoar-frost, and the angels of the depths and of thunders and lightnings, and the angels of the cold winds and the hot *winds* and of winter and spring and autumn and summer, and the spirits of his creatures in the heavens and on the earth and in all the abysses, and the deep darkness and the light and the dawn and the morning and the evening, which he had already
 3 prepared and planned.² And then we saw his works, and we blessed him and sang praises before him because of all his works;
 4 for on the first day he created seven great works. And on the next day he created the vault between³ the waters, and the waters were divided on that day – half of them went up above and half of them went down below the vault *that was* between³ them over the earth;
 5 and this was the only work he did on the second day. And on the third day he commanded the waters to be gathered together from the surface of the earth into one place, and the dry land to appear.
 6 And the waters did so, just as he commanded them; and they receded from the surface of the earth into one place outside the
 7 vault, and the dry land appeared. And on that day he created all the seas in their separate gathering-places, and all the rivers, and

¹ One MS omits 'and the angels of the spirit of fire'.

² Lit. 'which he had prepared in the knowledge of his heart'.

³ Lit. 'in the middle of'.

the gatherings of the waters in the mountains and all over the earth, and all the lakes, and all the dew of the earth, and the seed that is sown, and all plants that grow, and the trees that bear fruit, and the trees of the wood, and the garden of Eden in Eden;⁴ and all
 8 these four great works God created on the third day. And on the fourth day he created the sun and moon and stars, and he set them in the vault of heaven to give light on earth, to have charge over day
 9 and night, and to separate light from darkness. And God appointed the sun as a great sign on earth to mark the days and weeks⁵ and months⁶ and festivals and years and weeks⁵ of years and jubilees
 10 and all the seasons of the years; and it separates light from darkness, and is the source of health, so that everything may be healthy that sprouts and grows on earth. These three kinds of *lights*⁷ he
 11 made on the fourth day. And on the fifth day he created great sea-monsters in the depths of the waters (these were the first living creatures⁸ that were created by his hands), and all the fish that
 12 swim in the waters, and all kinds of birds that fly. And the sun rose over them *all* to give them health, over everything that was on the earth – all plants and trees and living creatures. These three kinds
 13 of *living creatures* he created on the fifth day. And on the sixth day he created all the wild animals of the earth, and all the cattle, and
 14 everything that moves on the earth. And after all this he created man: a man and a woman he created; and he made him master over everything that is on the earth and in the seas, and over everything that flies, and over the wild animals and the cattle, and over everything that moves on the earth, and over the whole earth:
 15 over all this he made him master. And these four kinds of *creatures* he created on the sixth day. And there were altogether twenty-two kinds.
 16 And he finished all his work on the sixth day – all that is in the heavens and on the earth, and in the seas and the abysses, and in
 17 the light and the darkness, and in everything. And he gave us a

⁴ All MSS add 'for delight' – doubtless a translational variant of 'in Eden', which itself may well be a dittograph of the preceding '(garden) of Eden'.

⁵ Or 'sabbaths'.

⁶ Or 'new-moon days'.

⁷ i.e. sun, moon, and stars.

⁸ Lit. 'things of flesh'.

great sign, the sabbath day,⁹ that we should work for six days,¹⁰ but
 18 keep sabbath from all work on the seventh day. And all the angels
 of the presence and all the angels of holiness, these two great
 classes – he has commanded us to keep the sabbath with him in
 19 heaven and on earth. And he said to us, Behold, I will set apart for
 myself a people out of all the peoples, and they shall keep the
 sabbath day; and I will hallow them as my own people, and I will
 bless them: as I have hallowed the sabbath day and do hallow *it* as
 mine,¹¹ even so will I bless them, and they shall be my people and I
 20 will be their God. And I have chosen Jacob's descendants **out of all**
*the peoples*¹² (for I have seen *him*, and I have marked him down as
 my eldest son and hallowed him as mine¹¹ for evermore); and I will
 teach them *the law of the sabbath day*, that they may keep sabbath
 21 on it from all work. And so he created in it a sign *that they should be*
 like him, *and* that they should keep sabbath with us on the seventh
 day, and eat and drink and bless him who created all things, as he
 blessed and hallowed as his own¹³ a special people out of all
 22 peoples, and that they should keep sabbath together with us, and
 the doing of his commands should ascend before him for ever like a
 pleasant soothing odour.¹⁴ There *were* twenty-two patriarchs from
 23 Adam to Jacob, and twenty-two kinds of created things¹⁵ were
 made before the seventh day: this *day* is blessed and holy; and
 Jacob¹⁶ also is blessed and holy; and so the two together are
 24 hallowed and blessed.¹⁷ And to Jacob and his descendants¹⁸ it was
 granted that they should always be the blessed and holy ones of the
 first covenant and law, even as he had hallowed and blessed the

⁹ Lit. 'the day of the sabbaths'.

¹⁰ Or 'keep on working on the sixth day'. If this is the meaning, it may be a polemic against the Rabbinic custom of beginning the sabbath an hour before sunset on Friday.

¹¹ Lit. 'to myself'.

¹² Text '... descendants in everything'.

¹³ Lit. 'to himself'.

¹⁴ Several references to this passage in Christian writers (confirmed by Jewish tradition) suggest that there is a lacuna in the text here and that the original ran, 'As there were twenty-two letters, and twenty-two sacred books, and twenty-two patriarchs from Adam to Jacob, so...'

¹⁵ Lit. 'kinds of work'.

¹⁶ Lit. 'that' (i.e. 'the former').

¹⁷ Lit. 'this one serves with that one for hallowing and blessing'.

¹⁸ Lit. 'And to this'.

25 sabbath on the seventh day.¹⁹ In six days he created heaven and
 earth and everything that he created, and the seventh day God
 made holy for all his works: that is why he gave the command that
 whoever does any work on it shall die, and that whoever defiles it
 26 shall most surely die. And so you must command the sons of Israel
 to observe this day to keep it holy and not do any work on it and not
 27 defile it, for it is holier than all other days. And whoever profanes it
 shall most surely die, and whoever does any work on it shall most
 surely die eternally, so that Israel's sons may observe this day in
 every generation and not be uprooted from the land; for it is a holy
 28 day and a blessed day. And every man who observes it and keeps
 sabbath on it from all his work, will be holy and blessed for all time,
 29 like us. Proclaim the law of this day to the sons of Israel and tell
 them to keep sabbath on it, and not to make the mistake of thinking
 they can ignore it,²⁰ *and* that it is not lawful to do any work that is
unseemly or do business²¹ on it, or draw water, or carry any heavy
 load through their gates on it, either in or out, and that they should
 not prepare on it anything to eat or drink that they have not
 prepared for themselves already in their homes on the sixth day.²²
 30 And they shall not bring in or take out *anything* from one house to
 another on that day, for that day is more holy and blessed than any
 jubilee day:²³ that is why we kept sabbath in the heavens before it
 was made known to any mortal²⁴ to keep sabbath on it on earth.
 31 And the creator of all things blessed it, but he did not hallow all
 peoples and nations to keep sabbath on it, but Israel only: them
 alone on earth did he allow to eat and drink and keep sabbath on it.
 32 And the creator of all things blessed this day, which he had created
 33 for blessing and holiness and glory above all days. This law and
 statute was given to Israel's sons as a law for ever, for all their
 generations.

III. And on the six days of the second week, in accordance with
 God's command, we brought to Adam all the wild animals, and all

¹⁹ Some MSS read 'even as it had been hallowed and blessed on the seventh day'.

²⁰ Lit. 'not forsake it in the error of their hearts'.

²¹ Lit. 'do their own pleasure'. Cp. Isa. lviii. 13.

²² In the latter part of this verse Charles's suggested re-arrangement of the clauses has been followed.

²³ Text adds 'of the jubilees'.

²⁴ Lit. 'flesh'.

the cattle, and all the birds, and everything that moves on the earth, and everything that swims in the water, according to their kinds, and according to their species – the wild animals on the first day, the cattle of the second day, the birds on the third day, everything that moves on the earth on the fourth day, and what
 2 swims in the water on the fifth day. And Adam gave them all their
 3 names; and what he called them, those were their names. And on these five days Adam saw all of them, male and female, according to every kind that was on the earth; but he was alone and had¹ no partner like himself.

4 And the Lord said to us, it is not good for the man to be alone: let
 5 us make a partner for him like himself. And the Lord our God made him fall into a deep sleep, and he slept; and he took one of his bones to make a woman² (and so the origin of woman was this rib
taken from Adam's³ bones), and he built the flesh up *again* in its
 6 place and built the woman. And he woke Adam up from his sleep; and he awoke and got up on the sixth day. And he brought her to him;⁴ and he recognized⁵ her and said to her,

This is bone from my bones,
 And flesh from my flesh:
 She shall be called my wife,
 Because she was taken from her husband.

7 That is why man and wife are one; and that is why a man leaves his father and his mother and is united to his wife, and they become a single body.⁶ In the first week Adam was created, and the rib – his wife:⁷ in the second week he showed her to him; and that is why the commandment was given *for women* to keep in their uncleanness – seven days for a male and fourteen days for a female. And after
 9 Adam had been in the land where he had been created for forty days, we brought him into the garden of Eden to till *it* and guard it; but his wife they brought in on the eightieth day (only then⁸ did she

¹ Lit. 'found'.

² Lit. 'and he took (for) the woman one bone from among his bones'.

³ Lit. 'his'.

⁴ An alternative reading is 'And he came to her'; but both Gen. ii. 22 and the statement 'he shewed her to him' in verse 8 below support the reading preferred.

⁵ Lit. 'knew'.

⁶ Lit. 'one flesh'.

⁷ Or 'the woman'.

⁸ Lit. 'and after this'.

10 enter the garden of Eden). And that is why the commandment is written on the heavenly tablets about a woman that gives birth – If she bears a male, she shall wait in her uncleanness seven days (that is a week to begin with⁹), and *then another* thirty-three days shall she wait for her blood to be purified,¹⁰ and she shall touch nothing that is holy, nor enter the sanctuary, until she completes these days *that*
 11 *are appointed* in the case of a male child. But in the case of a female child she shall wait in her uncleanness fourteen days (that is a fortnight to begin with¹¹), and *then another* sixty-six days for her blood to be purified,¹⁰ eighty days in all. And when she had completed these eighty days, we brought her into the garden of Eden; for it is holier than any other place on earth,¹² and every tree
 13 that is planted in it is holy. That is why the rule was laid down about *a woman* that bears a child, whether male or female, that she should touch nothing that is holy, nor enter the sanctuary, until these days *that are appointed* for the male or female child are completed. This is the law and the statute which was written down for
 14 Israel, that they should observe *it* always.

15 And in the first week of the first jubilee Adam and his wife were in the garden of Eden for seven years tilling it and guarding it; and we gave him work *to do* and taught him all the details of the gardener's craft. And he tilled *the garden*; and he was naked and did not realize it and was not ashamed. And he protected the garden from the birds and wild animals and cattle; and he gathered its fruit, and ate, and put aside what was left over for himself and his wife.¹³

17 And when he had completed seven years there, seven years exactly, in the second month, on the seventeenth day *of the month*, the serpent came and approached the woman; and the serpent said
 18 to the woman, Has God commanded you, saying, You are not to eat *the fruit* of every tree of the garden? And she said to it, Of all the fruit of the trees in the garden God said to us, Eat; but of the fruit of the tree in the middle of the garden God said to us, You shall not

⁹ Lit. 'according to the first week of days'.

¹⁰ Lit. 'in the blood of her purifying'.

¹¹ Lit. 'according to the first two weeks'.

¹² Lit. 'than all the earth besides'.

¹³ The text adds (through dittography) 'and put aside what was being kept'.

19 eat of it, nor shall you touch it: if you do, you will die. And the
 20 serpent said to the woman, Of course you will not die: God knows
 that on the day you do eat of it, your eyes will be opened, and you
 will be like gods and know good and evil. And the woman looked at
 the tree *and saw* that it was agreeable and pleasant to the eye and
 21 that its fruit was good to eat, and she took some of it and ate. And
 when she had covered her shame with fig-leaves¹⁴ she gave some to
 Adam and he ate; and his eyes were opened, and he saw that he
 22 was naked. And he took fig-leaves and sewed them together, and
 23 made a loin-cloth for himself, and covered his shame. And God
 24 cursed the serpent and was angry with it for ever.¹⁵ And he was
 angry with the woman because she had listened to the serpent and
 eaten; and he said to her,

I will increase your labour and your pains:
 In sorrow you shall bear children.
 On your husband you shall rely.¹⁶
 And he shall be your master.

25 And to Adam he said,

Because you have listened to your wife,
 And have eaten from the tree, from which I commanded
 you not to eat,
 Accursed shall be the ground on your account:
 Thorns and thistles it shall produce for you,
 And you shall eat your bread by the sweat of your brow,
 Till you return to the earth from which you were taken;
 For earth you are, and to earth you shall return.

26 And he made them coats of skin and clothed them, and sent them
 out of the garden of Eden.

27 And on the day that Adam went out of the garden he offered
 frankincense, galbanum, and stacte, and spices, as a food-offering

¹⁴ More exactly 'with the leaves of the aforementioned fig'. According to Jewish tradition the tree of knowledge was a fig-tree.

¹⁵ Charles was of the opinion that there is a lacuna here and that the text originally described the punishment of the serpent by the cutting off of his four feet by the ministering angels.

¹⁶ Lit. 'And your return shall be to your husband'.

of soothing odour; *and so he did every day* in the morning, at sunrise,
 28 from the day he covered his shame. And on that day the mouths of
 all the wild animals and the cattle and the birds, and of everything
 that walks or moves, were shut, so that they could no longer speak
 (for *up till then* they had all spoken with one another in a common
 29 tongue¹⁷). And he sent out of the garden of Eden all creatures¹⁸ that
 were in it; and they were scattered to the places naturally suited to
 30 them,¹⁹ according to their kinds and species. And Adam alone, as
 distinct from all the wild animals and the cattle, did he cause to
 31 cover his shame. That is why it is prescribed on the heavenly
 tablets that all those familiar with the provisions²⁰ of the law should
 cover their shame and not uncover themselves as the Gentiles
 uncover themselves.

32 And Adam and his wife went out of the garden of Eden on *the day*
 of the new moon of the fourth month; and they settled in the land of
 33 Elda (in the land of their creation). And Adam called his wife Eve.
 34 And they had no son till the first jubilee; and after this he had
 35 intercourse with her. And he tilled the land, as he had been taught
 in the garden of Eden.

IV. And in the third week of the second jubilee she gave birth to
 Cain, and in the fourth she gave birth to Abel, and in the fifth she
 2 gave birth to her daughter Awan. And in the first *week* of the third
 jubilee Cain killed Abel because God¹ had accepted Abel's sacrifice,
 3 but had not accepted his.² And he killed him out in the open; and his
 blood cried from the ground to heaven, accusing him of murder.³
 4 And the Lord reproved Cain for Abel's murder and **made him a**
 fugitive⁴ on the earth because of his brother's blood; and he cursed
 5 him on the earth. And that is why it is written on the heavenly
 tablets, Cursed is the man who strikes another man in secret,⁵ and
 let all who have seen and heard *it* say, Amen; and the man who has

¹⁷ Lit. 'with one lip and one tongue'.

¹⁹ Or 'the places that had been created for them'.

¹⁸ Lit. 'flesh'.

²⁰ Lit. 'judgement'.

¹ Text 'he' (or, alternatively, 'we').

² Lit. 'but as for Cain, he had not accepted his offering'.

³ Lit. 'complaining because he had killed him'.

⁴ The text reads 'he made him for length'.

⁵ Or 'wickedly' or 'treacherously'.

6 seen *it* and not disclosed *it*, let him be *as* accursed as the other. And this is why, when we come before the Lord our God, we report all the sin that is committed in heaven and on earth, and in light and darkness, everywhere.

7 And Adam and his wife mourned for Abel four weeks of years. And in the fourth year of the fifth week their zest for life returned; and Adam had intercourse with his wife once more, and she bore him a son, and he called him Seth – for he said, God has given us another son⁶ on earth instead of Abel, because Cain killed him.

8,9 And in the sixth week he begot his daughter Azura. And Cain took his sister Awan as his wife, and she bore him Enoch⁷ at the close of the fourth jubilee. And in the first year of the first week of the fifth jubilee houses were built on earth; and Cain built a city and named it after his son Enoch. And Adam had intercourse with his wife Eve, and she bore *him* nine more children.

11 And in the fifth week of the fifth jubilee Seth took his sister Azura as his wife, and in the fourth *year of the sixth week* she bore him Enos.

2,13 He was the first on earth to invoke the Lord by name. And in the seventh jubilee, in the third week, Enos took his sister Noam as his wife, and she bore him a son in the third year of the fifth week, and he called him Kenan. And at the close of the eighth jubilee Kenan took his sister Mualeleth as his wife, and she bore him a son in the ninth jubilee (in the first week, in the third year of that week), and he called him Mahalalel. And in the second week of the tenth jubilee Mahalalel took as his wife Dinah, the daughter of Barakiel, his father's **brother's**⁸ daughter, and she bore him a son in the third week, in the sixth year, and he called him Jared; and in his days the angels of the Lord (those who were called Watchers) came down to earth to teach men to do⁹ what is just and right on earth.

3 And in the eleventh jubilee Jared took a wife, in the fourth week of this jubilee, and her name was Berakhah, the daughter of Rasuel, a daughter of his father's **brother**,¹⁰ and she bore him a son in the fifth week, in the fourth year of the jubilee, and he called him Enoch.¹¹ And he was the first among men born on earth to learn to

⁶ Lit. 'raised up another seed to us'.

⁸ The MSS read 'sister's'.

¹⁰ The MSS read 'sister'.

⁷ Spelled *Henok*.

⁹ Text 'and to do'.

¹¹ Spelled *Henok*.

write and *to acquire* knowledge and wisdom; and he wrote down in a book *details about* the signs of heaven according to the order of their months, so that men might know the seasons of the years according to the order of their several months. And he was the first to write a testimony; and he warned the sons of men about what would happen in future generations on the earth,¹² and recounted the weeks of the jubilees, and made known the days of the years, and set in order the months, and recounted the sabbaths of the years, just as we made *them* known to him. And what was and what will be he saw in a vision in his sleep, just as it will happen to the sons of men in every generation till the day of judgement: he saw and knew all of it; and he wrote his testimony and left it¹³ as a testimony on earth for¹⁴ all the sons of men for every generation. And in the twelfth jubilee, in the seventh week of it, he took a wife, and her name was Edni, the daughter of Danel, his father's **brother's**¹⁵ daughter; and in the sixth year in that week she bore him a son, and he called him Methuselah. And he was with the angels of God these six jubilees of years, and they showed him everything on earth and in the heavens, and the power of the sun;¹⁶ and he wrote down everything. And he bore witness to¹⁷ the Watchers, who had sinned with the daughters of men – for these had begun to form unions with the daughters of men¹⁸ and so defile themselves; and Enoch bore witness against *them* all. And he was taken away from the sons of men, and we conducted him into the garden of Eden in¹⁹ majesty and honour; and there he records the condemnation and the judgement of the world, and all the wickedness of the sons of men. And because of him the water of the flood **did not reach** the land of Eden;²⁰ for he was established there as a sign to bear witness against all the sons of men *and* keep a record of all the deeds

¹² Lit. 'and he testified to the sons of men concerning the generations of the earth'.

¹³ Lit. 'and placed it'.

¹⁴ Lit. 'upon'. Or, perhaps, we should translate 'and left it as a witness on earth against'.

¹⁵ The MSS. read 'sister's'.

¹⁶ Or 'and they showed him all the power of the sun on the earth and in the heavens'.

¹⁷ Or 'against'.

¹⁸ Alternative reading 'daughters of the earth' (or 'of the land').

¹⁹ Alternative reading 'to'.

²⁰ That is, Enoch was spared in the flood. The text reads 'And because of him (or 'it') he (i.e. God) brought the water of the flood upon all the land of Eden'.

25 of every generation till the day of judgement. And he burned the
 26 incense of the sanctuary, *which is* acceptable before the Lord, on the
 mount.²¹ For the Lord has four *holy* places on earth – the garden of
 Eden, the mount of the east, this mountain on which you are to-day
 (mount Sinai), and mount Zion, which in the new creation will be
 set apart²² for the hallowing of the earth: through it the earth will
 be purified²² from all *its* guilt and its uncleanness in each successive
 generation.

27 And in the fourteenth jubilee Methuselah took a wife, Ednah,
 the daughter of Azariel, his father's **brother's**¹⁵ daughter, in the
 third week, in the first year of this week, and he begot a son, and
 28 called him Lamech. And in the fifteenth jubilee, in the third week,
 Lamech took a wife, and her name was Betenos, the daughter of
 Barachel, his father's **brother's**¹⁵ daughter; and in this week she
 bore him a son, and he called him Noah, saying, The one who will
 comfort me for my trouble and all my work, and for the ground
 which the Lord has cursed.

29 And at the close of the nineteenth jubilee, in the seventh week, in
 the sixth year of it, Adam died; and all his children buried him in
 the land of his creation (and he was the first on earth to be buried).
 30 And he was seventy years short of a thousand; for in the testimony
 of the heavens a thousand years are as one day, and this explains
 why it was written about the tree of knowledge, On the day that
 you eat from it, you will die. So he did not complete the years of this
 31 day, but died during it. After him, at the close of this jubilee, Cain
 was killed, in the same year: his house fell on him, and he died
 inside it and was killed by the stones of it; for with a stone he had
 killed Abel, and by a just retribution he was killed by a stone
 32 himself. There is a rule about this on the heavenly tablets, With the
 instrument with which one man kills another man, with the same
instrument shall he be killed: if he has done a particular injury to
 another man, the same *injury* shall be done to him.

33 And in the twenty-fifth jubilee Noah took a wife, and her name
 was Emzara, the daughter of Rakeel, his father's **brother's**¹⁵
 daughter, in the first year, in the fifth week; and in the third year of
 it she bore him Shem, in the fifth year of it she bore him Ham, and
 in the first year in the sixth week she bore him Japheth.

²¹ Most MSS add 'of the midday' (or 'of the south'). ²² Lit 'will be hallowed'.

V. And it came to pass when the sons of men began to increase on
 the earth, and daughters were born to them, that in the first year of
 this jubilee the angels of God looked on them and saw that they
 were beautiful; and they took wives from as many of them as they
 2 chose. And they bore them sons; and they were giants. And lawless-
 ness increased on the earth, and the way of *life* of every creature¹
 became corrupted – men, cattle, wild animals, and birds alike,
 everything that lives² on earth: corrupt were the ways of all of them
 and of the whole natural order;³ and they began to devour one
 another. And lawlessness increased on the earth, and men's
 3 thoughts and inclinancies *were* never anything but evil. And God
 looked on the earth and behold, it was corrupt: the whole natural
 order was corrupt;⁴ and all *creatures* on earth had **done every kind of**
 4 **evil** before his eyes. And he said he would destroy⁵ man and all
 5 creatures⁶ on the earth, which he had created.⁷ Noah alone found
 6 favour with the Lord. And against the angels he had sent on earth
 his anger was so great that he uprooted them from *the place* of their
 dominion and commanded us to imprison them in the depths of the
 earth; and behold, they are in prison there and *kept in a separate*
place.

7 And against their sons a commandment went forth from him⁸
 that they should die by the sword and be removed from under
 8 heaven. And he said, My spirit shall not remain in men for ever; for
 they are mortal⁶ too; and their life-span⁹ shall be a hundred and
 9 twenty years. And he sent his sword¹⁰ among them, so that they
 should kill each other; and they began to kill each other, till all of
 them had fallen by the sword and were destroyed from the earth.

10 And their fathers were witnesses *of their destruction*; and after this
 they were imprisoned in the depths of the earth for ever – till the
 great judgement-day, when sentence will be passed on all whose

¹ Lit. 'of all flesh'.

² Lit. 'walks'.

³ Lit. 'all of them corrupted their way and their order'.

⁴ Lit. 'and all flesh had corrupted its order'.

⁵ Alternative reading 'I will destroy'.

⁶ Lit. 'flesh'.

⁷ Alternative reading 'which has been created'.

⁸ Lit. 'a voice went from his face'.

⁹ Lit. 'their days'.

¹⁰ Alternative reading 'the sword'.

11 way of life and behaviour¹¹ have been corrupt before the Lord. And he will destroy¹² all of them from their places, and not one shall be
 12 left¹² that he will not judge¹² as their wickedness deserves. And he will create¹² a new and righteous nature for all his creatures,¹³ so
 13 that in their nature they will never sin again, but all be righteous, each in his kind, always. And the judgement of every one is
 14 ordained and written on the heavenly tablets, and there is no injustice in it: all who stray from the path marked out for them to
 15 follow, and do not follow it – judgement is written down for them, for every creature and for every kind of creature. And there is nothing in
 16 heaven or earth, or in light or darkness, or in Sheol or in the depth, or in the place of darkness, which will not be judged; and all their
 17 judgements are ordained and written and engraved.¹⁴ From every angle he will judge them, the great man as a great man, the small
 18 man as a small man, and each according to his way of life. And he is not one to respect persons, nor is he one who will accept bribes,
 19 when he says he will pass sentence on everyone: if one were to give him everything on earth, he would not take notice of the bribes or of
 20 the person of anyone, nor would he accept anything at his hands; for he is a righteous judge. And about the sons of Israel it has been
 written and ordained, If they repent in righteousness, he will forgive all their transgressions and pardon all their sins. It is
 written and ordained that he will show mercy to all who repent of all their sins they have committed inadvertently, once every year.
 And as for all those whose way of life and thoughts had become corrupt before the flood, no man had mercy shown him but Noah
 only: he had mercy shown him,¹⁵ together with his sons,¹⁶ whom God saved from the waters of the flood because of him; for his heart
 was righteous in all his ways and his life in accord with what he had been commanded, and he had not strayed in any way from the
 path marked out for him.¹⁷ And the Lord said he would destroy

¹¹ Alternative reading 'thoughts' (as in verse 19).

¹² All these verbs are perfects in the Ethiopic, in all probability through failure on the part of the translator of the Greek version (from which the Ethiopic was made) to appreciate the sequence of tenses in the Hebrew original.

¹³ Lit. 'works'.

¹⁴ Or 'decided'.

¹⁵ The phrase translated 'show mercy to' in this verse (lit. 'lift the face of') is the same as that translated 'respect the person of' in verse 16 above.

¹⁶ Lit. 'concerning his sons'.

¹⁷ Lit. 'from anything ordained for him'.

everything on the dry land, men and cattle, wild animals and
 21 birds, and everything that moves on earth. And he commanded Noah to make an ark, to save himself¹⁸ from the waters of the flood.
 22 And Noah made the ark in all respects as he commanded him, in the twenty-seventh¹⁹ jubilee of years, in the fifth week in the fifth
 23 year. And he went in in the sixth year of it, in the second month, from the new moon of the second month till the sixteenth day. And he and all that we brought him went into the ark; and the Lord
 24 closed it from the outside on the seventeenth evening.
 And the Lord opened seven flood-gates of heaven, and the mouths of the springs of the great abyss (seven mouths in number).
 25 And the flood-gates began to pour down water from heaven forty days and forty nights, and the springs of the abyss also sent up
 26 waters, till the whole world was full of water. And the waters increased over the earth: fifteen cubits higher than the highest
 27 mountains did the waters rise;²⁰ and the ark was lifted up above the earth, and it floated²¹ on the surface of the waters. And the water
 28 remained on the surface of the earth five months – for a hundred and fifty days. And the ark ran aground²² on the top of Lubar, one of
 29 the mountains of Ararat. And in the fourth month the springs of the great abyss were exhausted and the flood-gates of heaven were
 30 restrained; and on the new moon of the seventh month all the mouths of the abysses of the earth were opened, and the water
 31 began to descend into the depths below.²³ And on the new moon of the tenth month the tops of the mountains were seen; and on the
 32 new moon of the first month the earth became visible. And the waters dried up from the surface of²⁴ the earth in the fifth week, in the seventh year of it; and on the seventeenth day in the second
 month the earth was dry. And on the twenty-seventh of it he opened the ark and let out the wild animals and cattle²⁵ and birds and every living creature.²⁶

¹⁸ Alternative reading 'that he might save him'.

¹⁹ So Charles, in accord with the Samaritan Chronicle and with the support of the dates at the end of chap. iv. All MSS read 'twenty-second'.

²⁰ Lit. 'fifteen cubits did the waters rise above every mountain'.

²¹ Lit. 'moved'.

²² Lit. 'went and rested'.

²³ Lit. 'into the uttermost (or 'western') deep'.

²⁴ Or 'the higher parts of' (lit. 'above').

²⁵ Most MSS om. 'and cattle'.

²⁶ Lit. 'every moving thing'.

VI. And on the new moon¹ of the third month he went out of the ark and built an altar on that mountain.² And he made atonement for the earth, and took a kid and made atonement by its blood for all the guilt of the earth; for everything on it had been destroyed, apart from what was in the ark with Noah. And he put its fat on the altar; and he took an ox, and a he-goat, and a sheep, and kids, and salt, and a turtle-dove, and young pigeons, and offered *them as a whole-offering* on the altar, and poured an offering mixed with oil on it, and sprinkled wine and scattered frankincense over everything, and made a soothing odour, *acceptable* before the Lord. And the Lord smelt the soothing odour; and he made a covenant with him that there should never again be a flood to destroy the earth, that while the earth lasts seed-time and harvest should never cease, *and that* cold and heat, summer and winter, and day and night, should not change their order or ever cease. And *he said to Noah*, Be fruitful and multiply on the earth, increase in number on it, and be a blessing in it. I will inspire the fear and dread of you in everything on earth and in the sea. And behold, I give you for food all the wild animals and birds,³ and everything that moves on earth, and the fish in the waters⁴ – *that is*, all things: as *once I gave you* the green plants, *so now* I give you all things to eat. But you must not eat flesh with its life *still* in it – that is, its blood⁵ (for the life of every creature⁶ is in its blood), lest your own blood⁷ be required. From every man, from every animal,⁸ will I require the blood of man. Whoever sheds man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed; for in the image of God he made man. And do you be fruitful and multiply on the earth. And Noah and his sons swore they would not eat any blood in any flesh; and in this month he made a covenant before the Lord God for ever, for every generation of the earth.

11 It was for this reason that in this month he told you too to make a covenant with the sons of Israel on the mountain, with an oath,

¹ Alternative reading 'on the tenth day'.

² Alternative reading 'in that land'.

³ Lit. 'all winged things'. ⁴ Some MSS add 'and cattle'.

⁵ Lit. 'flesh with its life, with the blood'.

⁶ Lit. 'the life of all flesh'.

⁷ Lit. 'your blood in your lives'.

⁸ So Charles on the basis of Gen. ix. 5. The MSS read 'everyone'.

and to sprinkle blood on them to ratify the terms of the covenant,⁹ which the Lord made¹⁰ with them for ever. And this provision is written *there* for you to observe continually, *namely*, that you should never eat any blood of wild animals or birds or cattle as long as the earth lasts;¹¹ and anyone who does eat the blood of wild animals or cattle or birds at any time,¹¹ he and his offspring¹² shall be uprooted from the land. Command the sons of Israel never to eat any blood at all, so that their names and their descendants¹² may be before the Lord our God continually. And for this law there is no time-limit: it is for ever. They shall observe it in every generation, so that regularly every day they may make atonement on their¹³ behalf with blood before the altar: in the morning and in the evening they shall seek forgiveness on their¹⁴ behalf perpetually before the Lord, that they may keep it and not be rooted up.

15 And he gave Noah and his sons a sign that there should never again be a flood on the earth. He set his bow in the cloud as a sign of the eternal covenant that there should never again be a flood on the earth to destroy it. That is why it is ordained and written on the heavenly tablets that they should celebrate the feast of weeks in this month once a year – so as to renew the covenant each year. 18 And this whole festival was always celebrated in heaven from the day of creation till Noah's days (for twenty-six jubilees and five weeks of years); and Noah and his sons observed it for seven jubilees and a week of years, till the day of Noah's death, but after Noah's death his sons became corrupt and ate blood, till the days of Abraham. Yet Abraham observed it, and Isaac and Jacob and his children observed it, till your days; but in your days the sons of Israel forgot *it*, till I restored *it to them*¹⁵ at this mountain. Command the sons of Israel, then, to observe this festival in every generation as a commandment *binding* on them: on one day¹⁶ in the

⁹ Lit. '... on them because of all the words of the covenant'.

¹⁰ Alternative reading 'I will make'.

¹¹ Lit. 'during all the days of the earth'.

¹² Lit. 'seed'.

¹³ Alternative reading 'your'.

¹⁴ Alternative readings 'your' and 'its'.

¹⁵ Alternative reading 'till you restored it'.

¹⁶ So the text, literally translated. The meaning, however, is probably 'on the first day (of the week), in this month, every year' – i.e. always on a Sunday (as we would say in English).

21 year, in this month, shall they celebrate the festival. It is the feast of weeks and the feast of first-fruits, a twofold and double festival: 22 celebrate it, then, as you have been instructed.¹⁷ For I have written in the book of the first law, which I have written for you, that you should celebrate it at its proper time, on one day¹⁶ in the year, and I have explained to you *the details* of its sacrifices, so that the sons of Israel may remember *it* and celebrate it in every generation, in this month, on one day¹⁶ in every year.

23 And on the new moon of the first month, and on the new moon of the fourth month, and on the new moon of the seventh month, and on the new moon of the tenth month are the days of remembrance, festive days also, marking¹⁸ the four divisions of the year: these are 24 written and ordained as a testimony for ever. And Noah observed them himself and ordained them as feasts for future generations,¹⁹ 25 so that they have become a memorial to him. On the new moon of the first month he was told to make himself an ark, and on that *day too* the earth was dry and he opened *the window of the ark* and saw the 26 earth: on the new moon of the fourth month the mouths of the depths of the abyss below were closed: on the new moon of the seventh month the mouth of the depths of the earth was opened, 27 and the waters began to descend into it; and on the new moon of the tenth month the tops of the mountains were seen, and Noah 28 rejoiced. So it was that he observed them and ordained them as feasts²⁰ as a memorial for ever; and so they are ordained.

29 And they are on record²¹ on the heavenly tablets: there is an interval of thirteen weeks between each feast and the next,²² from the first to the second, from the second to the third, and from the 30 third to the fourth. This makes in all fifty-two weeks,²³ and together they make up a complete year: thus is it engraved and 31 ordained on the heavenly tablets. And no year ever exceeds it. 32 Command, then, the sons of Israel to observe the years according to this reckoning – three hundred and sixty-four days; and these

¹⁷ Lit. 'according to what is written and engraved concerning it'.

¹⁸ Lit. 'in'.

¹⁹ Lit. 'And Noah ordained them for himself as feasts for the generations for ever'.

²⁰ Lit. 'he ordained them for himself as feasts'.

²¹ Lit. 'And they placed them'.

²² Lit. 'each has thirteen weeks, from one to another is their memorial'.

²³ Lit. 'And all the days of the commandment are fifty-two weeks of days'.

shall make up a complete year. And they shall not change the times of its days or its feasts (for everything must follow in its appointed place); and they shall not leave out any day or pass over any feast. 33 But if they neglect the proper order and fail to observe them as he commanded them, then all their seasons will get out of order and 34 the sequence of the year will be disturbed.²⁴ Yet all the sons of Israel will forget and be ignorant of the progression of the years:²⁵ they will forget new moon and festival and sabbath, and so go 35 wrong about the order of the years. For I know, and I tell you now, and it is not something I have imagined; for the book lies written before me, and on the heavenly tablets the division of the days is ordained, so that they should not forget the feasts of the covenant and keep²⁶ the feasts of the Gentiles, and show themselves equally 36 misguided and ignorant. There will be those who make careful observations of the moon (*despite the fact that* it upsets the seasons 37 and comes in from year to year ten days too soon). Thus the years will come to them all wrong: they will make the day of testimony *a day* of no consequence²⁷ and an ordinary²⁸ day a feast day; and they will mix up all the days, the holy with the ordinary,²⁸ and the ordinary²⁸ with the holy, and go wrong about the months and 38 sabbaths and feasts and jubilees. This is why I am giving you this command and solemn warning, so that you may pass it on to them; for after your death your sons will upset *everything* through not making *the length of* the year three hundred and sixty-four days only, and so they will go wrong about the new moons and seasons and sabbaths and festivals; and they will eat all kinds of flesh with the blood still in it.²⁹

²⁴ The above is a free (perhaps over-free) rendering of a very difficult passage, made even more difficult by the inclusion of an obvious dittograph. Charles's original for verses 32b and 33 ran, 'And they will not disturb its time from its days and from its feasts; for everything will fall out in them according to their testimony, and they will not leave out any day nor disturb any feasts. But if they do neglect and do not observe them according to his commandment, then they will disturb all their seasons, and the years will be dislodged from this *order*, [and they will disturb the seasons and the years will be dislodged] and they will neglect their ordinances'.

²⁵ Lit. 'and will not find the path of the years'.

²⁶ Lit. 'walk according to'.

²⁷ Lit. 'a day despised'.

²⁸ Lit. 'unclean'.

²⁹ Lit. 'all kinds of blood with all kinds of flesh'.

VII. And in the seventh week of this jubilee, in the first year of it, Noah planted a vine¹ on the mountain called Lubar, on which the ark had run aground (one of the Ararat mountains); and it produced fruit in the fourth year, and he looked after its fruit and gathered it in this year, in the seventh month. And he made wine from it and put it in a vessel and kept it till the fifth year, till the first day of the new moon of the first month. And he celebrated this feast-day with rejoicing; and he offered a whole-offering to the Lord – one young ox, one ram, seven sheep (each a year old), and a he-goat, to make atonement with it for himself and for his sons. And he prepared the kid first and put some of its blood on the flesh that was on the altar he had made, and all the fat he laid on the altar where he offered the whole-offering; and *so he did also with* the ox and the ram and the sheep, and he laid all their flesh on the altar. And he put all the offerings,² mixed with oil, on it. And afterwards he sprinkled wine on the fire he had previously made on the altar, and put incense on the altar,³ and made a soothing odour acceptable before the Lord his God. And he rejoiced and drank of this wine, he and his children with joy.

And it was evening, and he went into his tent and lay down in a drunken stupor and went to sleep; and he lay in his tent naked, as he slept. And Ham saw his father Noah naked, and went outside and told his two brothers. And Shem took his cloak and got up, he and Japheth, and they put the cloak on their shoulders and went backwards and⁴ covered their father's shame. And Noah woke up from his sleep and learnt what his younger son had done to him; and he cursed his son and said,

Cursed be Canaan:

A servant enslaved to his brothers shall he be.

11 And he blessed Shem and said,

Blessed be the Lord God of Shem,

¹ Or, possibly, 'the vine' (which Adam had brought with him from Paradise: cp. Midrash *Bereshith Rabbah*, xxxvi. 3).

² Lit. 'their offerings'.

³ Alternative reading '... on the fire he made on the altar, and he had previously put incense on the altar'.

⁴ Text 'and with their faces turned backwards they'.

And Canaan shall be his servant:

12 God shall enlarge⁵ Japheth;
And God shall dwell in the dwelling of Shem,
And Canaan shall be his⁶ servant.

13 And Ham learnt that his father had cursed his younger son, and he was displeased because he had cursed his son; and he parted from his father, he and his sons with him – Cush and Mizraim and Put⁷ and Canaan. And he built himself a city and called it after his wife, Neelatamauk. And Japheth saw it, and envied his brother, and he too built himself a city and called it after his wife, Adatanes. And Shem lived with his father Noah; and he built a city under his father's authority by the mountain, and he too called it after his wife, Sedeqatelebab. And behold, these three cities are near mount Lubar. Sedeqatelebab facing the mountain on its east, Naeltamauk on the south, and Adatanes towards the west.

18 And these are the sons of Shem – Elam and Asshur and Arpachshad (born two years after the flood) and Aram and Lud: the sons of Japheth – Gomer and Magog and Madai and Javan,⁸ Tubal⁹ and Meshech and Tiras. These are the sons of Noah.

20 And in the twenty-eight jubilee Noah began to instruct his grandsons in the precepts and commandments, and in all the statutes that he knew; and he exhorted his sons to do what is right, to cover the shame of their flesh, to bless their creator, to honour father and mother, to love each his neighbour, and to keep themselves from fornication and uncleanness and all iniquity. For it was because of these three things, *Noah told them*, that the flood came on the earth – because of the fornication of the Watchers, who, contrary to the law of their nature, lusted after the daughters of men and took for themselves such wives as they chose: that was¹⁰ the beginning of uncleanness. And they begot sons, the Naphidim, and they were all unlike one another,¹¹ and they devoured one

⁵ Alternative reading 'God shall enlarge the land for'.

⁶ Alternative reading 'their'. ⁷ Eth. 'Mestrem and Fud'.

⁸ Eth. 'Iyuaya' or (alternatively) 'Iyoiya'. ⁹ Eth. 'Tobel'.

¹⁰ Lit. 'and they made'.

¹¹ Or, by a slight emendation, 'they all quarrelled with one another'. However, the text is probably right and refers to the three different kinds of giants mentioned in the latter part of the verse, and even more explicitly in Syncellus's Gk. version of I Enoch vii. 1–2.

another: the giant killed the Naphil, the Naphil killed the Eljo,¹² and the Eljo¹² human kind, and one man another man. And everyone sold himself to do what is wrong and to shed much blood; and the earth was filled with iniquity. And after this they sinned against the wild animals and birds and everything that moves and walks on the earth; and much blood was shed on the earth, and all men's inclinations and desires were towards what is worthless and evil continually. And the Lord destroyed everything from the earth, because of the wickedness of their deeds; and because of the blood they had shed in the earth he destroyed everything. And we were left, I and you, my sons, and everything that went in with us into the ark.

And behold, I can see what you are doing before my eyes,¹³ that you are not following the way of righteousness, for you have begun to tread the path to destruction: you are separating from one another and are envious of one another, and *so it comes about*, my sons, that you are not in harmony, each of you with his brother. I can see the demons have begun *their* seductions against you and against your children; and I am afraid for you, that after my death you will shed men's blood on the earth, and that you too will be destroyed from the earth. For whoever sheds man's blood, and whoever eats the blood of any living creature,¹⁴ shall be destroyed altogether from the earth. And no man that eats blood shall be left on the earth, or that sheds the blood of man,¹⁵ nor shall there be left to him any offspring or descendants¹⁶ under heaven; for to Sheol shall they go, and into the place of punishment shall they go down, and to the darkness of the deep shall they all be removed by a violent death. There shall be no blood seen on you of any of the blood shed when you kill any animals or cattle or birds on the earth; and do *then* what is right¹⁷ and cover what has been shed on the earth. And you shall not be like the man that eats *meat* with the blood *still in it*, and take care that no one eats blood in your

¹² Alternative reading 'Iliyo'. In Syncellus 'Elioud'.

¹³ Lit 'your works before me': alternative reading 'the beginning of your works'.

¹⁴ Lit. 'any flesh'.

¹⁵ Alternative reading 'the blood of any man'.

¹⁶ Lit. 'any seed or descendants': alternative reading 'any seed of his descendants.'

¹⁷ Lit. 'and do a good work to your souls'.

company: cover the blood, for so I have been commanded to instruct you and your children and all mankind.¹⁸ Never allow the life¹⁹ to be eaten with the flesh, so that your blood (which is your life¹⁹) may not be asked for from any creature¹⁸ that sheds it on the earth. For the earth will not be clean from the blood that has been shed on it: *only* through the blood of him that shed it will the earth be purified through all its generations.

And now, my children, listen: act justly²⁰ and do what is right, so that you **may be planted** in righteousness over the whole earth and your glory exalted before my God, who saved me²¹ from the waters of the flood. And behold, you will go and build yourselves cities, and you will plant in them all the plants that there are upon the earth, and also all trees that bear fruit. For three years the fruit of everything that can be eaten must not be gathered; and in the fourth year its fruit shall be reckoned holy,²² and they shall offer the first-fruits, acceptable before the Most High God, who created heaven and earth and all things.²³ Let them offer it sprinkled with the first of the wine and the oil *as* first-fruits on the altar of the Lord, who receives it; and what is left let the servants of the Lord's house eat before the altar which receives *it*. And in the fifth year²⁴ let *the land* lie fallow, so that you let it lie fallow in righteousness and honestly; and you will be righteous, and all your orchards will be ritually pure. For so your great-great-grandfather,²⁵ Enoch, commanded his son Methuselah, and Methuselah his son Lamech, and Lamech commanded *me to observe* everything his fathers had commanded him. And I also give you commandment, my sons, as Enoch commanded his son in the first jubilees: while still living, the seventh in his generation, he commanded and instructed his son and his grandsons till the day of his death.

VIII. In the twenty-ninth jubilee, in the first week, in the beginning of it, Arpachshad took a wife, and her name was Rasuejah, the

¹⁸ Lit. 'flesh'.

¹⁹ Lit. 'soul'.

²⁰ Alternative reading 'honestly'.

²¹ Alternative reading 'us'.

²² Alternative reading 'its fruit may be gathered'.

²³ Some MSS om. 'and all things'.

²⁴ Charles supposed that there was a lacuna here, since what follows would seem to be appropriate to the seventh year.

²⁵ Lit. 'the father of your father'.

daughter of Susan, Elam's daughter; and she bore him a son in the third year in this week, and he called him Kainam. And the boy grew up, and his father taught him writing;¹ and he went to look for a place where he could found a city. And he came upon a writing which some men of old time had carved on a rock, and he read what was on it and transcribed it;² and he sinned because of it, for it contained the teaching of the Watchers, in accordance with which they used to observe the omens of³ the sun and moon and stars in all the signs of heaven. And he wrote it down and said nothing about it; for he was afraid to tell Noah about it in case he might be angry with him because of it.

And in the thirtieth jubilee, in the second week, in the first year of it, he took a wife, and her name was Melka, the daughter of Madai,⁴ Japheth's son; and in the fourth year she bore him a son, and he called him Shelah, for he said, Truly I have been sent. And Shelah grew up and took a wife, and her name was Muak, the daughter of Kesed, his father's brother: *this was* in the thirty-first jubilee, in the fifth week, in the first year of it. And she bore him a son in the fifth year of it, and he called him Eber; and he took a wife, and her name was Azurad, the daughter of Nimrod⁵ – in the thirty-second jubilee, in the seventh week, in the third year of it. And in the sixth year of it, she bore him a son, and he called him Peleg,⁶ for in the days when he was born Noah's sons began to divide the earth among themselves (that is why he called him Peleg). And they divided *it* secretly⁷ among themselves, and they told Noah.

And it was at the beginning of the thirty-third jubilee that they divided the earth into three parts, *one part* for Shem and *one* for Ham and *one* for Japheth, a share for each,⁸ in the first year, in the first week, while one of us, who had been sent to them, was with them. And he called his sons and they came to him, they and their

¹ Or '(the) book(s)'.

² Or 'translated it': or, by a slight emendation, 'it led him astray' (so Charles).

³ Alternative readings 'the chariot of' or 'the wheel of' (with reference to the Zodiac?).

⁴ So Syr. and a Gk. scholion: Eth. 'Abadai'. Cp. vii. 19, ix. 9, x. 35–36.

⁵ Eth. 'Nebroth'.

⁶ Eth. 'Falek'.

⁷ Or 'in wickedness'.

⁸ Lit. 'according to the inheritance of each'.

children; and he⁹ divided the earth by drawing lots *to decide* what *each* of his three sons should have, and they stretched out their hands and took their lot¹⁰ out of their father Noah's lap.

And Shem drew as his lot¹¹ the middle of the earth, to take *it* as his patrimony and his sons' patrimony for ever – from the middle of the mountain range of Rafa, from the mouth of the river Tina;¹² and his share goes westwards through the middle of this river and extends as far as the water of the abysses, out of which this river rises and pours its waters into the sea of Miot,¹³ and this river flows into the great sea (and all that is on the north is Japheth's and all that is on the south belongs to Shem). And it extends as far as Karaso¹⁴ – this is in the heart¹⁵ of the tongue that faces south. And his share extends along the great sea in a straight line till it reaches the west of the tongue that faces south; for this sea is called the tongue of the Egyptian sea. And it turns from here southwards, towards the mouth of the great sea, on the shores of *its* waters; and it extends to the west to¹⁶ Afra¹⁷ as far as the waters of the river Gihon, and to the south of the waters of Gihon, to the banks of this river. And it extends eastwards as far as the garden of Eden, to the south of it, [to the south] and from the east of the whole land of Eden and of the whole east, and it turns to the east and goes on till it reaches the east of the mountain called Rafa, and it goes down to the bank of the mouth of the river Tina.¹⁸ This share fell by lot to Shem and to his sons as an eternal possession for his descendants for ever.

And Noah rejoiced that this share had fallen to Shem and to his sons, and he remembered everything he had uttered with his mouth in his prophecy; for he had said,

⁹ Alternative reading 'they'.

¹⁰ Lit. 'took the writing'.

¹¹ Lit. 'And there came out on the writing as Shem's lot'.

¹² Lit. 'from the mouth of the water from the river Tina'.

¹³ Alternative reading 'Meat'.

¹⁴ Alternative reading 'Karan'.

¹⁵ Lit. 'bosom'.

¹⁶ Alternative reading 'of'.

¹⁷ Alternative readings 'Afara', 'Arafa', 'Wafara'.

¹⁸ There is obviously some geographical confusion in this verse. Charles proposed to read 'north' for 'south' (and also 'west' for 'east' in the clause 'and it turns to the east'). In later Ethiopic tradition, and in some of the following chapters of Jubilees, the words for 'north' and 'south' were often given contrary meanings.

Blessed be the Lord God of Shem,
And may the Lord dwell in the dwelling of Shem.

- 19 And he knew that the garden of Eden is the holy of holies and the Lord's dwelling place, and mount Sinai the centre of the desert, and mount Zion the centre of the navel of the earth: these three
20 were created as holy places facing one another. And he blessed the God of gods, who had put the Lord's word into his mouth, even the
21 Lord for evermore. And he knew that Shem and his sons were blessed¹⁹ for ever – the whole land of Eden, and the whole land of the Red Sea, and the whole land of the east, and India, and Bairetra²⁰ and its mountains, and all the land of Bashan,²¹ and all the land of Lebanon and the islands of Captor, and all the mountains of Senir and Amana, and the mountains of Asshur in the north, and all the land of Elam, Asshur, and Babel, and Susa, and Media, and all the mountains of Ararat, and all the region beyond the sea, which is beyond the mountains of Asshur northwards, a blessed and spacious land, and all that is in it is very good.
- 22 And Ham drew the second share – *what lies* beyond the Gihon southwards, to the right of the garden; and it extends southwards as far as all the fiery mountains; and it extends westwards to the sea of Atel, and further still²² till it reaches the sea of Mauk (*that is the sea* into which everything that does not²³ perish descends). And it goes northwards to the boundaries of Gadir and out to the coast of the waters of the sea, to the waters of the great sea, till it reaches the river Gihon, and the river Gihon goes along till it reaches the right
24 of the garden of Eden. And this is the land that fell to Ham in the division, which he was to occupy for ever, he and his sons, generation after generation for ever.
- 25 And Japheth drew the third share – *what lies* beyond the river Tina, to the north of its waters' outflow; and it extends on the north-east to the whole region of Gog and to all the country east of

¹⁹ Lit. 'that a share of blessing and a blessed one had come to Shem and to his sons'.

²⁰ Perhaps (through the Gk. *'Egυθρα'*) a mistranslation of Edom.

²¹ Eth. 'Basa': alternative readings 'Bala' and 'Basor'.

²² Lit. 'and it extends westwards'.

²³ One MS omits 'not'. According to Charles the sense required is 'if anything descends into it, it perishes' – this sea being Oceanus in the extreme west.

- 26 it. And it extends northwards as far as the mountains of Qelt²⁴ and to the sea of Mauk; and it goes to the east of Gadir as far as the
27 region of the waters of the sea. And it goes on until it reaches the west of Fara²⁵ and returns towards Aferag;²⁶ and it extends east-
28 wards to the waters of the sea of Meat. And in a north-easterly direction it extends to the region of the river Tina till it reaches the boundary of its waters towards the mountain Rafa; and *then* it turns
29 round towards the north. This is the land that fell to Japheth and his sons as the share for them to hold as their patrimony, generation after generation for ever – five large islands, and a large *tract of*
30 land in the north. But it is cold. Ham's land is hot. And Shem's is neither hot nor cold, but a blend of cold and heat.

IX. And Ham divided *his land* among his sons; and the first share fell to Cush – *that is* the eastern part, and to the west of him was Mizraim, and to the west of him Put, and to the west of him Canaan, and to the west of him the sea.¹

- 2 And Shem also divided *his land* among his sons; and the first share fell to Elam and his sons – *what lies* east of the river Tigris till it reaches the east, the whole land of India, and the Red Sea coast², and the waters of Dedan, and all the mountains of Mebri and Ela³, and all the land of Susa, and all that is on the side of Pharnak⁴ to
3 the Red Sea and the river Tina. And the second share fell to Asshur – all the land of Asshur and Nineveh and Shinar as far as the
4 border of India, and it goes up to the river Wadafa. And the third share fell to Arpachshad – all the land of the region of the Chaldees to the east of the Euphrates, that borders on the Red Sea, and all

²⁴ Text 'And it extends northwards to the north, and it extends to the mountains of Qelt towards the north'.

²⁵ Alternative readings 'Fera' and 'Fereg'.

²⁶ Alternative reading 'Afreg'.

¹ The translation of this verse is uncertain. Charles rendered '... Put, and to the west of him [and to the west thereof] on the sea for Canaan', and understood the sense to be that Canaan's allotted share extended from Libya (= Put) to the Atlantic (cp. x. 28 ff.).

² Lit. 'and on the Red Sea on its coast'.

³ Alternative reading 'Mazbara and Elam'.

⁴ Alternative readings 'Phernak' and 'Pherernak'.

the waters of the desert close to the tongue of the sea that looks towards Egypt, all the land of Lebanon and Senir and Amana to the border of the Euphrates. And the fourth share fell to Aram – all the land of Mesopotamia between the Tigris and the Euphrates to the north of the Chaldees, to where it reaches the mountains of Asshur and the land of Ararat. And the fifth share fell to Lud – the mountains of Asshur and all that belongs to them till it reaches the great sea, and till it reaches the east of Asshur his brother.

And Japheth also divided the land of his patrimony among his sons. And the first share fell to Gomer – *what lies* to the east, from the north side to the river Tina. And in the north there fell to Magog all the inner parts of the north, till it reaches the sea of Meat. And to Madai fell as his share to occupy *what lies* west⁵ of his two brothers to the islands and the coasts of the islands. And the fourth share fell to Javan – all the islands⁶ towards the border of Lud. And the fifth share fell to Tubal – *what lies* in the middle of the tongue that runs towards the border of Lud's share, as far as the second tongue, as far as the region beyond the second tongue, as far as the third tongue. And the sixth share fell to Meshech – all the region beyond the third tongue till it reaches the east of Gadir. And the seventh share fell to Tiras – four great islands in the middle of the sea, which stretch as far as Ham's share. (And the islands of Kamaturi fell by lot to the sons of Arpachshad as *part of* his patrimony⁷.)

And so Noah's sons divided *their lands* among their sons in the presence of their father Noah; and he bound them all by an oath, putting a curse on anyone that tried to seize what⁸ had not fallen to *him* by lot. And they all said, So be it, So be it, for themselves and their sons for ever, in every generation till the day of judgement, when the Lord God will judge them with sword and fire for all their uncleanness and the wickedness of their misdeeds,⁹ with which they have filled the earth – with transgression and uncleanness and fornication and sin.

⁵ Lit. 'from the west'.

⁶ Lit. 'every island and the islands'.

⁷ Charles square-bracketed this sentence as an interpolation, on the grounds that the text is here dealing with the sons of Japheth, whereas Arpachshad was a son of Shem and has already been mentioned in verse 4 above.

⁸ Lit. 'the share which'.

⁹ Lit. 'for all the unclean wickedness of their errors'.

X. And in the third week of this jubilee the unclean demons began to lead the children of Noah's sons astray and to mislead them and destroy them. And Noah's sons came to their father Noah and told him about the demons that were misleading and blinding and killing his grandsons. And he prayed before the Lord his God, and said,

God of the spirits of all mankind, who hast shown mercy to me,
And hast saved me and my sons from the waters of the flood,
And didst not leave me to perish¹ as thou didst those doomed to perdition;²
For thy grace has been great towards me,
And great has been thy mercy to my soul.
Let thy grace be exalted upon my sons,
And let not wicked spirits rule over them
And destroy them from the earth.

But do thou bless me and my sons, that we may be fruitful and increase and fill the earth. And thou knowest what thy Watchers, the fathers of these spirits, did in my day; and as for these spirits which are now alive, imprison them and hold them securely in the place of punishment, and let them not bring destruction on thy servant's sons, my God, for these are malevolent and created in order to destroy. And let them have no dominion over the spirits of the living, for thou alone knowest how to deal with them;³ and let them have no power over the sons of the righteous, either now or ever.

And the Lord our God ordered us to bind *them* all. And Mastema, the chief of the spirits, came and said, O Lord, creator, let some of them remain before me, and let them listen to what I say and do everything I tell them; for if some are not left me, I shall not be able to exercise over men the authority I want; for these are *destined* for corruption and to be led astray⁴ before my judgement, for great is

¹ Alternative reading 'And hast not forgotten me so that I perished'.

² Lit. 'the sons of perdition'.

³ Lit. 'their judgement (nature)'.

⁴ Lit. 'and leading astray'.

9 the wickedness⁵ of men. And he said, let a tenth of them remain
 10 before him, and let nine tenths go down into the place of punish-
 11 ment. And he commanded one of us to teach Noah all the remedies
 12 against them (for he knew they would not live upright lives, nor
 13 even try to do what is right). And we did as he told us: all the
 14 malevolent *and* evil ones we imprisoned in the place of punishment,
 15 and a tenth we left as agents of punishment under Satan⁶ on the
 16 earth. And we explained to Noah all the remedies against their
 17 diseases, together with their seductions,⁷ and how to heal them with
 18 herbs.⁸ And Noah wrote down everything in a book, as we instructed
 19 him about every kind of remedy: thus were the evil spirits kept
 20 from *doing harm* to Noah's sons. And he gave everything he had
 21 written to Shem, his eldest son; for he loved him most of all his
 22 sons.

15 And Noah slept with his fathers and was buried on mount Lubar
 16 in the land of Ararat. He completed nine hundred and fifty years in
 17 all – nineteen jubilees, two weeks, and five years. And in his life on
 18 earth he surpassed *all* mortal men in achieving perfect righteous-
 19 ness, except Enoch; for Enoch had a special function to be a
 20 witness to the world's generations and report all the deeds of each
 21 generation till the day of judgement.

18 And in the thirty-third jubilee, in the first year, in the second
 19 week, Peleg took a wife, whose name was Lomna, the daughter of
 20 Shinar;⁹ and she bore him a son in the fourth year of this week, and
 21 he called him Reu,¹⁰ for he said, Behold the sons of men have
 22 become evil through their wicked purpose of building a city and a
 23 tower in the land of Shinar. (For they had left the land of Ararat
 24 and moved eastwards to Shinar; and in his days they built the city
 25 and the tower, saying, Come, let us go up into heaven by it.) And
 26 they began to build; and in the fourth week they baked *bricks* in the
 27 fire, and the bricks served them for stone; and the clay they bonded
 28 them with was asphalt, which comes out of the sea and out of the
 29 fountains of water in the land of Shinar. And they were forty-three

⁵ Alternative reading 'judgement'.

⁶ Lit. 'that they might punish before Satan'.

⁷ Alternative reading 'evil effects'.

⁸ Lit. 'the trees of the earth'.

⁹ Eth. 'Sinaar'.

¹⁰ Eth. 'Ragau'. The name in the original was, of course, a pun on the Hebrew for 'evil'.

years building it: they built it entirely of bricks (each *brick* was
 †thirteen cubits† wide, and the height of *each* a third of its width):
 its height *altogether* amounted to five thousand, four hundred, and
 22 thirty-three cubits, and two palms, and *the extent of one wall* was
 23 thirteen stades, *and of the other thirty stades*.¹¹ And the Lord our God
 24 said to us, Behold, they are one people: they have begun to do this,
 25 and now they will not stop. Come, let us go down and confound
 26 their tongues, so that they cannot understand one another, and be
 27 dispersed into cities and nations, and thus have no common
 28 purpose¹² till the day of judgement. And the Lord went down, and
 29 we went down with him, to inspect the city and the tower that the
 30 sons of men had built. And he confounded all their tongues,¹³ and
 in consequence they no longer understood one another's speech
 and left off building the city and the tower. This is why the whole
 land of Shinar is called Babel, because the Lord confounded there
 all men's tongues; and from there they were dispersed to their
 various cities, each according to his language and his nation. And
 the Lord sent a violent wind against the tower and levelled it with
 the ground (its site is between Asshur and Babylon in the land of
 Shinar), and they called it, Collapse. *It was* in the fourth week of the
 first year, at the beginning of it, in the thirty-fourth jubilee, that
 they were dispersed from the land of Shinar.

28 And Ham and his sons went into the land set aside for him,
 which he had been allotted as his share in the land of the south.¹⁴
 29 And Canaan saw the land of Lebanon as far as the river of Egypt,
 that it was very good, and did not go to the land that had fallen to
 him in the west by the sea, but settled in the land of Lebanon
 30 between the Jordan region and the sea.¹⁵ And his father Ham, and
 Cush and Mizraim, his brothers, said to him, You have settled in a
 land that is not yours and that did not fall to us by lot. Do not do it.

¹¹ The details of the text of this passage are very problematical; and in the translation the final clause (about the walls) has been filled out from the description in Nicephorus's *Catena* (i. 175), which seems to be directly dependent on Jubilees. Several Christian writers give similar, though not identical, particulars about the construction and size of the building.

¹² Lit. 'and thus one purpose will no longer remain with them'.

¹³ Lit. 'all speech of their tongues'.

¹⁴ Or 'north': see note on viii. 16.

¹⁵ Charles rendered '... Lebanon, eastward and westward from the border of Jordan and from the border of the sea'.

If you do, you and your sons will be reduced to ruin in the land and bring a curse upon yourselves because of *your* rebellious act; for as a rebel you have settled, and by rebellion will your children be reduced to ruin and you will be rooted up for ever. Do not encroach on Shem's patrimony,¹⁶ for to Shem and his sons it fell by lot. Cursed you are, and cursed you will be more than all the sons of Noah, as a result of the curse by which we bound ourselves with an oath in the presence of the holy prince and in the presence of our father Noah. But he took no notice of them and settled in the land of Lebanon, from Hamath to the entrance of Egypt, he and his sons till this day. And this is why that land is called Canaan.

And Japheth and his sons went towards the sea and settled in the land allotted to them;¹⁷ and Madai looked at the land of the sea and was not pleased with it, and he begged a share from Elam and Asshur and Arpachshad, his wife's brother, and settled in the land of Media, near his wife's brother, till this day. And they called the place where he and his sons settled, Media, after the name of their father Madai.

XI. And in the thirty-fifth jubilee, in the third week, in the first year of it, Reu took a wife, and her name was Ora, the daughter of Ur, the son of Chesed; and she bore him a son, and he called him Serug, in the seventh year of this week in this jubilee.

And Noah's sons began to make war on each other, to take one another captive, and to kill each other, and to shed men's blood on the earth, and to eat blood, and to build strong cities and walls and towers; and certain individuals *began* to exalt themselves above the rest,¹ and to set themselves up as kings,² and to go to war – people against people, and nation against nation, and city against city. And all of *them began* to do evil, to get arms, and to teach their sons to fight; and they began to capture cities, and to sell men and women as slaves. And Ur, the son of Chesed, built the city of Era³

¹⁶ Lit. 'Dwell not in the dwelling of Shem'.

¹⁷ Lit. 'the land of their share'.

¹ Lit. 'the people'.

² Lit. 'to found the beginnings of kingship'.

³ Alternative reading 'Ara': possibly we should read 'Eraha' (taking the final *-ha* as part of the name and not as an accusative ending). The more normal form 'Ur' occurs in verses 7 and 8 and subsequently.

of the Chaldees, and called it after his own name and his father's name. And men made for themselves images of cast metal, and each man worshipped his own image that he had cast for himself;⁴ and they began to make carved images *too*, and unclean figures. And malevolent spirits egged *them* on and seduced them, so that they indulged in *every kind of* sin and uncleanness. And the prince Mastema exerted himself to do all this, and he sent out as agents the spirits that were under his control to do all kinds of wrong and sin, and all kinds of transgression, to corrupt and to destroy, and to shed blood on the earth. And so they called Serug's name Seruk,⁵ for everyone turned aside after all kinds of sin and transgression.

And he grew up and lived in Ur of the Chaldees, near his wife's mother's father, and he worshipped idols; and he took a wife in the thirty-sixth jubilee, in the fifth week, in the first year of it, and her name was Milcah, the daughter of Heber, his father's brother's daughter. And she bore him Nahor, in the first year of this week; and he grew up and lived in Ur of the Chaldees, and his father instructed him in the learning of the Chaldees, *how* to divine and foretell the future from the signs of heaven.

And in the thirty-seventh jubilee, in the sixth week, in the first year of it, he took a wife, and her name was Iscah, the daughter of Nestag of the Chaldees. And she bore him Terah in the seventh year of this week. And the prince Mastema sent ravens and *other* birds to eat up the seed that had been sown in the land, in order to destroy the land and rob men of *the fruit of* their labours: before they could plough the seed in, the ravens pecked *it* from the surface of the ground. And that is why he called him Terah, because the ravens and *other* birds had reduced them to destitution and had eaten up their seed.⁶ And the years became sterile, owing to the birds, and they ate up all the fruit on the trees: it was only with great effort that they could save any at all of the earth's fruits in those⁷ days.

And in this thirty-ninth jubilee, in the second week, in the first

⁴ Lit. 'and they worshipped each the idol he had made for himself as an image of cast metal'.

⁵ From the Heb. root *s-r-k*, 'twist, turn' (cp. Jer. ii. 23).

⁶ No satisfactory explanation of this reason for the name has so far been given.

⁷ Lit. 'their'.

year, Terah took a wife, the daughter of Abram, his father's sister's
 15 daughter. And in the seventh year of this week she bore him a son,
 and he called him Abram, after his mother's father (for he had died
 16 before his daughter had conceived a son). And the child began to
 understand the errors of the earth, how all went astray after carved
 17 images and uncleanness; and his father taught him writing. And
 when he was two weeks of years old, he separated himself from his
 father, so that he might not worship idols with him; and he began
 to pray to the creator of all things, that he might save him from the
 errors of mankind, and that it should not be his lot to go astray after
 the unclean and the degrading.

18 And the seed time came for sowing on the land, and they all went
 out together to protect their seed from the ravens; and Abram went
 19 out with them⁸ (and he was a lad of fourteen). And a cloud of
 ravens came to eat up the seed; and Abram ran to meet them before
 they settled on the ground, and he shouted to them before they
 settled on the ground to eat up the seed and said, Keep off:⁹ go back
 20 to where you came from. And they turned and went away. And he
 did this to the cloud of ravens seventy times that day; and not a
 21 single raven settled on any of the fields where Abram was. And all
 who were with him in the fields saw him shout out and all the
 ravens turn back; and his fame spread through all the land of the
 22 Chaldees. And all those that wished to sow that year came to him,
 and he went with them until the time for sowing was over; and they
 sowed their land, and that year they brought home grain in
 plenty,¹⁰ and they ate their fill.

23 And in the first year of the fifth week Abram gave instructions to
 the carpenters who made the agricultural implements, and they
 made a container above ground-level, facing the frame of the
 plough, to put the seed in, and the seed fell down from it onto the
 ploughshare and was hidden in the earth; and so they were no longer
 24 frightened of the ravens. And they made *containers* like this above
 ground-level on all the frames of the ploughs; and they sowed all
 the land and tilled it, exactly as Abram told them, and they were no
 longer frightened of the birds.

⁸ Lit. 'those that went'.

⁹ Lit. 'Do not come down'.

¹⁰ Lit. 'sufficient grain'.

XII. And it came to pass in the sixth week, in the seventh year of it,
 2 that Abram spoke to Terah his father, saying, Father! And he said,
 Behold, here I am, my son. And he said, What profit or advantage
 do we gain from those idols that you worship and prostrate yourself
 3 in front of? For there is no spirit in¹ them: dumb things they are
 4 that only lead us into error;² so do not worship them. Worship the
 God of heaven, who makes the rain and the dew come down on the
 earth, and does everything on the earth, and has created all things
 5 by his word, and all life is from him.³ Why do you worship things
 that have no spirit in¹ them, for they are the work of *men's* hands?
 You carry them on your shoulders, and you get no help from them.
 Rather do they bring no small shame on those who make them, and
 mislead the minds of those who worship them. So do not worship
 6 them. And his father said to him, I know *it* too, my son; but what
 7 shall I do about the people that I serve?⁴ If I tell them the truth,
 they will kill me; for they cling to them to worship them and honour
 8 them. Keep quiet, my son, in case they kill you. And he said the
 same to his two brothers, and they were angry with him, so he said
 no more.

9 And in the fortieth jubilee, in the second week, in the seventh
 year of it, Abram took a wife, and her name was Sarai,⁵ his father's
 10 daughter; and she became his wife. And Haran, his brother, took a
 wife in the third year of the third week; and she bore him a son in
 11 the seventh year of this week, and he called him Lot. And his *other*
 brother, Nahor, *also* took a wife.

12 And in the sixtieth⁶ year of Abram's life, that is, in the fourth
 week, in the fourth year of it, Abram got up at night and set fire to

¹ Lit. 'upon'.

² Lit. 'for they are dumbness and a misleading of the heart'.

³ Lit. 'from before his face'.

⁴ Charles rendered 'but what shall I do with a people who have made me to serve before them?', which implies that Terah was not just a private craftsman, but either a municipal employee or under some other external compulsion to make his idols; and this last interpretation is reinforced by the alternative reading '... who have commanded me to serve...'. The translation offered is sufficiently imprecise as to leave all possibilities open.

⁵ Eth. 'Sora' (as in the Eth. Old Testament).

⁶ Alternative readings 'second' and 'thirtieth'.

the idols' house and burnt everything that was in the house; and no
 13 one knew *about* it. And they got up in the night and tried to save
 14 their gods from the fire. And Haran rushed in to save them, but the
 flames overcame him, and he was burnt in the fire and died in Ur of
 the Chaldees before the eyes of his father Terah; and they buried
 15 him in Ur of the Chaldees. And Terah left Ur of the Chaldees, he
 and his sons, and set out for the land of Lebanon and the land of
 Canaan, and he settled in the land of Haran; and Abram lived in
 Haran with Terah, his father, two weeks of years.

16 And in the sixth week, in the fifth year of it, Abram sat up all
 through the night of the new moon of the seventh month to observe
 the stars from evening till morning, in order to discover how the
 rains would fall that year; and he was alone as he sat and observed.
 17 And a thought struck him, and he said, All the signs of the stars
 and the signs of the moon and sun are in the hand of the Lord.
 18 Why, then, should I enquire into them? If he so wills, he makes it
 rain evening and morning, and if he so wills, he withholds the rain;
 19 and all things are in his hand. And he prayed that night and said,
 My God, God Most High, thou alone for me art God: thou hast
 created all things, and all things that are are the work of thy hands;
 20 and thee and thy dominion have I chosen. Deliver me from the evil
 spirits who have dominion over the thoughts and minds of men,
 and let them not lead me astray from thee, my God; and establish
 me and my descendants for ever, that we go not astray either now
 21 or ever. And I ask thee, should I return to Ur of the Chaldees, *to*
those who beg me⁷ to return to them? Or should I rather remain
 here in this place? Help thy servant to choose⁸ whatever is the right
 path before thee, and let me not walk in the error of my heart, O my
 God.

22 And he finished speaking and praying, and behold, the word of
 the Lord was sent to him through me, saying, Leave your country
 and your kinsmen and your father's house, and go to a land that I
 will show you; and I will make you a great and numerous nation.
 23 And I will bless you and make your name great, and you shall be
 blessed in the earth, and in you shall all fathers⁹ of the earth be
 blessed; and I will bless those that bless you and curse those that

⁷ Lit. 'who seek my face'.

⁸ Lit. 'do'.

⁹ Alternative reading 'nations' (as in the Eth. Old Testament).

24 curse you. And I will be a God to you, and to your son, and to your
 grandson, and to all your descendants: do not be afraid: from now,
 and for all time, I am your God.

25 And the Lord God said to me, Open his mouth and his ears, so
 that he may hear and may speak with his mouth the language
 which shall be revealed (for it had never been spoken by men since
 26 the day of the collapse *of the tower of Babel*). And I opened his mouth
 and his ears and his lips, and I began to speak to him in Hebrew –
 27 the original language.¹⁰ And he took his fathers' books, which were
 written in Hebrew, and transcribed them and began from then on
 to study them, and I explained to him everything he could not
understand; and he¹¹ studied them during the six rainy months.

28 And it came to pass in the seventh year of the sixth week that he
 spoke to his father and told him that he wanted to leave Haran and
 29 go into the land of Canaan to inspect it and come back to him. And
 Terah his father said to him, Go in peace: may the eternal God
 make your path straight, and the Lord *be* with you and protect you
 from all evil, and grant you grace, mercy, and favour, with those
 who see you, and may no man have power over you to harm you: go
 30 in peace. And if it seems to you a pleasant land, and suitable to
 settle in, then come back and fetch me: take Lot with you *now*, your
 brother Haran's son, *and treat him* as if he were your own; and the
 31 Lord be with you. And leave your *other* brother Nahor *here* with me,
 till you come back in peace, and *then* we can all go with you
 together.

XIII. And Abram journeyed from Haran and took Sarai, his wife,
 and Lot, his brother Haran's son, to the land of Canaan; and he
 came to Asshur,¹ and wandered about till he came to Shechem,
 2 and settled *there* near a lofty oak.² And he looked, and behold, the
 land was very pleasant from the entrance of Hamath to the lofty
 3 oak.² And the Lord said to him, To you and your descendants will I
 4 give this land. And he built an altar there and offered on it a
 whole-offering to the Lord, who had appeared to him.

¹⁰ Or 'the natural language'. Alternative readings 'the language that was natural to him' or 'the language of his family'.

¹¹ Alternative reading 'we'.

¹ Alternative reading 'Sur' (= Tyre?).

² As in the LXX at Gen. xii. 6.

5 And he moved on from there to the hill-country (east of Bethel),
 6 with Bethel on the west and Ai on the east; and there he pitched his
 7 tent. And he looked, and behold, the land was spacious and very
 8 good, and everything grew there – vines and figs and pomegran-
 9 ates, oaks and ilexes, and terebinths and olive trees, and cedars
 10 and cypresses and frankincense trees,³ and all the trees of the
 11 countryside; and there was water in the hill-country. And he
 12 blessed the Lord, who had led him out of Ur of the Chaldees and
 13 brought him to this land.⁴ And it came to pass in the first year, in
 14 the seventh week, on the new moon of the first month, that he built
 15 an altar on the hill there⁵ and invoked the Lord, Thou art my God,
 16 the eternal God. And he offered a whole-offering to the Lord on the
 17 altar, so that he might be with him and not forsake him all the days
 18 of his life.

19 And he moved on from there and went southwards and came to
 20 Hebron (Hebron was built at that time); and he stayed there two
 21 years. And he went *on from there* into the land of the south, to
 22 Bealoth.

23 And there was a famine in the land; and Abram went into Egypt
 24 in the third year of the week and lived in Egypt five years before his
 25 wife was torn away from him. (Tanais in Egypt was built at that
 26 time – seven years after Hebron.) And it came to pass, when
 27 Pharaoh seized Sarai, Abram's wife, the Lord struck Pharaoh and
 28 his entire household with severe diseases because of Sarai, Abram's
 29 wife. And Abram was held in high esteem on account of his
 30 possessions in sheep, and cattle, and asses, and horses, and camels,
 31 and male and female slaves, and abundance of silver and gold; and
 32 Lot, his brother's son, was also wealthy. And Pharaoh gave back
 33 Sarai, Abram's wife, and sent him out of the land of Egypt; and he
 34 made his way to the place where he had pitched his tent in the
 35 beginning, to the place of the altar, with Ai on the east and Bethel
 36 on the west. And he blessed the Lord his God, who had brought
 37 him back in peace.

38 And it came to pass in the forty-first jubilee, in the third year of
 39 the first week, that he returned to this place and offered there a

³ Or, by a slight emendation, 'date-palms'.

⁴ Alternative reading 'hill' or 'mountain'.

⁵ Lit. 'on this hill (mountain)'.

40 whole-offering, and he invoked the Lord by name and said, Thou
 41 art the Most High God, my God for ever and ever. And in the
 42 fourth year of this week Lot parted from him; and Lot settled in
 43 Sodom (and the men of Sodom were great sinners). And it grieved
 44 him that his brother's son had parted from him; for he had no
 45 children. In that year, when Lot was taken captive, the Lord spoke
 46 to Abram (after Lot had parted from him) in the fourth year of this
 47 week, and said to him, Look up from the place you are living in,
 48 northwards and southwards, and westwards and eastwards. For
 49 all the land you can see I will give to you and your descendants for
 50 ever, and I will make your descendants as the sand of the sea:⁶ even
 51 though a man might count the dust of the earth,⁷ your descendants
 52 will not *be able to be*⁸ counted. Rise up, walk through the length and
 53 breadth of *the land*, and look at all of it; for to your descendants will
 54 I give it. And Abram went to Hebron and settled there.

55 And in this year came Chedorlaomer, king of Elam, and Amraphel,
 56 king of Shinar, and Arioch, king of Sellasar, and Tergal, king of
 57 nations, and killed the king of Gomorrah; and the king of Sodom
 58 fled, and many fell wounded in the *valley of Siddim*, by the Salt Sea.⁹
 59 And they captured Sodom and Adam and Zeboim; and they took
 60 Lot captive also, Abram's brother's son, and all his possessions,
 61 and *they*¹⁰ went as far as Dan. And a fugitive came and told Abram
 62 that his brother's son had been taken captive. And he armed his
 63 household servants . . . for Abram,¹¹ and for his descendants, the
 64 first tenth to the Lord; and the Lord ordained it as a rule for all time
 65 that they should give it to the priests who serve before him, that it
 66 should be theirs for ever. And to this law there is no time-limit; for
 67 he has ordained that in every generation they should give to the

⁶ Alternative reading 'of the earth'.

⁷ Alternative reading 'of the sea'.

⁸ Alternative reading 'will be' – i.e. without the negative (in which case the whole sentence should be translated 'if a man could count the dust of the earth, then your descendants could be counted').

⁹ Most MSS 'in the salt (or 'desert') country'.

¹⁰ The MSS read 'he'.

¹¹ The existing text, transmitted by nearly all MSS makes no sense at all. Charles supposed that although there is no direct evidence for it in the MSS, there is in fact a lacuna here and that the original text described Abram's pursuit of the four kings, his attack on them, his recovery of the spoil, and his meeting with Melchizedek – as in Gen. xiv. 14–20. The scribe of one MS, however, by a slight change in the word translated 'armed', managed to achieve at least some sense with 'And his household servants made atonement for Abram'.

Lord the tenth of everything,¹² of seed and wine and oil and cattle
 27 and sheep. And he has given *it* to his priests to eat and drink with
 28 joy before him. And the king of Sodom came and prostrated him-
 self before him and said, Our lord Abram, grant us the people you
 29 have rescued, but let the spoil be yours. And Abram said to him, I
 lift up my hands to the Most High God *on oath*, that I will take
 nothing that is yours, so that you cannot say, I have made Abram
 rich: I will take only what the young men have eaten, and the share
 of the men who went with me—Aunan, Eschol, and Mamre. These
 shall have their share.

XIV. And after these things, in the fourth year of this week, on the
 new moon of the third month, the word of the Lord came to Abram
 in a dream, saying, Do not be afraid, Abram: I am your defender,
 2 and your reward will indeed be great. And he said, Lord, Lord,
 what will you give me, for I have no children, and the son of
 Maseq, my slave-girl's son, Eliezer of Damascus, will be my heir:
 3 to me you have given no children. And he said to him, This *man*
 4 shall not be your heir, but your own son¹ shall be your heir. And he
 took him outside and said to him, Look up to heaven and count the
 5 stars of heaven, if you can count them. And he looked up to heaven
 and surveyed the stars; and he said to him, So shall your descen-
 6 dants be. And he believed in the Lord; and it was counted to him as
 righteousness.

7 And he said to him, I am the Lord that brought you out of Ur of
 the Chaldees, to give you the land of the Canaanites² as a posses-
 sion for ever, and to be³ your God and your descendants' *God* after
 8 you. And he said, Lord, Lord, how shall I know that I shall inherit
 9 *it*? And he said to him, Bring me⁴ a heifer three years old, and a
 goat three years old, and a sheep three years old, and a turtle-dove,
 10 and a pigeon. And he took all these in the middle of the month,
 11 while he was living by the oak of Mamre, near Hebron. And he
 built an altar there and sacrificed all of them; and he poured their

¹² Some MSS om. 'of everything'.

¹ Lit. 'one that shall come out of your own bowels'.

² Alternative reading 'land of Canaan'.

³ Alternative reading 'and I will be'.

⁴ Alternative reading 'Take'.

blood on the altar and cut *each* of them in two, and laid the pieces⁵
 12 out opposite each other; but the birds he did not cut in two. And
 birds *of prey* came down on the pieces;⁶ and Abram drove them
 away, and would not allow the birds to touch them.

13 And it came to pass, as the sun went down, a trance came over
 Abram; and lo, a horror *of the* darkness came upon him, and a voice
 said⁷ to Abram, Know for certain that your descendants will be
 aliens in a foreign land, and they will be reduced to slavery there
 14 and oppressed for four hundred years. But I will punish⁸ the nation
 that enslaves them, and afterwards they will come out with great
 15 possessions. You shall go to your fathers in peace and be buried in
 16 a good old age. And in the fourth generation they shall return here;
 for the Amorites will not be ripe for punishment till then.

17 And he woke up from his sleep and got up: the sun had set; and
 there was a flame, and behold, a smoking brazier, and a flame of
 18 fire passed between the pieces. And on that day the Lord made a
 covenant with Abram, saying, To your descendants will I give this
 land, from the river of Egypt, to the great river, *the river* Euphrates—
 the Kenites, the Kenizzites, the Kadmonites, the Perizzites, and
 the Rephaim, the Phakorites,⁹ and the Hivites, and the Amorites,
 19 and the Canaanites, and the Girgashites, and the Jebusites. And
 that day passed,¹⁰ and Abram offered the pieces and the birds and
 their cereal-offerings and their drink-offerings, and the fire con-
 20 sumed them. And on that day we made a covenant with Abram,
 just as we had covenanted with Noah in this month; and Abram
 renewed the festival and rule for himself for ever.

21 And Abram rejoiced and told his wife Sarai everything; and he
 believed he was to be a father,¹¹ although *as yet* she had borne *him*

⁵ Lit. 'laid them'.

⁶ The Eth. here, and in verses 17 and 19, literally means 'the things spread out'. Charles conjectured corruption in the underlying Gk. and suggested two possibilities, either 'pieces' (as in the translation above) or 'carcases'. In this connection it is worth noting that the Heb. text of Genesis has 'carcases' at xv. 11. (parallel to our verse 12) and 'cut pieces' at xv. 17 (parallel to our verse 17): to our verse 19 it has no parallel.

⁷ Lit. 'and it was said'.

⁸ Lit. 'judge'.

⁹ Alternative readings 'Phakerites' and 'Phekarites'. They replace here the Hittites, included at Gen. xv. 20.

¹⁰ Most MSS 'And he passed'.

¹¹ Lit. 'that he would have seed'.

22 no *children*. And Sarai counselled her husband Abram and said to
 23 him, Take Hagar, my Egyptian maid: perhaps I can found a family
 for you through her. And Abram listened to what Sarai his wife
 told him, and he said, *Do as you think best*; and Sarai took Hagar, her
 Egyptian maid, and gave her to her husband Abram as his wife.
 24 And he lay with her, and she conceived and bore a son; and he
 called him Ishmael, in the fifth year of this week. And Abram was
 in his eighty-sixth year at the time.

XV. And in the fifth year of the †fourth†¹ week of this jubilee, in
 the third month, in the middle of the month, Abram celebrated the
 2 feast of the first-fruits of the grain² harvest. And he offered to the
 Lord on the altar new offerings, the first-fruits of the produce – a
 heifer and a he-goat and a sheep as a whole-offering to the Lord on
 the altar: their cereal-offerings and their drink-offerings he also
 3 offered on the altar with frankincense. And the Lord appeared to
 Abram and said to him, I am God Almighty: prove yourself before
 4 me and be perfect. And I will make my covenant between myself
 and you, and I will multiply you greatly. And Abram fell on his
 5 face; and God talked with him and said, Behold, I have decreed a
 6 future for you,³ and you shall be⁴ the father of many nations. Your
 name therefore shall not be Abram, but from now on, till eternity,
 your name shall be Abraham; for the father of many nations have I
 8 appointed you. And I will make you very great, and I will make
 9 nations of you, and kings shall spring from you. And I will establish
 my covenant between myself and you, and your descendants after
 you, generation after generation, an eternal covenant, that I may
 be a God to you, and to your descendants after you, generation
 10 after generation. (And I will give you and your descendants after
 you)⁵ the land where you have been an alien, the land of Canaan,
 as a possession for ever; and I will be their God.

1 And the Lord said to Abraham, You for your part must keep my
 covenant, you and your descendants after you: circumcise every

¹ So most MSS: one has 'seventh'. Probably 'third' should be read both here and
 at xvi. 15.

² Or 'wheat'. ³ Lit. 'Behold my decree is with you'.

⁴ Alternative reading 'and I will make you'.

⁵ Restored by Charles on the basis of Gen. xvii. 8.

male among you, and circumcise your foreskins; and it shall be a
 12 sign of my eternal covenant between myself and you. And you shall
 circumcise every male child on the eighth day, generation after
 generation, *whether* born in your house, or bought with money from
 a foreigner – one you have come by, who is not of your own stock.⁶
 13 *Every male* born in your house shall be circumcised, and those you
 have bought with money shall be circumcised; and *the sign of* my
 14 covenant shall be in your flesh as a rule⁷ for all time. And every
 uncircumcised male, who is not circumcised in the flesh of his
 foreskin on the eighth day, shall be cut off from his father's kin; for
 he has broken my covenant.

15 And God said to Abraham, As for your wife Sarai, she shall no
 16 more be called Sarai, but Sarah shall be her name. And I will bless
 her and give you a son by her; and I will bless him, and he shall
 17 become a nation, and kings of nations spring from him. And
 Abraham threw himself down on his face and rejoiced and said to
 himself, Shall a son *indeed* be born to a man a hundred years old,
 18 and shall Sarah, who is ninety, bear a *child*? And Abraham said to
 19 God, If only Ishmael might live under thy special care!⁸ And God
 said, He shall;⁹ and Sarah also shall bear you a son, and you shall
 call him Isaac; and I will establish my covenant with him as an
 20 everlasting covenant, and with his descendants after him. And as
 for Ishmael, I have heard your prayer; and behold, I will bless him
 and make him great and multiply him greatly, and he shall be
 21 father of twelve princes, and I will make him a mighty nation. But
 my covenant I will establish with Isaac, whom Sarah will bear you
 22 at this time next year. And he left off talking with him; and God
 went up from Abraham.

23 And Abraham did as God had told him, and he took his son
 Ishmael, and all those born in his house, and those he had bought
 with money, every male in his house, and circumcised the flesh of
 24 their foreskins. And on the very same day Abraham *himself* was
 circumcised; and all the men of his house, and all those he had
 bought with money from foreigners, were circumcised with him.

25 This law is for all generations for ever; and there can be no
 reduction in the number of the days, nor omission of even a single

⁶ Lit. 'seed'.

⁷ Alternative reading 'shoot' or 'germ'.

⁸ Lit. 'before thee'.

⁹ Lit. 'Yes'.

day out of the eight,¹⁰ for it is a rule for all time, ordained and
 26 written on the heavenly tablets. And every one that is born, the
 flesh of whose foreskin is not circumcised on¹¹ the eighth day, does
 not belong among the sons of the covenant which the Lord made
 with Abraham, but is marked out for destruction:¹² there is no sign
 on him that he is the Lord's; and *his destiny is* to be destroyed and to
 27 perish and to be uprooted from the earth, because he has broken
 the covenant of the Lord our God. For all the angels of the presence
 and all the angels of holiness have been created as they are¹³ from
 the day of their creation; and, just as *the Lord God hallowed* the angels
 of the presence and the angels of holiness, so he has hallowed
 28 Israel, that they should be with him and with his holy angels. And
 you, for your part, command the sons of Israel to observe the sign
 of this covenant in every generation as a rule for all time, so that
 29 they are not uprooted from the land. The command is binding on
 all the sons of Israel: it is part of the covenant they must observe.
 30 For the Lord did not admit into his presence either Ishmael and his
 sons and brothers, or Esau, and he did not choose them, although
 they were children of Abraham, because he knew them; but he
 31 chose Israel as his people. And he hallowed it and gathered it from
 all mankind; for there are many nations and many peoples, and all
 are his, and he has set spirits in authority over all *of them* to lead
 32 them astray from him. But over Israel he appointed no angel or
 spirit, for he alone is their ruler; and he will preserve them and hold
 his angels and spirits and all his powers¹⁴ answerable for them, so
 that he may preserve them and bless them, and that they may be
 his and he theirs, now and for ever.
 33 But I warn you that the sons of Israel will not keep this rule,
 neither will they circumcise their sons in accordance with this law;
 for, though circumcised themselves,¹⁵ they will neglect the
 circumcision of their sons, and the miscreants,¹⁶ all of them, will
 34 leave their sons uncircumcised, just as they were born. And great

¹⁰ Lit. 'and there is no circumcision (alternative reading 'closure') of the days, and no omission of one day out of the eight days'.

¹¹ All Eth. MSS, supported by Lat., read 'till'.

¹² Lit. 'for he is of the sons of destruction'.

¹³ Lit. 'have been so created'.

¹⁴ Text 'commands'.

¹⁵ Lit. 'for in the flesh of their circumcision'.

¹⁶ Lit. 'sons of Beliar'.

will be the Lord's wrath against the sons of Israel, because they
 have forsaken his covenant and turned aside from his word, and
 provoked *him* and shown their contempt *for him* by not observing
 the rule as regards this law; for they have treated their members
 like the Gentiles and will be removed and uprooted from the land.
 And although there is forgiveness and pardon for all sins, they will
 never be pardoned or forgiven for this transgression, *not even in*
 eternity.¹⁷

XVI. And on the new moon of the fourth month we appeared to
 Abraham at the oak of Mamre; and we talked with him and told
 2 him that a son would be given him by his wife Sarah. And Sarah
 laughed, for she heard that we had said this to Abraham; and we
 rebuked her, and she was frightened, and denied she had laughed
 3 at what we said. And we told her her son's name, Isaac – just as his
 4 name is ordained and written on the heavenly tablets. And *we told*
her that when we returned to her at the time appointed, she would
 have conceived a son.¹

5 And in this month the Lord executed his judgements on² Sodom
 and Gomorrah and Zeboim and all the Jordan region; and he
 burned them with fire and brimstone and destroyed them till this
 day (I have told you *already* everything they did, how they were
 very wicked and great sinners, and how they defiled themselves
 and committed fornication in their flesh and abandoned them-
 6 selves to *every kind of vice*³ *there is* on earth. And God will execute a
 like judgement on places where men imitate the vices³ of the
 7 Sodomites, just as he judged Sodom. But Lot we saved; for God
 remembered Abraham, and he rescued him from the disaster.
 8 Nevertheless, he and his daughters committed sin on the earth,
 such as there had not been on the earth from the days of Adam till
 9 his time – that a man should lie with his daughter.⁴ And behold, it
 was commanded and engraved on the heavenly tablets about all
 his descendants, that they should be removed and uprooted, and

¹⁷ Eth. obscure. The translation represents the most probable sense.

¹ Or 'And when we returned . . . she had . . .'

² Lit. 'the judgements of'.

³ Lit. 'uncleanness(es)'.

⁴ Alternative Eth. reading 'daughters', and also Lat.

that judgement should be executed on them exactly as it was on Sodom, and that he should be left no descendants on earth on the *final* judgement-day.

10 And in this month Abraham moved from Hebron and went and
11 settled between Kadesh and Shur in the mountains⁵ of Gerar. And
in the middle of the fifth month he moved from there and settled at
the Well of the Oath.

12 And in the middle of the sixth month the Lord showed Sarah
favour and made good his promise to her, and she conceived and
13 bore a son in the third month. And in the middle of the month, at
the time the Lord had promised Abraham, on the festival of the
14 first-fruitsof the harvest, Isaac was born. And Abraham circumcised
his son on the eighth day: he was the first to be circumcised in
accordance with *the rule* of the covenant, which is ordained for ever.

15 And in the sixth year of the fourth⁶ week we went to meet
Abraham at the Well of the Oath, and we appeared to him [as we
had told Sarah that we would return to her, and she would have
16 conceived a son. And we returned in the seventh month and found
Sarah with child before our eyes], and we blessed him⁷ and told
him⁷ everything that had been decreed concerning him – that he
should not die till he was the father of six sons more and *that* he
should see *them* before he died, but *that* it was through Isaac that his
17 true descent would be traced.⁸ And *we told him that* all the
descendants of his *other* sons would be Gentiles, and be reckoned
with the Gentiles, although one of Isaac's sons would become a
18 holy seed, and not be reckoned with the Gentiles: he would become
the Most High's portion, and all his descendants settled in that
land which belongs to God, so as to be the Lord's **special possession**,⁹
chosen out of all nations, and to be a kingdom of priests¹⁰ and a holy
19 nation. And we went our way and repeated to Sarah all we had told
him; and they were both overjoyed.

⁵ So Eth.: Lat. 'boundaries'.

⁶ Probably 'third' should be read. Cp. xv. 1.

⁷ So Lat.: Eth. 'her'.

⁸ Lit. 'in Isaac should name and seed be called for him'.

⁹ Eth. lit. 'to be to the Lord a people of glory' (the word translated 'glory' could also mean 'adoption'): Lat. lit. 'to be to the Lord a hallowed people'. The emendation assumes that an allusion in the original to Exod. xix. 5, Deut. vii. 6, etc., has been either misunderstood or mistranslated in both Eth. and Lat. Cp. xix. 18.

¹⁰ So Lat.: Eth. 'a kingdom and priests'. Cp. Exod. xix. 6.

20 And he built an altar there to the Lord who had delivered him
and was the cause of his joy in the land where he was an alien; and
he celebrated a festival of joy in this month, lasting seven days,
21 near the altar he had built at the Well of the Oath. And he built
booths for himself and for his servants at this festival and he was
22 the first man on earth to celebrate the feast of Tabernacles. And
during these seven days he brought to the altar each day a whole-
offering to the Lord, two oxen, two rams, seven sheep, *and* one
he-goat for a sin-offering (to make atonement by it for himself and
23 his descendants). And as a thank-offering *he brought* seven rams,
seven kids, seven sheep, and seven he-goats, and their fruit-
offerings and their drink-offerings; and burnt all their fat on the
24 altar – a choice offering to the Lord as a soothing odour. And every
morning and evening he burnt fragrant substances – frankincense,
and galbanum, and stacte, and nard, and myrrh, and spice, and
costum: all these seven he offered, crushed, in exactly equal parts,
25 mixed, *and* pure. And he celebrated this feast for seven days,
rejoicing with all his heart and soul, he and all his household; and
26 there was no alien with him, nor anyone uncircumcised. And he
blessed his creator who had created him in his generation (for he
had created him in accordance with his purpose),¹¹ since he
perceived and understood that from him would sprout the plant of
righteousness for the generations to eternity, and *that* from him
would come a holy seed to be like him who created all things.

27 And he blessed *the Lord* and rejoiced; and he called this festival
the Lord's festival,¹² a joy¹³ acceptable to the Most High God. And
we blessed him for ever, and all his descendants after him¹⁴ for all
the generations of the earth, because he celebrated this festival at
its appointed time, according to what is prescribed on the heavenly
29 tablets. This is why it is prescribed on the heavenly tablets con-
cerning Israel, that they shall celebrate the feast of Tabernacles for
seven days with joy, in the seventh month, *which is* acceptable
before the Lord – a precept for ever, for every generation, every
30 year. And to this there is no time-limit; for it is ordained for ever
concerning Israel, that they should celebrate it and live in booths,

¹¹ Lit. 'according to his good pleasure'.

¹² So Eth.: Lat. 'the festive day' or (as in later Hebrew) simply 'the festival'.

¹³ So Eth.: Lat. 'a day of joy'.

¹⁴ So Eth.: Lat. 'with him'.

31 and put wreaths on their heads, and take leafy boughs, and willows from the brook. And Abraham took palm-branches and fruit from the choicest trees, and he went round the altar every day with the branches, seven times a day¹⁵ in the morning, and he praised and gave thanks to his God with all joy.

XVII. And in the first year of the fifth¹ week in this jubilee Isaac was weaned; and Abraham gave a great feast in the third month, on the day his son Isaac was weaned. And Ishmael, the son of Hagar, the Egyptian, was *present* in his place opposite² his father Abraham; and Abraham rejoiced and blessed God because he had seen his sons and had not died childless. And he remembered the words he had spoken to him on the day Lot parted from him; and he rejoiced because the Lord had given him offspring on the earth to possess it, and he blessed and praised³ the creator of all things. And Sarah saw Ishmael playing and dancing,⁴ and Abraham rejoicing with great joy; and a fit of jealousy came over her, and she said to Abraham, Drive out this slave-girl and her son, for this slave-girl's son shall not be heir with my son Isaac. And Abraham was distressed by her demand that he should drive them out, both on his slave-girl's account and on his son's. And God said to Abraham, Do not distress yourself, either on the child's account, or on the slave-girl's: do everything Sarah has told you to do; for through Isaac shall your true descent be traced.⁵ As for this slave-girl's son, I will make of him a great nation, because he is a child of your's.

8 And Abraham got up early in the morning and took bread and a bottle of water, and he put them and the child on Hagar's shoulders, and he sent her away. And she went and wandered in the wilderness of Beersheba; and the water in the bottle was

¹⁵ So most Eth. MSS and Lat.: one Eth. MS has 'on the seventh day'.

¹ Probably 'fourth' should be read. Cp. xvi. 15.

² Lit. 'before the face of'.

³ Eth. 'blessed with all his heart': Lat. 'blessed with all his mouth'.

⁴ So Eth.: Lat. 'playing with Isaac' (i.e. playfully teasing him? — as in the Midrash).

⁵ Lit. 'shall your name and seed be called'.

finished, and the child was thirsty and not able to go on, and he fell to the ground. And his mother carried him and went and laid him under an olive tree; and she herself went and sat down some way off, *about* a bowshot's distance away, for she said, How can I watch my child die?⁶ And she sat and wept. And an angel of God (one of the holy ones) said to her, Why are you weeping, Hagar? Get up, take the child, and hold him in your arms; for God has heard your cry and has seen the child. And she opened her eyes and saw a well of water, and she went and filled her bottle with water and gave her child a drink; and she rose and went in the direction of the wilderness of Paran. And the child grew up and became an archer, and God was with him; and his mother found him a wife from among the women of Egypt. And she bore him a son, and he called him Nebaioth, for she said, The Lord was near me when I invoked him.

15 And it came to pass in the seventh week, in the first year of it, in the first month in this jubilee, on the twelfth of this month, it was said⁷ in heaven about Abraham, that he had been faithful in doing everything the Lord⁸ had told him *to do*, and that he loved the Lord, and that in every affliction he had been faithful. And the prince Mastema came and said in God's presence, Behold, Abraham loves his son Isaac *dearly* and dotes on him more than on anything else: tell him to offer him as a whole-offering on the altar, and see if he will carry out this order; and *then* you will know if he is *really* faithful in every test you subject him to. But the Lord knew that Abraham was faithful in all his afflictions; for he had tested him through *the command to leave* his country and with famine, and he had tested him with the wealth of kings, and he had tested him again through his wife (when she was torn away *from him*) and with circumcision, and he had tested him through Ishmael and Hagar, his slave-girl (when he sent them away). And in every test to which the Lord subjected him, he had been found faithful, and he was not impatient, nor was he slow to act; for he was faithful and loved the Lord.

⁶ Lit. 'Let me not see the death of my child'.

⁷ Lit. 'there were voices'.

⁸ Text 'he'.

XVIII. And God said to him, Abraham, Abraham;¹ and he said, Behold, here I am. And he said, Take Isaac your beloved son, whom you love, and go into the highlands, and offer him on one of the hills I will show you *there*. And he got up in the morning at dawn, and he saddled his ass, and took two of his young men with him, and his son Isaac, and he split the wood for the whole-offering; and he came near the place on the third day and saw it in the distance.² And he came to a well of water and said to his young men, Stay here with the ass, and the child and I will go *further*, and when we have worshipped we will come back to you. And he took the wood for the whole-offering and put it on his son Isaac's shoulders, and he carried the fire and the knife himself; and both of them went on together to the place appointed.³ And Isaac said to his father, Father. And he said, Here I am my son. And he said to him, Behold, *here are* the fire and the knife and the wood; but where is the sheep for the whole-offering, father? And he said, God will provide a sheep for a whole-offering himself, my son. And he approached the place of the mount of God. And he built an altar and placed the wood on the altar, and he bound his son Isaac and placed him on top of the wood on the altar, and he stretched out for the knife to kill his son Isaac. And I was standing in the Lord's presence (and the prince Mastema was there also),⁴ and the Lord said, Tell him not to lay his hand⁵ on the child, nor to do anything to him, for *now* I know that he is a man who fears the Lord. And I called to him from heaven and said to him, Abraham, Abraham; and he was terrified and said, Behold, here I am. And I said to him, Lay no hand on the child, and do nothing to him; for now I know⁶ that you are a man who fears the Lord and have not withheld from me your son, your first-born son. And the prince Mastema was put to shame. And Abraham looked up, and behold, a⁷ ram caught in a

¹ Alternative reading 'said to Abraham, Abraham'.

² Lit. 'And he went to the place on the third day, and he saw the place afar off'.

³ Lit. 'to that place'.

⁴ Lit. 'And I stood before him and before the prince Mastema'.

⁵ Alternative reading 'Tell him not to hurry, and not to raise the knife, and not to lay his hand'.

⁶ So Eth.: Lat. 'I have clearly shown' (The Lat. is not extant in verse 9: cp. also verse 16).

⁷ Lit. 'one'.

thicket⁸ by its horns; and Abraham went and took the ram and offered it as a whole-offering instead of his son. And Abraham called that place, The Lord has seen (hence the saying, On the mount the Lord has seen⁹) – that is mount Sion.

And the Lord called Abraham by name from heaven a second time, and he told us¹⁰ to speak to him in the Lord's name. And he said, By myself I swear, says the Lord, Because you have carried out this command and have not withheld from me your son, your own dear son,¹¹ I will bless you abundantly, and I will greatly multiply your descendants, and I will make them as numerous as the stars of heaven and as the grains of sand on the seashore; and your descendants shall take possession of their enemies' cities. And in your descendants shall all the nations of the earth be blessed; and this because you have obeyed me, and I have made known¹² to all your faithfulness in *doing* everything I told you. Go in peace.

And Abraham went back to his young men, and they got up and went together to Beersheba; and Abraham stayed *there*, by the Well of the Oath. And he celebrated this festival with joy, every year for seven days; and he called it the Lord's festival of¹³ the seven days, during which he went and returned in peace. And that is why it was ordained and written on the heavenly tablets about Israel and his descendants, that they should observe this festival for seven days with festal joy.

XIX. And in the first year of the first week in the forty-second jubilee Abraham returned and lived two weeks of years opposite Hebron (that is Kirjath -Arba). And in the first year of the third¹ week of this jubilee the time came for Sarah to die; and she died in Hebron. And Abraham went to mourn over her and bury her; and we tested him to see if he was patient in demeanour and free from

⁸ Emended on the basis of the Heb. of Gen. xxii. 13. All Eth. MSS read 'and he came': Lat. has no equivalent.

⁹ Eth. simply 'The Lord has seen' (omitting 'On the mount'): Lat. 'On the mount the Lord has been seen'.

¹⁰ Lit. 'as he caused us to appear'.

¹¹ Alternative reading 'your son, your first-born son, whom you love': Lat. 'your son, your only son, whom you love'.

¹² So Eth.: Lat. 'clearly shown'.

¹³ Lit. 'according to'.

¹ Probably 'second' should be read.

rancour in what he said, and he was found patient too in this and
 4 undisturbed. For with consistent patience he conducted the
 negotiations with the sons of Heth and asked them to give him a
 5 place where he could bury his dead. And the Lord made all who
 saw him well-disposed towards him; and he pleaded gently with
 the sons of Heth, and they gave him the *plot of land* of the double
 6 cave opposite Mamre (that is Hebron) for four hundred² pieces of
 silver. And they begged him, saying, We will give it you for
 nothing. But he would not take it from them for nothing: he paid
 the price of the place in full, in ready money, and bowed before
 them twice; and after this he buried his dead in the double cave.
 7 And Sarah was a hundred and twenty-seven years old – that is, two
 jubilees, four weeks, and a year: so long had Sarah's life lasted.
 8 This is the tenth test by which Abraham was tested; and he was
 9 found faithful and consistently patient. And he said not a single
 word about the rumour in the land,³ how that God had said that he
 would give it to him and to his descendants after him, but begged a
 place in it to bury his dead; for he was found faithful and was
 recorded on the heavenly tablets as the friend of God.

10 And in the fourth year of it he took a wife for his son Isaac; and
 her name was Rebecca, [the daughter of Bethuel, the son of Nahor,
 Abraham's brother,] the sister of Laban and daughter of Bethuel
 (and Bethuel was the son of Milcah, Abraham's brother Nahor's
 11 wife).⁴ And Abraham took a third wife, whose name was Keturah,
 from among his household servants (for Hagar had died before
 12 Sarah). And she bore him six sons, Zimram, and Jokshan, and
 Medan, and Midian, and Ishbak, and Shuah, in two weeks of
 13 years. And in the sixth⁵ week, in the second year of it, Rebecca bore
 Isaac two sons, Jacob and Esau; and Jacob was a mild⁶ and
 upright man, while Esau was ruthless, a man of the field, and
 14 hairy; and Jacob stayed by the tents. And the boys grew up, and
 Jacob learned to write,⁷ but Esau did not learn *to write*, for he was a

² So Lat.: Eth. 'forty'.

³ Or 'the promise concerning the land'.

⁴ There is doubtless some dittography here. The translation follows the Lat., which gives a clearer overall sense than the Eth.

⁵ Probably 'fifth' should be read.

⁶ Or 'smooth': so Lat. (*lenis* – cp. Gen. xxvii. 11). Of the various Eth. readings 'perfect' goes back to the Heb. and 'misshapen' to the LXX at Gen. xxv. 27, while 'happy' is an easily intelligible scribal emendation.

⁷ Lit. 'books'.

man of the field and a hunter: he learned to fight,⁸ and all his deeds
 15 were ruthless. And Abraham loved Jacob, but Isaac loved Esau.

16 And Abraham saw what Esau did and he realized that it was
 through Jacob that his promised heirs would come;⁹ and he called
 Rebecca and gave *her* instructions about Jacob, for he saw that she
 17 *too* loved Jacob much more than Esau. And he said to her, My
 daughter, watch over my son Jacob; for he shall take my place on
 earth, and be a blessing among the sons of men, and the glory of the
 18 whole line of Shem. For I know that the Lord will choose him to be
 19 his **special possession**¹⁰ from all the peoples on the earth. And
 behold, my son Isaac loves Esau more than Jacob, but I can see
 20 there is no doubt that you love Jacob. Increase yet more your
 concern for him, and may your eyes watch over him in love, for he
 shall be a blessing to us on the earth from now on and for evermore.
 21 May your hands be strong and your heart rejoice in your son
 Jacob, for I love him far more than any of my sons: he shall be
 22 blessed for ever, and his descendants shall fill the earth. If anyone
 is ever able to count the *grains of sand* on the earth, then his
 23 descendants shall be counted too. And all the blessings that the
 Lord has promised me and my descendants shall be Jacob's and
 24 his descendants' always. And by his descendants shall my name be
 blessed, and the name of my fathers, Shem, and Noah, and Enoch,
 25 and Mahalalel, and Enosh, and Seth, and Adam. And these shall
 serve to lay the foundations of heaven, and to strengthen the earth,
 and to renew all the luminaries that are upon the vault of *heaven*.¹¹

26 And he summoned Jacob in the presence of his mother Rebecca
 27 and kissed him, and he blessed him and said, Jacob, my beloved
 son, whom my soul loves, may God bless you from above the vault
 of *heaven*, and may he give you all the blessings he showered on
 Adam and Enoch and Noah and Shem; and may he bestow on¹²
 you, and on your descendants for ever, all the things about which

⁸ Lit. 'war'.

⁹ Lit. 'that in Jacob would his name and seed be called'.

¹⁰ There is much variation between the Eth. MSS, though no one of them gives a tolerable sense. Lat. has 'to be a holy people to himself'. However, the verse is very evidently an adaptation of Deut. vii. 6 – hence the emendation. Cp. xvi. 18.

¹¹ So Eth.: Lat. 'so that all the luminaries of the vault of *heaven* may be recognized'.

¹² Lit. 'cause to cling to'.

he told me and all the things he promised to give me, unailing as¹³
 28 the days of heaven above the earth. And the spirits of Mastema
 shall not have power over you or over your descendants to turn you
 29 from the Lord, who is your God from now on, and for ever. And
 may the Lord God be a father to you, and *may you be* the first-born
 30 son and a people always. Go in peace my son. And they both left
 31 Abraham together.¹⁴ And Rebecca loved Jacob with all her heart
 and soul, very much more than Esau; but Isaac loved Esau much
 more than Jacob.

XX. And in the forty-second jubilee, in the first year of the
 seventh¹ week, Abraham called Ishmael and his twelve sons, and
 Isaac and his two sons, and the six sons of Keturah and their sons.
 2 And he commanded them to observe the way of the Lord, to act
 righteously and love each his neighbour, and to behave like this to
 all men,² and to live in relation to them so that each acted justly and
 3 righteously on earth. *And he commanded them* to circumcise their sons
 in accordance with the covenant which the Lord³ had made with
 them, and not deviate either to the right or to the left from any of
 the paths which the Lord had commanded us; and that we should
 keep ourselves from all fornication and uncleanness, and let them
 4 have no place among us.⁴ And if any woman or girl among you
 commits fornication, *he said*, burn her with fire: see that no woman
 commits fornication with her eyes or her heart; and see that no
 man takes a wife⁵ from the women of Canaan – for the stock of
 Canaan will be uprooted from the land.
 5 And he told them about the judgement of the giants and the
 judgement of the Sodomites, how they had been judged because of
 their wickedness, and had died because of their fornication and
 6 uncleanness and mutual corruption through fornication. And do

¹³ Lit. 'according to'.

¹⁴ So most MSS (lit. 'And they both went out together from Abraham'); alternative reading 'And they both went out together with him'.

¹ Probably 'sixth' should be read.

² Text 'in every war'.

³ Lit. 'he'.

⁴ Lit. 'and renounce from among us all fornication and uncleanness'.

⁵ Lit. '... with fire, and let them (*fem.*) not commit fornication with their eyes and their heart; and let them (*masc.*) not take wives'.

you keep yourselves, *he said*, from all fornication and uncleanness,
 and from all pollution of sin, lest you make our name a curse and
 your whole life a terror,⁶ and *cause* all your sons to be destroyed by
 the sword, and you yourselves become accursed like Sodom and all
 7 your remnant as the sons of Gomorrah. I implore you,⁷ my sons,
 love the God of heaven, and hold fast to all his commandments;
 8 and do not go after their idols and after their uncleannesses. And
 do not make gods for yourselves, either cast in metal or carved, for
 they are empty things, and there is no spirit in them whatever: they
 are the work of *men's* hands, and all who trust in them, trust in
 9 nothing at all. Do not serve them or worship them, but serve the
 Most High God and worship him continually; and hope for his
 favour⁸ always, and do what is upright⁹ and righteous in his sight,
 that he may have pleasure in you¹⁰ and grant you his mercy, and
 send rain upon you morning and evening, and bless all your works
 which you have done upon the earth, and bless your bread and
 your water, and bless the fruit of your womb and the fruit of your
 10 land, and your herds of cattle and your flocks of sheep. And you
 will be a blessing on the earth, and all the nations of the earth will
 have pleasure in you¹¹ and will bless your sons in my name, that
 they may be blessed even as I am.
 11 And he gave gifts to Ishmael and his sons and to the sons of
 Keturah, and he sent them away from his son Isaac; and he gave
 12 his son Isaac everything. And Ishmael and his sons, and the sons of
 Keturah and their sons, went together and settled between Paran
 and the borders of Babylon,¹² in all the land that is to the east,
 13 facing the desert. And these mingled with each other, and they
 were called Arabs and Ishmaelites.¹³

XXI. And in the sixth year of the seventh¹ week of this jubilee
 Abraham called his son Isaac and instructed him, saying, I am old

⁶ So Eth.: Lat. 'hissing'.

⁷ Lit. 'I bear witness before you'.

⁸ Lit. 'countenance'.

⁹ So Eth.: Lat. 'true'.

¹⁰ So Eth.: Lat. 'that he may guide you'.

¹¹ So Eth.: Lat. 'desire you'.

¹² Lit. 'from Faramon to the entering in of Babylon'.

¹³ So Eth.: Lat. '... each other, and their name stuck to the Arabs, and the Ishmaelites survive till to-day'.

¹ Probably 'sixth' should be read.

2 and full of years, and I do not know when I shall die. Behold, I am a hundred and seventy-five years old, and throughout my life I have remembered the Lord and set my heart on the doing of his will and walking straight in all his paths. My soul has hated idols, and I have despised those that serve them; and I have devoted my heart and spirit² to observe and do the will of him who created me. For he is the living God, and holy and faithful and righteous above all: he does not respect persons and he cannot be bribed; for he is a righteous God and executes judgement on all who transgress his commandments and despise his covenant.

5 And as for you, my son, observe his commandments and his precepts and his judgements, and do not go astray after idols³ and after images, whether carved or cast in metal. And do not eat the blood of any of the wild animals or cattle, nor of any bird that flies in heaven. And if you kill a victim as a peace-offering *that is to be acceptable to God*, kill it and pour out its blood on the altar, and all the fat offer on the altar as an offering with fine flour, and the meat-offering,⁴ mixed with oil, with its drink-offering – offer them all together on the altar as a whole-offering:⁵ it is a soothing odour before the Lord. And you shall put the fat of the sacrifice of thank-offerings on the fire which is on the altar – the fat that is on the belly, and all the fat that is on the entrails and the two kidneys, and all the fat that is on them and that is on the loins; and the liver you shall remove together with the kidneys.⁶ And offer all these as a soothing odour, acceptable before the Lord, with its meat-offering and with its drink-offering, as a soothing odour, as food offered to the Lord. And eat the meat of it on that day and on the second day, and do not let sunset on the second day find any of it still uneaten. Let none of it be left over till the third day; for it is not *by then* acceptable, nor is it desirable. Let none of it, therefore, be eaten then; and all who do eat of it *then* will bring sin upon themselves – for so I have found it written in the books of my forefathers (in the words of Enoch and in the words of Noah).

² Eth. om. 'and I have despised . . . spirit'.

³ So Lat. (lit. 'abominations'); Eth. 'those who are unclean'.

⁴ Lat. om. 'and the meat-offering'. ⁵ So Eth.: Lat. 'on the altar of fruits'.

⁶ So Lat.: Eth. ' . . . on the loins and envelops the liver and the kidneys'. Cp. Lev. iii. 9–10.

11 And on all your offerings you shall sprinkle salt, and do not let the salt of the covenant⁷ be lacking on any of your offerings before the Lord.

12 And as regards the wood of the sacrifices, on no account use *any other kinds of wood* apart from these – cypress, bay, almond, fir, pine, cedar, savin, fig, olive, myrrh, laurel, aspalathus.⁸ And of these kinds of wood place under the sacrifice on the altar *only* such *pieces* as have been inspected first;⁹ and do not use¹⁰ any wood that is split or spotted, *but only what is* hard and clean, without any spots, and of recent growth – no old wood, for old wood has lost its fragrance, and there is no fragrance in it as there once was. Besides these there are no other kinds of wood you should put *on the altar*, for their smell¹¹ is not pleasant (and their smell¹¹ ascends to heaven).

15 Observe this commandment and carry it out, my son, that you may be upright in everything you do.

16 And at all times keep your body clean: wash yourself with water before you approach the altar to make an offering on it, and wash your hands and your feet before you come near it;¹² and when you have done sacrificing, wash your hands and your feet again. And see there is no blood, either on you or on your clothes: be careful about blood, my son, be very careful indeed: cover it with dust.

18 And do not eat any blood, for it is the soul: do not eat any blood at all. And accept no bribe for the blood of man, lest it be shed to no profit *and* unjustly; for it is the blood that is shed that makes the earth to sin, and **the earth**¹³ cannot be cleansed from the blood of man except by the blood of the man that shed it. Accept no bribe or gift for the blood of man: blood for blood is *what is* required¹⁴ before the Lord, the Most High God; and hold fast to what is good,¹⁵ so that you may be preserved from all evil and he may keep you safe from every kind of death.

⁷ All MSS read 'the covenant of salt'. Cp. Lev. ii. 13.

⁸ Several renderings in this list are uncertain.

⁹ Lit. 'such as have been tested as to their appearance'. ¹⁰ Lit. 'place'.

¹¹ Lit. 'fragrance . . . and the smell of their fragrance'. In the last clause Charles, following Littmann, inserted a negative ('and their smell does not ascend . . .').

¹² Lit. 'the altar'.

¹³ The MSS read 'its blood'. For the emendation cp. vii. 33.

¹⁴ Lit. 'is acceptable'. There is some variation between the MSS here.

¹⁵ Lit. 'and let there be keeping of the good'.

- 21 I see, my son, that all the works of the sons of men are sin and wickedness, and all their deeds are uncleanness and an abomination and a pollution, and there is no righteousness with them.
- 22 Beware, lest you walk in their way and tread in their footsteps; and commit no deadly sin before the Most High God, or he will hide his face from you; and give you back into the hands of your transgression, and uproot you from the land, and your descendants also from under heaven, and your name and your posterity shall perish
- 23 from the whole earth. Turn away from all their deeds and all their uncleanness, and keep the commandment¹⁶ of the Most High God, and do his will, and be upright in all things. And he will bless you
- 24 in all you do, and he will raise up from you a plant of righteousness through all the earth, in every generation of the earth, and my name and your name will never at any time be forgotten¹⁷ under
- 25 heaven. Go, my son, in peace: may the Most High God, my God and your God, strengthen you to do what he wills, and may he bless all your descendants and your posterity, in every generation for ever, with every righteous blessing, that you may be a blessing in all the earth.
- 26 And he went out from him rejoicing.

XXII. And it came to pass in the first week in the forty-fourth jubilee, in the second year,¹ that is the year in which Abraham died, that Isaac and Ishmael came from the Well of the Oath to celebrate the feast of weeks (that is, the feast of the first-fruits of the harvest) to Abraham, their father; and Abraham rejoiced because

2 his two sons had come. For Isaac had many possessions in Beersheba, and Isaac's habit was to go and look to his possessions

3 and *then* return to his father. And in those days Ishmael came to see his father, and they both² came together; and Isaac sacrificed a whole-offering and offered it on his father's altar that he had made

4 in Hebron. And he offered a thank-offering and prepared a joyful feast in his brother Ishmael's presence; and Rebecca made a new cake from the new grain, and she gave it to her son Jacob to take to

¹⁶ Lit. 'keep the keeping'.

¹⁷ Lit. 'be silenced'.

¹ Probably '... sixth ... forty-second ... seventh ...' should be read.

² So Lat.

- his father Abraham, from the first fruits of the land, so that he
- 5 might eat it and bless the creator of all things before he died. And Isaac, too, sent Abraham a thank-offering by Jacob's hand, that he
- 6 might eat and drink. And he ate and drank, and he blessed the Most High God, who created heaven and earth, who made all the good things on the earth, and gave them to the sons of men so that they might eat and drink and bless their creator.
- 7 And now, *he said*, I give thee thanks, my God, because thou hast let me see this day: behold, I am a hundred and seventy-five years
- 8 old, an old man with a long life-span, and I have prospered all my
- 9 days.³ The enemy's sword has never at any time prevailed against me, nor against my children. My God, may thy mercy and thy peace be upon thy servant, and upon his descendants,⁴ that they may be to thee a chosen nation and a possession out of all the nations of the earth, now and in every generation on the earth for evermore.
- 10 And he called Jacob and said, Jacob, my son, may the God of all bless you and strengthen you to do righteousness, and *to do* his will before him; and may he choose you and your seed to be always a people for his own possession according to his will. And *now*, Jacob my son, come near and kiss me.
- 11 And he came near and kissed him; and he said, May God Most High bless you, Jacob my son, and all your sons for ever: may God give you righteous offspring, and through your sons **may he be hallowed** in all the earth:⁵ may nations serve you, and may all
- 12 nations bow down before your sons.⁶ Be strong in the presence of men, and have authority among all the sons⁶ of Seth: then your ways and your sons' ways will be justified, so that they may
- 13 become a holy nation. May the Most High God give you all the blessings with which he has blessed me, and with which he blessed Noah and Adam: may they rest on the hallowed heads of your
- 14 descendants in every generation for ever. And may he cleanse you from all unrighteousness⁷ and impurity, so that you may be forgiven all your transgressions and your errors committed in ignorance;

³ Lit. 'and all my days have been peace to me'.

⁴ So Lat.: Eth. 'his sons' descendants'.

⁵ Text 'and from your sons may he hallow in the midst of the whole earth'.

⁶ Lit. 'seed'.

⁷ So Lat.: Eth. 'defilement'.

and may he strengthen you and bless you, and may you possess the whole earth. And may he renew his covenant with you, that you may be to him a nation for his own possession always, and that he may be to you and your descendants a God in truth and righteousness as long as the earth shall last.

16 And do you, Jacob my son, remember my words, and observe the commands of your father Abraham. Keep yourself separate from the nations, and do not eat with them; and do not imitate their rites,⁸ nor associate yourself with them; for their rites⁹ are unclean and all their practices¹⁰ polluted, an abomination and unclean. They offer their sacrifices to the dead and worship demons, and they eat among the graves; yet all their rites⁹ are worthless and to no purpose. They have no mind¹¹ to understand, and their eyes do not see what it is they really do,¹² and how great is their error when they say to a piece of wood, You are my god, and to a stone, You are my lord, and, You are my deliverer. They have no mind¹¹ to understand.

19 And as for you, Jacob my son, may the Most High God help you and the God of heaven bless you and keep you from their uncleanness and all their error. On no account, Jacob my son, take as a wife a woman descended from Canaan; for all his descendants are to be uprooted from the earth. For through Ham's transgression Canaan *also* went astray, and all his descendants will be destroyed from the earth: there will be no survivors;¹³ and none of them will be saved on the day of judgement. And as for all those who make idols their gods, and the profane,¹⁴ there shall be no hope for them in the land of the living; for they shall descend into Sheol, and into the place of punishment shall they go, and there shall be no memory of them on the earth. As the sons of Sodom were taken away from the earth, so will all those be taken away who make idols their gods.

23 Have no fear, Jacob my son, and do not be dismayed, you son of Abraham: may the Most High God keep you from destruction, and may he preserve you from all erroneous paths. This house have I built for myself that I might put my name on it on the earth: it is

⁸ Lit. 'and do not according to their works'.

⁹ Lit. 'works'.

¹⁰ Lit. 'ways'.

¹¹ Lit. 'heart'.

¹² Lit. 'what their works are'.

¹³ Lit. 'and all the residue of them'.

¹⁴ The MSS vary here between 'the hated ones' and 'the perverse'.

given to you and your descendants for ever; and it shall be called the house of Abraham. It is given to you and your descendants for ever; for you shall build my house and establish my name before God for ever. Your descendants and your name shall endure through all the generations of the earth.

25,26 And he finished his charge and his blessing of him. And the two were lying together on one bed, and Jacob was asleep in his grandfather Abraham's lap; and he kissed him seven times, and his heart and soul¹⁵ rejoiced over him. And he blessed him with all his heart and said, The Most High God, the God of all and creator of all, who brought me out of Ur of the Chaldees, that he might give me this land as a possession for ever, and that I might establish a holy race,⁶ so that the Most High may be blessed for ever, and so that Jacob may bless him . . .¹⁶ My son, over whom I rejoice with all my heart and soul . . . may thy grace and thy mercy be on him and on his descendants always. And do not forsake him or abandon him from now until eternity; and may thine eyes be on him and on his descendants, that thou mayest preserve him, and bless him, and hallow him as a nation for thine own possession. And bless him with all thy blessings from now until eternity; and renew thy covenant and thy grace with him and with his descendants in accordance with thy chosen purpose in every generation on the earth.

XXIII. And he placed two of Jacob's fingers on his eyes, and he blessed the God of gods, and he covered his face and stretched out his feet, and he slept the eternal sleep and was gathered to his fathers. And despite all this Jacob was lying asleep in his lap and was not aware that his grandfather Abraham was dead. And Jacob

¹⁵ Lit. 'his affection and his heart' – and similarly in verse 28.

¹⁶ So, following the majority of MSS, and with a slight emendation. In any case, something has gone radically wrong in this passage, and the probability is that some words have fallen out of the text, not only here, but also later on in the middle of verse 28. Charles, well aware that as things stand there is no main verb, solved the difficulty here by offering an admittedly inexact translation (' . . . and that I might establish a holy seed – blessed be the Most High for ever.'²⁸ And he blessed Jacob and said, My son . . .') and suggesting that verse 27 is an interpolation: he made no comment, however, on the seemingly very abrupt change of address in the middle of verse 28.

woke up from his sleep, and behold Abraham was as cold as ice; and he said, Father, father. But he did not speak; and he realized
 4 that he was dead. And he got up from where he was¹ and ran and told his mother Rebecca, and Rebecca went to Isaac in the night and told him; and they went together, and Jacob with them, with a lamp in his hand, and they went in and found Abraham lying dead.
 5,6 And Isaac bent over his father,² and wept and kissed him. And *their* voices were heard in Abraham's house, and his son Ishmael got up and went to his father Abraham, and wept over his father Abraham, he and all Abraham's household; and they wept with a great
 7 weeping. And his sons Isaac and Ishmael buried him in the double cave, near his wife Sarah; and they wept for him forty days, all the men of his household, and Isaac and Ishmael, and all their sons, and all Keturah's sons in their place. And the weeping³ for Abraham came to an end.

8 And he lived three jubilees and four weeks of years – that is, a
 9 hundred and seventy-five years, and he died at a good old age.⁴ For the length of the lives of the ancients was nineteen jubilees; but after the flood it began to be less than nineteen jubilees, and *men* grew old more quickly, and the length of their lives decreased as a result of *their* manifold tribulations and the wickedness of their
 10 ways, except Abraham only.⁵ For Abraham was perfect in all his dealings with the Lord and gained favour by his righteousness⁶ throughout his life, yet even he did not complete four jubilees in his life, but grew old as a result of the wickedness of *others* and died.⁷

11 And all the generations from this time till the day of judgement will grow old quickly, before they complete two jubilees, and old
 12 age will impair their powers of mind.⁵ And in those days, if a man live a jubilee and a half of years, it will be said about him, He has lived a long time; and the greater part of his days have been pain
 13 and sorrow and tribulation, and he has had no peace. For calamity follows on calamity, and wound on wound, and tribulation on

¹ Lit. 'his lap'.

² Lit. 'fell on his father's face'.

³ Other readings 'the wailing and weeping', 'the wailing of the weeping'.

⁴ Lit. 'and he completed the days of his life, being old and full of days'.

⁵ In this verse Eth. and Lat. differ not a little in detail, although the general sense is plain enough. The translation offered inclines to Lat.

⁶ Lit. 'being well-pleasing in righteousness'.

⁷ Lit. 'and was full of his days'.

tribulation, and bad news on bad news, and illness on illness, and all such painful punishments as these, one after another – illness, and disaster, and snow, and frost, and ice, and fever, and chills, and torpor, and famine, and death, and sword, and captivity, and
 14 all kinds of calamities and pains. And all these will come on an evil generation that transgresses on the earth⁸ and practices uncleanness⁸ and fornication and pollution and abominations. Then it will
 15 be said, The lives of the ancients were long – *even* up to a thousand years, and they were pleasant *years*; but behold, the length of our lives is seventy years at the most, and, if a man's strength holds, *perhaps* eighty, but there is no pleasure in them and no peace at all in the days of this evil generation.

16 And in that generation the sons will convict their fathers and their elders of sin and unrighteousness, and because of the words that they utter and the great evils that they perpetrate, and because they forsake the covenant which the Lord made between them and him, that they should keep and observe all his commandments and his rules and all his laws, without going astray either to
 17 the right hand or the left. For all have done evil, and every mouth utters iniquity, and everything they do is unclean and an abomination, and all their ways are pollution, uncleanness, and corruption.
 18 Behold, the earth will perish because of all they do, and there will be no seed of the vine, and no oil; for the works of all of them are faithless, and they will all perish together – wild animals and cattle and birds, and all the fish in the sea, because of the sons of men.
 19 And they will quarrel with one another, the young with the old, and the old with the young, the poor with the rich, the lowly with the great, and the beggar with the prince, because of the law and the covenant; for they will forget⁹ commandment, and covenant, and feasts, and new moons, and sabbaths, and jubilees, and all the
 20 customary observances.¹⁰ And *some among them* will¹¹ take their stand with bows and swords and *other weapons of war* to restore *their kinsmen*¹¹ to the *accustomed* path; but they will not return until much
 21 blood has been shed on the earth on either side. And those who have escaped will not return from their wickedness to the path of righteousness; but they will all attempt to enrich themselves by

⁸ So Lat.

⁹ Lit. 'they have forgotten'.

¹⁰ Lit. 'all the judgements'.

¹¹ Lit. 'And they will . . . restore them'.

dishonest means and filch all they can from their neighbours,¹² and they will call themselves by the great name,¹³ but not in truth and not in righteousness,¹⁴ and they will defile the holy of holies with their uncleanness and the corruption of their pollution.

22 And the deeds of that generation will bring on them a mighty retribution from the Lord; and he will abandon them to the sword and to judgement and to captivity, and to be plundered and
23 devoured. And he will stir up against them the sinners of the Gentiles,¹⁵ who have neither mercy nor compassion and will show favour to no one, neither to old nor young, nor to anyone, for they are more wicked and intent on evil than any of the sons of men. And they will use violence against Israel and treachery¹⁶ against Jacob; and much blood will be shed upon the earth, and there will
24 be no one to gather *them* up and no one to bury *them*. In those days they will cry aloud, and call and pray that they may be saved from
25 the sinful Gentiles; but none will be saved. And the heads of the children will be white with grey hair, and a child three weeks old will look like a man who is a hundred, and their growth will be stunted by *their* misery and distress.

26 But¹⁷ in those days the children will begin to study the laws, and to seek the commandments, and return to the path of righteousness. And *then* men's lives will begin to get longer and *the number of*
27 *their years* increase, generation by generation and day by day, till they approach a thousand, and the number of *their years* becomes
28 greater than *once* was the number of their days. And there will be no old man, nor any who is burdened by his years,¹⁸ for all will be *like*
29 infants and young children. And they will live out all their days in peace and joy, and there will be no Satan¹⁹ nor any evil agent to corrupt them;²⁰ for all their days will be days of blessing and of healing.

¹² Lit. 'but they will all exalt themselves to deceit and riches, so that they may each take all that is his neighbour's'.

¹³ So Eth.: Lat. 'name the great name'.

¹⁴ i.e. they will not in reality be worshippers of the God whose name they take in vain.

¹⁵ Or 'the most sinful among the nations'.

¹⁶ Lit. 'transgression'.

¹⁸ Lit. 'nor one who is sated with his days'.

²⁰ Lit. 'nor any evil corrupter'.

¹⁷ Lit. 'And'.

¹⁹ Or 'adversary'.

30 And at that time the Lord will heal his servants, and they shall be exalted and prosper greatly;²¹ and they shall drive out their adversaries. And the righteous shall see *it* and be thankful, and rejoice with joy for ever and ever; and they shall see all the punishments and curses that had been their lot falling on their
31 enemies.²² And their bones shall rest in the earth, and their spirits shall have much joy; and they shall know that the Lord is one who executes judgement, and shows mercy to hundreds, and to tens of thousands, and to all that love him.

32 And do you, Moses, write down these words; for so are they written and recorded on the heavenly tablets as a testimony for each generation for ever.

XXIV. And it came to pass after the death of Abraham that the Lord blessed his son Isaac; and he left Hebron and went and dwelt at the Well of the Vision, in the first year of the third week of this jubilee, seven years.

2 And in the first year of the fourth week a famine began in the land (distinct from the first famine there had been in Abraham's
3 time). And Jacob made a lentil stew; and Esau came in hungry from the country. And he said to his brother Jacob, Give me *some* of
4 this *red*¹ stew. And Jacob said to him, Give me your birthright in exchange (that is your right as first-born),² and I will give you
5 bread and also some of this lentil stew. And Esau thought to himself,³ I am at death's door: of what use is this birthright to me?
6 And he said to Jacob, I give it you. And Jacob said, Give me your oath to-day; and he gave him his oath. And Jacob gave his brother Esau the bread and the stew, and he ate till he was satisfied – so little did Esau value his birthright; and Esau was called Edom because of the *red*¹ stew that Jacob gave him in exchange for his

²¹ Lit. 'see great peace'.

²² Lit. '... all their judgements and all their curses on their enemies'.

¹ Text 'wheaten'. The emendation follows the Heb. of Gen. xxv. 30 and presupposes either a misreading of the Gk. *πυρρον* as *πυρον* by the Ethiopic translator, or an earlier corruption in the Gk. text from which he worked.

² Charles supposed that we have two alternative renderings of *τὰν πρωτοτόκιόν σου* here.

³ Lit. 'said in his heart'.

7 birthright. And *thus* Jacob became the elder, and Esau was demoted.

8 And the famine spread through all the land, and Isaac started out for Egypt in the second year of this week and came to
9 Abimelech, king of the Philistines, to Gerar. And the Lord appeared to him and said to him, Do not go down into Egypt: dwell in the land that I shall tell you of, and stay in this land *now* as an alien,
10 and I will be with you and bless you. For to you and your descendants will I give all this land, and I will fulfil my oath, which I swore to Abraham your father, and I will make your descendants as numerous as the stars of heaven, and I will give them all this
11 land. And in your descendants shall all the nations of the earth be blessed, because your father obeyed me and kept my charge and my commandments and my laws and my rules and my covenant;
12 and now, do you obey me and dwell in this land. And he dwelt in
13 Gerar three weeks of years. And Abimelech issued a warning about him, and about his property, that no one should molest either him or his property on pain of death.

14 And Isaac prospered among the Philistines and acquired great possessions – oxen and sheep and camels and asses and a large retinue of servants.⁴ And he sowed *seed* in the land of the Philistines and gathered in a hundred-fold. And Isaac prospered more and more, and the Philistines envied him. Now all the wells, which
16 Abraham's servants had dug during Abraham's lifetime, the Philistines had stopped up after his death and filled them with
17 earth. And Abimelech said to Isaac, Go away from us, for you are much stronger than we are; so Isaac left them in the first year of the
18 seventh week and settled in the valleys of Gerar. And they dug again⁵ the wells which his father Abraham's servants had dug, and which the Philistines had filled in after Abraham's death, and he called them by the same names as his father Abraham had called
19 them. And Isaac's servants dug a well in a valley and found running water, and the shepherds of Gerar started a dispute with Isaac's shepherds, saying, This water is ours; and Isaac called the well Perversity, Because, *he said*, they have been perverse with us.

⁴ So Lat. (*ministerium magnum*), as in the Heb. of Gen. xxvi. 14: Eth. 'a great possession'.

⁵ Lit. 'And as they went round about they dug'.

20 And they dug a second well, and they disputed about that too; and he called it Enmity.⁶ And he moved on from there and they dug another well, and about that there was no dispute; and he called it Plenty of Room,⁷ and Isaac said, Now has the Lord made room for us, and we are increased in numbers in the land.

21 And he went up from there to the Well of the Oath, in the first
22 year of the first week in the forty-fourth jubilee. And the Lord appeared to him that night, on the new moon of the first month, and said to him, I am the God of Abraham your father: do not be afraid, for I am with you, and I will bless you and make your descendants as many in number as the sand on the sea-shore,⁸ for
23 Abraham my servant's sake. And he built an altar there, where his father Abraham had built one before;⁹ and he invoked the Lord by
24 name and offered sacrifice to his father Abraham's God. And
25 they¹⁰ dug a well and found running water. And Isaac's servants dug another well and found no water, and they went and told Isaac that they had found no water; and Isaac said, I have sworn an oath to the Philistines to-day, and this is what¹¹ has happened to us.
26 And he called that place the Well of the Oath, for there he had sworn an oath to Abimelech, and Ahuzzath his friend, and Phicol
27 the commander of his army.¹² And Isaac realized that day that he had done wrong in swearing to them to make peace with them.

28 And Isaac cursed the Philistines that day and said, Accursed be the Philistines, more than all the nations, till the day of wrath and indignation: may God make them a laughing-stock and curse, and an object of wrath and indignation, in the hands of the sinful
29 Gentiles and in the hands of the Kittim. And whoever *of them* escapes the sword of the enemy and of the Kittim, may the righteous nation root *him* up in judgement from under heaven; for they shall be my children's enemies and foes in every generation on the earth.
30 And no remnant shall be left them, nor *shall there be* one that shall be saved on the day of the wrath of judgement: for destruction and

⁶ So Lat.: Eth. 'narrow'.

⁷ So Lat. (*capacitas*): Eth. 'spacious'.

⁸ Lit. 'sand of the earth'.

⁹ Lit. 'which his father Abraham had first built'.

¹⁰ One Eth. MS reads 'he' against all the other Eth. MSS and Lat. If this is the original reading, it is possible that the reference is to Abraham, who according to Gen. xxi. 25 and 30 had dug a well at Beersheba (and hence the name).

¹¹ Lit. 'this thing' or 'this word'.

¹² So Lat.: Eth. 'Phicol his commander'.

rooting up and expulsion from the earth is the whole brood¹³ of the Philistines *reserved*; and there shall not be left for any of those from
 31 Caphtor¹⁴ either name or posterity on earth. For though he ascend to heaven, from there shall he be brought down; and though he make himself strong on earth, from there shall he be pulled out; and though he hide himself among the nations, even from there shall he be rooted up; and though he descend into Sheol, there also shall relentless judgement be his lot, and there also he shall have no
 32 peace at all. And if he go into captivity, by the hands of those that seek his life he shall be struck down while on the way, and neither name nor posterity shall be left him in all the earth; for into eternal
 33 malediction he shall depart. And so it is written and engraved concerning him on the heavenly tablets, that this should be his fate on the day of judgement, so that he may be uprooted from the earth.

XXV. And in the second year of this week in this jubilee Rebecca summoned her son Jacob and admonished him, saying, My son, do not marry a Canaanite woman, like Esau your brother, who has married two Canaanite women, and they have been a constant source of distress to me¹ with all their wanton ways; for they are utterly debauched and dissolute, and there is no righteousness in them whatever — *everything they do* is evil. But I am devoted to you,
 2 my son, and I bless you with all my heart and soul² every hour of the day and through the watches of the night. And now, my son,
 3 listen to what I say, and do what your mother wants: do not marry a woman from here, but choose someone from my father's house and of my father's kin. If you do marry someone from my father's house, then³ the Most High God will bless you and your children will be a righteous generation and a holy stock.⁴

4 And Jacob answered his mother Rebecca and said to her, Behold, mother, I am nine weeks of years old, and I have neither known nor touched any woman, nor have I pledged myself in marriage to

¹³ Lit. 'seed'.

¹⁴ Lit. 'for all the Caphtorim'.

¹ Lit. 'they have embittered my soul'.

² Lit. 'and my heart and my affection bless you'.

³ Lit. 'You shall marry . . . , and'

⁴ Lit. 'seed'.

anyone, nor have I even thought of marrying a Canaanite woman.
 5 For I remember, mother, what our father Abraham said, how he commanded me not to marry a Canaanite woman, but to choose a
 6 wife from my father's clan⁵ and from my own kith and kin. I heard long ago that your brother Laban had some daughters, and I have
 7 set my heart on them, to find a wife among them. And that is why I have kept myself from sinning or being corrupted in any way at any time in my life; for my father Abraham gave me many warnings to
 8 beware of lust and fornication. And in spite of all his warnings to me, for twenty-two years my brother has argued with me and said to me time and time again, My brother, take a sister of *one of my*
 9 two wives as a wife; but I refuse to do as he did. I swear before you, mother, that never while I live will I marry a woman of Canaanite
 10 ancestry, and I will not do what is wrong as my brother did. Do not be afraid mother: be assured I will do what you want and live a blameless life and keep myself always from wicked ways.

11 And at this she looked up to heaven and spread out the fingers of her hands, and opened her mouth, and blessed the Most High God who created heaven and earth, and gave him thanks and praise.
 12 And she said, Blessed be the Lord God, and may his holy name be blessed for ever and ever, he who has given me Jacob as a pure son and a holy offspring; for he is thine, and thine shall his offspring be
 13 continually and in every generation for evermore. Bless him, O Lord, and put in my mouth the blessing of righteousness, that I may bless him.

14 And at that very moment, when the spirit of righteousness⁶ came down upon her mouth, she placed both her hands on Jacob's head and said, Blessed art thou, Lord of righteousness and God of the
 15 ages; and as for you, *Jacob*, may he bless you more than all the generations of men: may he set you, my son, on the path of
 16 righteousness, and reveal righteousness to your descendants. And may he multiply your sons while you are still alive, and may they equal in number the months of the year; and may their sons multiply and surpass in number the stars of heaven, and their
 17 numbers be more than the sand of the sea. And may he give them this goodly land (as he said he would give it for all time to Abraham

⁵ Lit. 'from the seed of my father's house'.

⁶ One MS reads 'the holy spirit'.

and his descendants after him), and may they hold it as a possession for ever. And while I am still alive, my son, may I see blessed children *born* to you; and a blessed and holy race may all your descendants be. And as you have refreshed your mother's spirit while she was still alive, the womb of her that bore you blesses you thus: my bosom⁷ and my breasts bless you, and my mouth and my tongue extol you. May you increase and spread over the earth, and may your descendants be perfect in the joy of heaven and earth for ever; and may those who spring from you rejoice, and on the day of great peace may they have peace. May your name and your line endure through every age, and may the Most High God be their God; and may the God of righteousness dwell with them, and by them may his sanctuary be built *and stand* for ever. Blessed be the man that blesses you, and any man that curses you without due cause, may he be cursed.

And she kissed him and said to him, May the Lord of the world love you *as much* as your mother's heart and her affection *for you* rejoice in you and bless you. And she brought her blessing to an end.

XXVI. And in the seventh year of this week Isaac called Esau, his elder son, and said to him, I am old, my son, and behold my eyes have failed, and I do not know when I shall die. And now, take your hunting gear, your quiver and your bow, and go out into the country, and go hunting and get *some venison* for me, my son, and make me a dish¹ of the kind I like, and bring it to me to eat, so that I may give you my blessing before I die. But Rebecca heard Isaac talking to Esau. And Esau went out early into the country to go hunting and get *the venison* and bring *it* home to his father.

And Rebecca called her son Jacob and said to him, Behold, I heard your father Isaac talking to your brother Esau, saying, Go out hunting for me, and make me a dish¹ of the kind I like, and bring *it* to me, so that I may give you my blessing before I die. And

⁷ Or 'my natural affections'. The word in the Heb. original was probably *rah^hmim*, usually explained as an intensive plural of the word previously translated 'womb' (*rehem*).

¹ Lit. 'make me food'.

now, my son, listen to me and do what I tell you: go to your flock and fetch me two choice kids from the goats, and I will make them into a dish² for your father of the kind he likes, and you shall take *it* to your father, so that he may eat *it* and bless you in the Lord's presence before he dies, and you may be blessed *instead of Esau*. And Jacob said to his mother Rebecca, Mother, I am not being niggardly about *providing* what my father likes to eat and what would please him: I am only afraid, mother, that he will recognise my voice and want to touch me. And you know that I am smooth, but my brother Esau is hairy, and he will think I am a blackguard and doing something he has not told me to do; and he will be angry with me, and I shall bring a curse on myself and not a blessing. And his mother Rebecca said to him, Let your curse fall on me, my son: only do what I say.

And Jacob did as his mother Rebecca told him, and he went and fetched two choice fat kids from the goats and brought them to his mother, and his mother made them into a dish³ of the kind that Isaac liked, And Rebecca took her elder son Esau's best clothes that were with her in the house, and clothed her younger son Jacob in them, and she put the skins of the kids on his hands and the exposed parts of his neck. And she gave her son Jacob the dish she had cooked and the bread she had baked.⁴ And Jacob went in to his father and said, I am your son; I have done as you told me: come and sit and eat what I have got *for you*, father, so that you may give me your blessing. And Isaac said to his son, How have you found it so quickly, my son? And Jacob said, Because the Lord your God⁵ helped me to find *it*.⁶ And Isaac said to him, Come close to me, so that I can feel you, my son, *to make sure* whether you are my son Esau or not. And Jacob came close to his father Isaac; and he felt him and said, The voice is Jacob's voice, but the hands are Esau's hands. And he did not recognize him, for it was a dispensation from heaven to remove his powers of perception;⁷ and Isaac did not recognize him because his hands were hairy like Esau's, and so he

² Lit. 'make them into food'.

³ Lit. 'made them into food'.

⁴ Lit. 'prepared'.

⁵ So Lat.: Eth. 'Because your God'.

⁶ Other Eth. readings 'caused me to find *it*' and 'showed *it* to me': Lat. 'directed it before me'.

⁷ Lit. 'his spirit'.

19 blessed him. And he said, Are you my son Esau? And he said, I am
 20 your son. And he said, Bring me *the venison* that you have found, my
 21 son, so that I may eat *some* of it and give you my blessing. And he
 22 brought it to him, and he ate it; and he brought him wine and he
 drank. And his father Isaac said to him, Come close and kiss me,
 my son. And he came close and kissed him.
 And he smelled the smell of his clothes, and he blessed him and
 said,

Behold, the smell of my son is like the smell of a field⁸ which
 the Lord has blessed.

23 And may the Lord give you in abundance of the dew of
 heaven
 And of the dew of the earth,
 And corn and oil in plenty:
 May nations serve you
 And the people bow down to you.
 24 Be lord over your brothers,
 And may your mothers sons bow down to you;
 And may all the blessings which the Lord has bestowed on
 me and on my father Abraham,
 Be bestowed on you and on your descendants for ever.
 Accursed be the man that curses you,
 And blessed be the man that blesses you.

25 And it came to pass after Isaac had finished blessing his son
 Jacob, and after Jacob had left his father Isaac, [he hid himself;
 26 and]⁹ his brother Esau came in from his hunting. And he also made
 a dish¹⁰ and brought *it* to his father; and he said to his father,
 Come, father, and eat of my venison, so that you may give me your
 27 blessing. And his father Isaac said to him, Who are you? And he
 said to him, I am your elder son Esau: I have done as you told me.
 28 And Isaac was greatly astonished and said, Who is it then that has
 gone out hunting and got *venison* and brought *it* to me? I ate all of it
 before you came in, and I have blessed him, *and so* he will indeed be
 blessed, *he* and all his descendants for ever.

⁸ So Eth.: Lat. 'a full field'.

⁹ A later addition according to Charles.

¹⁰ Lit. 'made food'.

29 And it came to pass, when Esau heard what his father Isaac said,
 he gave a loud and bitter cry, and said to his father, Bless me also,
 30 father. And he said to him, Your brother has treacherously come
 and taken away your blessing. And he said, Now I realize why he is
 called Jacob: behold, he has tricked me twice: he took away my
 31 birthright, and now he has taken away my blessing. And he said,
 Have you no blessing left over for me, father? And Isaac answered
 and said to Esau, Behold, I have made him lord over you, and all
 his brothers have I given him as servants, and with plenty of corn
 and wine and oil have I enriched him; and now what can I do for
 32 you, my son? And Esau said to his father Isaac, Have you only one
 blessing,¹¹ father? Bless me also, father. And Esau cried aloud and
 33 wept. And Isaac answered and said to him,

Behold, of the dew of the earth shall your dwelling be,
 And of the dew of heaven from above.

34 And by your sword you shall live,
 And you shall serve your brother.
 And it shall come to pass, when you have the power,¹²
 And shake his yoke from your neck,
 It will be counted against you as a deadly sin,¹³
 And your offspring will be uprooted from under heaven.

35 And Esau kept threatening Jacob because of the blessing his father
 had given him; and he said to himself, I wish the time of mourning
 for my father would come, so that I can kill my brother Jacob.

XXVII. And what Esau, her elder son, was saying was told
 2 Rebecca in a dream. And Rebecca sent for Jacob, her younger son,
 and said to him, Behold, your brother Esau is planning to get his
 3 own back on you and kill you. So now, my son, do what I tell you,
 and make your escape and go to Laban, my brother in Haran, and
 stay with him awhile, till your brother's anger cools, and he thinks
 no more about it,¹ and forgets all you have done *to him*: then I will
 4 send and fetch you back. And Jacob said, I am not afraid of *him*: if

¹¹ Lit. 'Is your blessing only one?'

¹² Lit. 'become great'.

¹³ Lit. 'You will sin a complete sin unto death'.

¹ Lit. 'and he removes his anger from you'.

5 he wants to kill me, I will kill him. But she said to him, Do not be
6 the cause of my losing both my sons the same day. And Jacob said
to his mother Rebecca, Behold, you know how old my father is, and
he cannot see because his eyes have failed: if I leave him, he will
think it wrong of me to leave him and go away from you, and my
father will be angry and curse me. I will not go: only if he sends me
7 will I go. And Rebecca said to Jacob, I will go in and talk to him,
and he will send you away.

8 And Rebecca went in and said to Isaac, I am sick to death of² the
two Hittite women that Esau has married; and if Jacob marries a
local girl like them, I shall find life unendurable,³ for Canaanite
women are insufferable.⁴

9 And Isaac called Jacob and blessed him and admonished him
and said to him, Do not choose a wife from among the Canaanites.
10 Go now to Mesopotamia, to the house of Bethuel, your mother's
father, and find a wife there, one of Laban your mother's brother's
11 daughters. And God Almighty bless you, and make you fruitful,
and multiply you, so that you may become a host of nations; and
may he bestow on you the blessings of my father Abraham, and on
your descendants after you, so that you may take possession of the
land you live in now, even all the land that God gave to Abraham.
12 Go, my son, in peace. And Isaac sent Jacob away; and he went to
Mesopotamia, to Laban, the son of Bethuel the Syrian, the brother
of Rebecca, Jacob's mother.

13 And it came to pass after Jacob had gone away to Mesopotamia,
14 Rebecca fretted after her son and wept. And Isaac said to Rebecca,
My sister do not weep on my son Jacob's account; for he has gone
5 in peace, and he will return in peace. The Most High God will keep
him from all evil and be with him and never fail him at any time.
6 For I know that his paths will be prospered⁵ in every way, wherever
7 he goes, till he returns to us in peace. Have no fear on his account,
my sister, for he is upright in all his dealings, and a man of integrity
and faithful,⁶ and he will come to no harm *at all*. Do not weep. And
Isaac comforted Rebecca on account of her son Jacob; and he
blessed him.

² Lit. 'I loathe my life because of'.

³ Lit. 'to what purpose shall I live further'.

⁵ So Lat.: Eth. 'that he will prosper'.

⁴ Lit. 'evil'.

⁶ Or 'truthful'.

19 And Jacob left the Well of the Oath for Haran in the first year of
the second week in the forty-fourth jubilee, and he came to Luz
among the mountains (that is Bethel) on the new moon of the first
month of this week; and he came to the place in the evening, and
turned aside off the road, towards the west, for the night, and he lay
20 down to sleep there⁷ – for the sun had set. And he took one of the
stones of that place and laid it at his head,⁸ under the tree;⁹ and he
was journeying on his own, and went to sleep.

21 And that night he had a dream, and behold, a ladder was set up
on the ground, and the top of it reached to heaven, and the angels
of the Lord were going up and down on it; and behold the Lord was
22 standing on it. And he spoke to Jacob and said, I am the Lord, the
God of your father Abraham, and the God of Isaac: the land on
which you are sleeping will I give to you and your descendants
23 after you. And your descendants shall be as *numerous as the specks of*
dust on the ground, and you shall spread west and east, *and north*
and south, and in you and your descendants shall all the tribes of
24 the earth¹⁰ be blessed. And behold, I will be with you, and I will
protect you wherever you go, and I will bring you back to this land
in peace; for I will never leave you until I have done everything I
promised you.

25 And Jacob **woke up from his sleep**¹¹ and said, Truly this place is
the house of the Lord, and I did not know it. And he was afraid and
said, *How awesome is this place, which is no other than the house of*
26 *the Lord, and this is the gate of heaven.* And Jacob got up in the
morning early, and he took the stone he had put under his head
and set it up as a pillar for a sign, and he poured oil on the top of it;
and he named that place Bethel (but the country's name before
27 was Luz). And Jacob made a vow¹² to the Lord saying, If the Lord
will be with me and protect me on my journey, and give me bread
to eat and clothes to wear, and I come back to my father's house in
peace, then shall the Lord be my God, and this stone I have set up
as a pillar for a sign in this place shall be the Lord's house; and of
all that thou givest me, I will give a tenth to thee, my God.

⁷ Lit. 'he slept there'.

⁸ So Lat.: Eth. om. 'at his head'.

⁹ Presumably the '*asherah*' at the 'place' (= 'sanctuary').

¹⁰ So Lat.: Eth. 'countries of the nations'.

¹¹ Text 'slept a sleep'.

¹² Or 'prayer'.

XXVIII. And he resumed his journey and came to the land of the East, to Laban, Rebecca's brother; and he stayed with him and became his servant for his daughter Rachel, one week. And in the first year of the third week he said to him, Give me my wife, for whom I have served you seven years; and Laban said to Jacob, I will give you your wife. And Laban prepared a feast, and he took Leah, his elder daughter, and gave her to Jacob as *his* wife (and he gave her Zilpah his *own* slave-girl as *her* slave-girl); and Jacob did not realize it, but thought she was Rachel. And he slept with her, and *when morning came*, behold, she was Leah; and Jacob was angry with Laban and said to him, Why have you done this to me? Did I not *agree* to serve you for Rachel and not for Leah? Why have you done me this wrong? Take your daughter, and I will go: you have tricked me.¹ (For Jacob loved Rachel more than Leah, for Leah's eyes had no sparkle, despite her shapely figure, whereas Rachel had attractive eyes as well as an attractive and very shapely figure.)

And Laban said to Jacob, In our country it is not the custom to give the younger *sister in marriage* before the elder. (And *indeed*, it is not right to do this; for so it is ordained and written on the heavenly tablets, that no one should give his younger daughter *in marriage* before the elder, but the elder should be given first; and the man who does so has it entered to his discredit in heaven, and no one is righteous that does it, for to do such a thing is abhorrent to the Lord. And give the sons of Israel orders that they should not do it: see that they neither take nor give the younger *in marriage* without having given the elder first, for *to do so* is very wicked.) And Laban said to Jacob, Let the seven days of Leah's feast² run their course, and *then* I will give you Rachel *on the understanding* that you serve me another seven years and pasture my sheep as you did in the previous week. And on *one of* the days, when the seven days of Leah's feast were over, Laban gave Rachel to Jacob, that he might serve him another seven years (and he gave Rachel as *her* slave-girl Bilhah, Zilpah's sister). And he served seven years more for Rachel, for Leah had been given him to no purpose.

And the Lord made Leah fruitful, and she conceived and bore

¹ Lit. 'you have done evil to me'.

² Lit. 'of the feast of this one'.

Jacob a son, and he called him Reuben, on the fourteenth day of the ninth month, in the first year of the third week. But Rachel had no children, for the Lord saw that Leah was neglected³ and Rachel loved. And Jacob slept with Leah again, and she conceived and bore Jacob a second son, and he called him Simeon, on the twenty-first of the tenth month, and in the third year of this week. And again Jacob slept with Leah, and she conceived and bore him a third son, and he called him Levi, on the new moon of the first month in the sixth year of this week. And again Jacob slept with her, and she conceived and bore him a fourth son, and he called him Judah, on the fifteenth of the third month, in the †first† year of the †fourth† week.

And because of all this Rachel was jealous of Leah (for she herself had no children), and she said to Jacob, Give me children; and Jacob said, Have I denied you children? Have I deserted you? And when Rachel saw that Leah had borne Jacob four sons, Reuben and Simeon and Levi and Judah, she said to him, Sleep with my slave-girl Bilhah, and she will conceive and bear me a son. And she gave *him* her slave-girl Bilhah as a wife; and he slept with her, and she conceived and bore him a son, and he called him Dan, on the ninth of the sixth month, in the †sixth† year of the †third† week. And Jacob slept with Bilhah again, a second time, and she conceived and bore Jacob another son, and Rachel called him Naphtali, on the fifth of the seventh month, in the second year of the fourth week.

And when Leah saw that she had no more children, she became jealous of Rachel; and she also gave her slave-girl, Zilpah, to Jacob as a wife, and she conceived and bore a son, and Leah called him Gad, on the twelfth of the eighth month, in the third year of the fourth week. And he slept with her again, and she conceived and bore him a second son, and Leah called him Asher, on the second of the eleventh month, in the †fifth† year of the fourth week. And Jacob slept with Leah; and she conceived and bore a son and she called him Issachar, on the fourth of the fifth month, in the †fourth† year of the fourth week; and she gave him to a nurse. And Jacob slept with her again, and she conceived and bore twins, a son

³ Lit. 'hated'.

and a daughter, and she called the son Zabulon and the daughter Dinah, on the seventh of the seventh month, in the sixth year of the fourth week. And the Lord showed Rachel favour and made her fruitful, and she conceived and bore a son, and she called him Joseph, on the new moon of the fourth month, in the †sixth† year in this fourth week.

24 And at the time Joseph was born, Jacob said to Laban, Give me my wives and sons, and let me go to my father Isaac and let me set up my household *there*;⁴ for I have completed my years of service to you for your two daughters, and I will go to my father's house. And Laban said to Jacob, Tell me what wages you want from me,⁵ and pasture my flock for me again, and I will pay your wages.⁶ And they agreed with one another that he should give him as his wages the lambs and the kids that were born either grey or spotted or speckled: *these* were to be his wages. And all the sheep produced lambs that were either spotted or speckled or grey, and they again produced lambs like themselves; and all that were spotted were Jacob's and those that were not were Laban's.⁷ And Jacob's possessions increased more and more – oxen and sheep and asses and camels, and male slaves and female slaves. And Laban and his sons were jealous of Jacob; and Laban withdrew his sheep from him, and eyed him with evil intent.

XXIX. And it came to pass, after Rachel had given birth to Joseph, Laban went to shear his sheep (a three day's journey each way).

2 And Jacob saw that Laban was going to shear his sheep; and Jacob

⁴ Lit. 'let me make a house'.

⁵ Emended in the light of Gen. xxx. 28. Eth. has 'Wait with me for your wages' and Lat. '*Expecta me in mercede*'; neither of which Charles considered satisfactory.

⁶ So Lat.: Eth. 'and take your wages'.

⁷ Both the text and the precise meaning of some of the Eth. words used to indicate differences of colour in this passage are uncertain. However, the general sense, that things turned out very much to Jacob's advantage, is plain. Gen. xxx. 32–42 describes in detail how Jacob arranged this himself; and part of the obscurity of the Jubilees version is due to the fact that the author, by abbreviating so drastically the Genesis account, has confused the details in Genesis that apply to the sheep with others that apply to the goats – unless, perhaps, several lines have at some stage in the copying fallen out of the original text.

called Leah and Rachel and persuaded them to go¹ with him to the land of Canaan. He told them how he had seen everything in a dream, and how *the Lord* had given him instructions to return to his father's house; and they said, Wherever you go, we will go with you. And Jacob blessed the God of his father Isaac, and the God of his grandfather Abraham, and he made his preparations, and mounted his wives and his children, and took all his possessions, and crossed the river, and came to the land of Gilead; and Jacob kept his plan secret from Laban and did not tell him.

3 And *it was* in the seventh year of the fourth week that Jacob started out for Gilead, in the first month, on the twenty-first *day of the month*. And Laban went after him and overtook Jacob in the highlands of Gilead, in the third month, on the thirteenth *day of the month*. And the Lord did not allow him to injure Jacob (for he appeared to him in a dream by night); and Laban talked with Jacob.

4 And on the fifteenth *day* of the month² Jacob prepared a feast for Laban and all those who had come with him; and Jacob and Laban made an agreement that day under oath that neither would cross the highlands of Gilead with hostile intent against the other. And he erected a cairn there *to stand* as a witness: that is why that place is called The Cairn of Witness – after the cairn. (At one time³ they used to call the land of Gilead the land of the Rephaim; for it was the land of the Rephaim, and the Rephaim originated *there*⁴ – giants, whose height was ten, nine, eight down to seven, cubits. And their settlements extended from the land of the Ammonites to Mount Hermon; and the seats of their kingdom were Karnaim and Ashtaroth and Edrei and Misur and Beon. And the Lord destroyed them because of the wickedness of their doings, for they were very wicked; and the Amorites replaced them, *so* wicked and sinful *were they* – there is no people in existence to-day that can compete with them in sin,⁵ and that is why they perished.⁶)

5 And Jacob sent Laban away, and he went back to Mesopotamia, the land of the East; and Jacob returned to the land of Gilead. And

¹ Lit. 'and spoke kindly to them that they should go'.

² Lit. 'of those days'.

³ Or 'previously'.

⁴ Lit. 'were born *there*'.

⁵ Lit. 'that has filled up all their sins'.

⁶ Lit. 'and they had (have) no longer length of life on earth'.

he crossed the Jabbok in the ninth month, on the eleventh *day of the month*. And on that day his brother Esau came to him, and was reconciled,⁷ and left him for the land of Seir; and Jacob was living in tents.

- 14 And in the first year of the fifth week in this jubilee he crossed the
Jordan, and settled beyond the Jordan, and pastured his sheep
15 from. . .⁸ And he sent to his father Isaac from his household goods,
clothing and food and meat and drink and milk and butter and
16 cheese and some dates of the valley (and to his mother Rebecca
also), four times a year – between the times of the months,
between ploughing and reaping, between autumn and winter,⁹
17 and between winter and spring,¹⁰ to the tower of Abraham. (For
Isaac had left the Well of the Oath and moved to the tower of his
father Abraham and was living there, separately from his son
18 Esau. For after Jacob had gone to Mesopotamia, Esau had
married *another* wife, Mahalath, Ishmael's daughter, and had
taken all his father's flocks, and his wives, and had gone and settled
in the hill-country of Seir and left his father Isaac at the Well of the
19 Oath alone. And Isaac had moved from the Well of the Oath and
was living in the tower of his father Abraham on the highlands by
20 Hebron.) And there Jacob sent everything he sent from time to
time to his father and his mother, all they needed; and they blessed
Jacob heart and soul.

- XXX. And in the first year of the sixth week he went up to Salem,
2 to the east of Shechem, in peace, in the fourth month. And there
they carried off Dinah, Jacob's daughter, to the house of Shechem,
the son of Hamor, the Hivite, the prince of the land; and he lay with
her and defiled her (and she was a little girl, a child, *only* twelve
3 years old). And he asked his father and her brothers that she might

⁷ So Lat.: Eth. 'they were reconciled with one another'.

⁸ Eth. 'from the sea of the cairn to Bethshan and to Dothan and to (one MS adds 'the forest of') Akrabbim': Lat. '*a mare salso usque (Bethasan et usque Dothaim et usque agrum Acrabin'*. The area described would appear to lie west of the Jordan and the Dead Sea, and to extend from Bethshan and Dothan in the north to 'the ascent of Akrabbim' (cp. Num. xxxiv. 4; Josh. xv. 3), bordering on Edomite territory, in the south.

⁹ Lit. 'the rain'.

¹⁰ Jacob, that is, sent his gifts on the first day of the first, fourth, seventh, and tenth months (cp. vi. 23 above).

be given him as his wife. And Jacob and his sons were furious with the Shechemites because they had defiled their sister Dinah, and they determined on revenge, but they kept their counsel and dissimulated.¹

- 4 And Simeon and Levi came to Shechem without warning,² and
executed judgement on all the Shechemites, and killed every man
they found *there*, and left not a single survivor: they killed them all
without mercy,³ because they had dishonoured their sister Dinah.
5 And let no Israelite girl ever be defiled in this way again; for
judgement was ordained in heaven against them – that all the
Shechemites should perish by the sword, because they had com-
6 mitted an outrage in Israel. And the Lord delivered them into the
hands of Jacob's sons, so that they might exterminate them with
the sword and execute judgement on them, and so that it might not
happen again in Israel that an Israelite virgin should be *thus*
defiled.
7 And if there is ever a man in Israel who is desirous of giving his
daughter or his sister *in marriage* to a man who is a Gentile, he shall
be stoned to death, for he has committed an outrage in Israel, and
the woman shall be burned *alive*, because she has defiled the name
8 of her father's house, and she shall be rooted out of Israel. And let
no harlot nor any uncleanness be found in Israel at any time;⁴ for
Israel is holy to the Lord, and every man who causes defilement
9 shall be stoned to death. For so it has been decreed and written on
the heavenly tablets about the stock of Israel in perpetuity⁵ – a man
10 who causes defilement shall be stoned to death. And to this law
there is no time limit, neither *can there be any* relaxation of it nor
substitute⁶ *for it*; but the man who has defiled his daughter shall be
rooted out before the whole people of Israel,⁷ because he has given
of his offspring to Moloch, and acted profanely and so defiled it.
11 And do you, Moses, command the sons of Israel and exhort

¹ Lit. ' . . . Dinah, and they spoke to them with evil intent, and dealt deceitfully with them and beguiled them'.

² So Eth.: Lat. 'determined to exterminate them'.

³ So Eth. (lit. 'in torment'): Lat. 'in judgement'.

⁴ Lit. 'throughout all the days of the generations of the earth'.

⁵ Lit. 'about all the seed of Israel'.

⁶ Lit. 'atonement' (Lat. *propitiatio*).

⁷ Lit. 'in the midst of all Israel'.

12 them not to give their daughters *in marriage* to the Gentiles, and not
 13 to take for their sons⁸ *wives* of the Gentiles' daughters, for this is
 14 abominable to the Lord. For this reason I have written for you in
 15 the words of the law all the details of what the Shechemites did to
 16 Dinah, and how Jacob's sons spoke up and said, We will not give
 17 our daughter to a man who is uncircumcised, for that would be a
 18 disgrace for us. And it is a disgrace for an Israelite⁹ to give *his*
 19 *daughter to the Gentiles in marriage* and to take the Gentiles' daughters
 20 *as wives for his sons* – for this is unclean and abominable in Israel.
 21 And Israel will not be free from this uncleanness if anyone has a
 22 wife of the Gentiles' daughters, or has given any of his own daugh-
 23 ters to a man who is a Gentile. For there will follow plague on
 24 plague and curse on curse, and every judgement and plague and
 25 curse will fall on Israel¹⁰ if they¹¹ do this thing or hide their¹¹ eyes
 26 from those responsible for the uncleanness,¹² or who defile the
 Lord's sanctuary or profane his holy name: *thus* the whole nation
 will be judged together for all this uncleanness and profanation.¹³
 And there will be no respect of persons and no consideration of
 persons, and no receiving at anyone's hands of fruits and offerings
 and whole-offerings and fat, nor will the sweet smell of his soothing
 sacrifices be accepted; and so will every man or woman in
 Israel fare who defiles the sanctuary. For this reason I have com-
 manded you, saying, Give Israel this solemn warning: see how the
 Shechemites fared and their sons: *see* how they were delivered into
 the hands of two of Jacob's sons, and how they killed them without
 mercy,¹⁴ and it was reckoned to them as righteousness and
 accounted to their credit.

18 And the descendants of Levi were chosen for the priesthood, and
 to be Levites, that they might minister before the Lord (as we¹⁵ *do*)
 continually; and Levi and his sons are blessed for ever, for he
 showed zeal to execute righteousness and judgement and ven-
 19 geance on all those who rose up against Israel. And so blessing and

⁸ So Lat.: one Eth. MS reads 'for themselves', the rest om. altogether.

⁹ Lit. 'for Israel'.

¹⁰ Supplied on the basis of the Latin 'on him'.

¹¹ Lit. 'it (he) . . . its (his)'.

¹² Lit. 'those who commit uncleanness'.

¹³ So Eth.: Lat. 'for all the abominations and contaminations of this man'.

¹⁴ See verse 4 above. ¹⁵ i.e. the angels.

20 righteousness are inscribed on the heavenly tablets as a testimony
 in his favour before the God of all. And we remember the righteous
 acts¹⁶ which the man did in his lifetime, at every period of the year:
 for a thousand generations they¹⁶ will be recorded, and the bles-
 sings resulting from them¹⁷ will come upon him and upon his
 descendants after him; and he has been described in the record on
 21 the heavenly tablets as a friend and a righteous man. All this
 account I have written for you, and I have commanded you to tell
 the sons of Israel not to commit sin nor transgress the command-
 ments nor break the covenant that has been ordained for them, *but*
 22 to keep it and be *themselves* described as friends. But if they trans-
 gress and engage in unclean practices of any kind,¹⁸ they will be
 described as adversaries and their names¹⁹ erased from the book of
 life, and they will be recorded in the book of those who are to be
 23 destroyed and uprooted from the earth. And on the day when
 Jacob's sons killed Shechem it was recorded in their favour in
 heaven that they had executed righteousness and justice and ven-
 geance on the sinners; and it was written as a blessing.

24 And they brought their sister Dinah out of Shechem's house,
 and they laid their hands on everything there was in Shechem,
 their sheep and their oxen and their asses, and all their flocks and
 all their wealth, and they brought them all to their father Jacob.
 25 And he reproached them²⁰ for putting the city to the sword,
 because he was afraid of the Canaanites and the Perizzites who
 26 were living in the land. And the dread of the Lord was on all the
 cities in the neighbourhood of Shechem; and they made no attempt
 to pursue²¹ Jacob's sons, for terror had fallen on them.

XXXI. And on the new moon of the month Jacob spoke to all the
 members of his household, saying, Purify yourselves and change
 your clothes, and let us get up and go to Bethel, where I vowed a
 vow to the Lord¹ on the day I fled from my brother Esau, because

¹⁶ Lit. 'righteousness . . . it'.

¹⁷ Lit. 'and it'.

¹⁸ Lit. 'act in any of the ways of uncleanness'.

¹⁹ Lit. 'and they will be'.

²⁰ Lit. 'spoke to them'.

²¹ So Lat.: Eth. 'expel'.

¹ Lit. 'to him'.

he has been with me and brought me into this land in peace; and do
 2 you rid yourselves of the foreign gods that are among you. And
 they gave up² the foreign gods, and *the ornaments* that were in their
 ears and on their necks; and Rachel gave to Jacob all the idols that
 she had stolen from her father Laban. And he burnt *them* and broke
 them in pieces and destroyed³ them, and he hid them under an oak
 near⁴ Shechem.

3 And he went up on the new moon of the seventh month to
 Bethel. And he built an altar at the place where he had slept, and
 he set up a pillar there; and he sent word to his father Isaac to come
 4 to him to his sacrifice, and to his mother Rebecca. And Isaac said,
 Let my son Jacob come *to me*, and let me see him *here* before I die.
 5 And Jacob went to his father Isaac and to his mother Rebecca, to
 the house of his father Abraham; and he took two of his sons with
 him, Levi and Judah, and came to his father Isaac and his mother
 Rebecca.

6 And Rebecca came out from the tower, to the gate of the tower,
 to kiss Jacob and embrace him (for her spirit revived when she
 heard *the words*, Behold, Jacob your son has come), and she kissed
 7 him. And she saw his two sons, and she recognized them and said
 to him, Are these your sons, my son? And she embraced them
 and kissed them and blessed them, saying, Through you shall
 Abraham's line become famous, and you shall be a blessing on the
 earth.

8 And Jacob went in to his father Isaac, into the room where he
 was lying, and his two sons were with him; and he took his father's
 hand, and stooping down he kissed him; and Isaac clung to his son
 9 Jacob's neck, and wept upon his neck. And the darkness left
 Isaac's eyes, and he saw Jacob's two sons, Levi and Judah, and he
 10 said, Are these your sons, my son, for they are like you? And he told
 him that they were indeed his sons (You have rightly seen, *he said*,
 11 that they are indeed my sons). And they came near him, and he
 12 turned and kissed them and embraced them both together. And
 the spirit of prophecy came down upon his mouth, and he took
 Levi by his right hand and Judah by his left.

² So Charles, by a slight change in the Eth. ('they melted down'). The Lat. is not
 extant at this point.

³ Lit. 'defaced'.

⁴ Lit. 'in the land of'.

13 And he turned to Levi first, and began to bless him first, and said
 to him, May the God of all, the very Lord of all the ages, bless you
 14 and your children through all the ages. And may the Lord give you
 and your descendants greatness and great glory,⁵ and set you and
 your descendants apart from all mankind to minister to him and to
 serve⁶ *him* in his sanctuary like the angels of the presence and the
 holy ones: like them your sons' descendants shall be accounted
 glorious, and great, and holy; and may he make them great for
 15 ever. And they shall be judges and princes and chiefs of all the
 descendants of Jacob's sons. They shall speak the Lord's word in
 righteousness, and dispense all his judgements in righteousness;
 and they shall declare my ways to Jacob and my paths to Israel: the
 blessing of the Lord shall be given by their mouths, to bless all the
 16 descendants of the beloved one. Your mother has named you Levi,
 and rightly she has named you: you shall be joined to the Lord, and
 be the companion of all the sons of Jacob. May his table be yours,
 and you and your sons eat of it; and may your table be full in every
 17 generation, and your food never fail to eternity. And may all who
 hate you fall down before you, and may all your adversaries be
 uprooted and perish; and blessed shall the man be that blesses you,
 and accursed every nation that curses you.

18 And to Judah he said, May the Lord give you strength and
 power to tread down all that hate you: a prince shall you be (you
 and one of your sons) over the sons of Jacob: may your name and
 your sons' name go out and spread through every land and region.
 Then shall the Gentiles fear you, and all nations quake, and all
 19 peoples stand in awe *of you*.⁷ In you shall be Jacob's help, and in
 20 you shall be found Israel's salvation. And when you sit on the
 throne of honour, your righteousness will bring⁸ great peace for all
 the offspring of the sons of the beloved one. Blessed shall the man
 be that blesses you; and all that hate you and afflict you and curse

⁵ So one Eth. MS: the others differ among themselves and from the Latin (*magno
 intellegere gloriam eius*).

⁶ Lit. 'and cause you and your seed from among all flesh to approach him to
 serve'.

⁷ Lit. 'quake', as in the preceding clause. Charles bracketed this clause as a
 dittograph.

⁸ Lit. 'will be'. Another reading is 'And when you sit on the throne of the honour
 of your righteousness there shall be . . .'

you shall be uprooted and destroyed from the earth and be accursed.

21 And he turned and kissed him again and embraced him, and rejoiced greatly (for he had seen his son Jacob's sons in very truth⁹). And he disengaged himself¹⁰ and fell down and bowed himself before him. And he blessed them. And he stayed there with his father Isaac that night; and they ate and drank with joy. And he made Jacob's two sons sleep, one on his right hand and the other on his left, and it was counted to him as righteousness. And during the night Jacob told his father everything, how the Lord had shown him great mercy, and how he had prospered *him* in every way and protected him from all evil. And Isaac blessed the God of his father Abraham, who had not withdrawn his mercy and his righteousness from his servant Isaac's sons.

26 And in the morning Jacob told his father Isaac about the vow he had vowed to the Lord and the vision he had seen, and that he had built an altar, and that everything was ready for the sacrifice to be made before the Lord as he had vowed, and that he had come to set him on an ass *and take him with him*. And Isaac said to his son Jacob, I cannot go with you, for I am too old and unable to stand the journey: go, my son, in peace, for I am a hundred and sixty-five years old today. My travelling days are done: set your mother *on the ass* and let her go with you. And I know, my son, that you have come because of me; and blessed be this day on which you have seen me *still* alive, and I also have seen you, my son. May you prosper and fulfil the vow that you have vowed; and do not put it¹¹ off, for you will be called to account in respect of it,¹² so make haste and fulfil it now, and may the maker of all things, to whom you have vowed the vow, be pleased.

30 And he said to Rebecca, Go with your son Jacob. And Rebecca went with her son Jacob, and Deborah with her, and they came to Bethel. And Jacob remembered the prayer with which his father had blessed him and his two sons, Levi and Judah; and he rejoiced and blessed the God of his fathers, Abraham and Isaac. And he

⁹ Or 'in righteousness'.

¹⁰ Lit. 'he went forth from between his feet'.

¹¹ Lit. 'your vow'.

¹² Lit. 'the vow'.

said, Now I know that I have an eternal hope, and my sons also, before the God of all.

And so it was decreed concerning the two; and how Isaac blessed them is recorded on the heavenly tablets as an eternal testimony.

XXXII. And he spent¹ that night at Bethel. And Levi dreamed that they had ordained him and made him the priest of the Most High God, him and his sons for ever; and he woke up from his sleep and blessed the Lord. And Jacob got up early in the morning, on the fourteenth of this month, and gave a tithe of everything that had come with him, of men and cattle, of gold, and of every vessel and garment: he gave tithes of all. And in these days Rachel was pregnant with her son Benjamin. And Jacob counted his sons from him upwards, and *so it was that* Levi was chosen to minister to the Lord;² and his father clothed him in the garments of the priesthood and installed him.³

4 And on the fifteenth of this month he brought to the altar fourteen oxen from the cattle, and twenty-eight rams, and forty-nine sheep, and seven⁴ lambs, and twenty-one⁴ kids from the goats, as a whole-offering on the altar, a sacrifice acceptable as a soothing odour before God. This was his offering in fulfilment of the vow he had vowed that he would give a tenth, with their fruit-offerings and their drink-offerings. And when the fire had consumed it he burnt incense on the fire over it, and for a thank-offering *he offered* two oxen, and four rams, and four sheep, four he-goats, and two sheep of a year old, and two kids from the goats; and so he did daily for seven days. And he and all his sons and his men ate there with joy for seven days, and he blessed and thanked the Lord who had delivered him from all his distress and granted him his prayer.⁵

8 And he tithed all the clean animals and made a whole-offering, but

¹ So Eth.: Lat. 'they slept'.

² Lit. 'and Levi fell to the portion (or 'lot') of the Lord'. The idea seems to be that as Levi was the third of Jacob's sons (so xxviii. 14 above) he would be the tenth if the count were started from the bottom with Benjamin.

³ Or 'consecrated him' (lit. 'filled his hands').

⁴ So Lat.: Eth. '... sixty ... twenty-nine'.

⁵ Lit. 'vow'.

the unclean animals he gave to his son Levi,⁶ and he gave him *also* all the souls of men. And Levi discharged the priestly office at Bethel before his father Jacob in preference to his ten brothers, and he was a priest there. And Jacob fulfilled his vow; in this way he tithed again the tithe to the Lord and hallowed it, and it became holy to him.

And for this reason it is decreed on the heavenly tablets as a law for the tithing again the tithe to eat before the Lord from year to year in the place chosen as a dwelling for his name; and to this law there is no time limit whatever. This decree is written that it may be fulfilled from year to year, and that the second tithe may be eaten before the Lord in the place chosen, and nothing of it shall be left over from one year to the next. For in its own year shall the seed be eaten till the time when the seed of that year is harvested, and the wine *be drunk* till the time when the grapes are gathered in,⁷ and the oil similarly.⁸ And whatever of it is left over and becomes stale—let it be treated as polluted: let it be burnt, for it is unclean. And so let *all of* them eat it together in the sanctuary and not allow it to become stale. And all the tithes of the oxen and sheep shall be holy to the Lord, and shall belong to his priests: they shall eat them before him from year to year; for it is so decreed and engraved about the tithe on the heavenly tablets.

And on the following night, on the twenty-second of this month, Jacob decided to start building *at* that place, and to surround the court with a wall, and to hallow it and make it holy for ever, for himself and his children after him. And the Lord appeared to him by night and blessed him and said to him, Your name shall no longer be Jacob, but Israel shall be your name. And he said to him again, I am the Lord who created heaven and earth, and I will increase you and multiply you greatly, and kings shall spring from you, and they shall sit in judgement in every land wherever men have set their feet. And I will give to your descendants all the earth that is⁹ under heaven, and they shall judge all the nations in accordance with their desires, and after that they shall gain possession of the entire earth and inherit it for ever.

⁶ Charles supplied a negative in this clause ('... he gave not to his son Levi?').

⁷ Lit. 'till the days of the wine'. ⁸ Lit. 'till the days of its season'.

⁹ So Eth.: Lat. 'all the blessings that are'.

And he finished speaking with him and went up from him; and Jacob looked *after him* till he had gone up into heaven. And that night he saw a vision, and behold, an angel came down from heaven with seven tablets in his hands, and he gave them to Jacob; and he read them and understood¹⁰ everything that was written on them — what would befall him and his sons in every age. And he showed him everything that was written on the tablets, and said to him, Do not start building *at* this place and do not make it either an eternal sanctuary or a permanent abode; for this is not the *chosen* place. Go to your father Abraham's house and live *there* with your father Isaac till the day of your father's death. You will die in peace in Egypt, but you will be buried in this land with honour in your fathers' grave, with Abraham and Isaac. Do not be afraid, for as you have seen and read it,¹¹ so shall it all be; and write down everything, just as you have seen *it* and read *it*. And Jacob said, Lord, how can I remember all that I have read and seen? And he said to him, I will see that you remember everything; and he went up from him. And he woke up from his sleep and remembered everything he had read and seen, and he wrote down every word.¹²

And he celebrated an extra day there, and he offered sacrifices on it, just as he had on the previous days; and he called it Addition¹³ (because it was an additional day¹³), and the previous days he called The Feast. And it was made plain that it should be *so*, and it is written on the heavenly tablets; and that is why it was revealed to him that he should celebrate it and add¹⁴ it to the seven days of the feast. And it was called Addition because it was recorded among the feast days according to the number of the days of the year.¹⁵

And on the twenty-third of this month, in the night, Deborah,

¹⁰ So Lat. ('got to know'); Eth. 'read'.

¹¹ Lit. 'he wrote down all the words that he had read and seen'.

¹² So Eth.: Lat. 'Keeping back' (*retentatio*). The allusion is to the 'closing ceremony' (Heb. '*ashereth*') of the feast of Tabernacles (cp. Lev. xxiii. 36, Num. xxix. 35, and Neh. viii. 18).

¹³ Lit. 'because this day was added (Lat. 'kept back' = *retentus est*)'.

¹⁴ So both Eth. and Lat. (*adicere*).

¹⁵ The Eth. and Lat. are in essential agreement on the text of this verse. Charles conjectured an original 'And it was called '*Ashereth*' when it was recorded among the feast days in the number of the days of the year.'

Rebecca's nurse, died, and they buried her below the city, under the oak by the river; and he¹⁶ called the place, Deborah's River, and the oak, The oak of mourning for Deborah. And Rebecca returned home to his father Isaac; and Jacob sent with her rams and sheep and he-goats, so that she could prepare food for his father of the kind he liked. And he went after his mother till he came to the land of Kabratan, and he settled there.

And Rachel gave birth to a son in the night, and she called him Son of my sorrow (for her birth-pangs were severe), but his father called him Benjamin – on the eleventh of the eighth month in the first year of the sixth week of this jubilee. And Rachel died there and was buried in the land of Ephratha (that is Bethlehem); and Jacob set up a pillar over Rachel's grave, by the road above her grave.

XXXIII. And Jacob moved and settled to the south of Migdal-Eder-Ephrata. And he went to *visit* his father Isaac, he and his wife Leah, on the new moon of the tenth month. And Reuben saw Bilhah, Rachel's maid, his father's concubine, bathing in water in a secluded place, and he became enamoured of her. And he hid himself and went into Bilhah's house at night and found her asleep alone on her bed in her house; and he lay with her. And she woke up and looked round, and behold Reuben was lying with her on the bed; and she lifted the edge of her coverlet and took hold of him, and when she realized it was Reuben she cried out aloud. And she was ashamed because of him,¹ and she let go of him, and he fled. And she was much upset by what had happened and said nothing to any one about it. And when Jacob returned and asked for² her, she said to him, I am not clean for you, for I have been defiled.³ Reuben defiled me and lay with me in the night, when I was asleep,

¹⁶ So Eth.: Lat. 'they'.

¹ So Eth.: Lat. 'he was ashamed because of her'. As the texts of this passage now stand, this is the only clear case of confusion about who was doing what. It is probable, however, that at earlier stages in the tradition there were more; and in the original it may well have been Reuben who lifted the edge of the coverlet and took hold of Bilhah, and then, when she cried out, let go of her, rather than *vice versa*.

² Lit. 'sought'.

³ Lit. 'defiled as regards you'.

and I did not realize *who it was* until he had uncovered my shame⁴ and had intercourse with me. And Jacob was very angry with Reuben because he had lain with Bilhah – because he had uncovered his father's shame. And Jacob did not approach her again because Reuben had defiled her.

And any man who uncovers his father's shame – what he does is wicked beyond measure, for he is abominable in the Lord's sight. That is *why* it is written and decreed on the heavenly tablets that a man should not lie with his father's wife and should not uncover his father's shame, for *to do* this is unclean: they shall be put to death together, the man who lies with his father's wife and the woman also, for they are guilty of uncleanness on the earth. And there shall be nothing unclean before our God in the nation that he has chosen for himself as a possession. And again, it is written a second time, Cursed be the man who lies with his father's wife, for he has uncovered his father's shame; and all the Lord's holy ones said, Amen, Amen.

And do you, Moses, command the sons of Israel to observe this injunction,⁵ for *transgression of it entails* the punishment of death, and it *concerns what* is unclean; and there is no atonement that can ever atone for the man who has committed this *sin*, but he must be killed and put to death by stoning and uprooted from among the people of our God. For no man who does this in Israel should be allowed to remain alive a single day on the earth, for he is abominable and unclean. And let no one say, Reuben was granted life and forgiveness after he had lain with his father's concubine, and so also was Bilhah,⁶ although she had a husband, and her husband Jacob (Reuben's⁷ father) was still alive. For at that time the ordinance and the decree and the law in its completeness, to cover every case,⁸ had not been revealed; but in your days *it has been revealed* as a law for *all* times and seasons, and as an everlasting law for all generations for ever. And for this law there is no time limit, neither can there be atonement for *transgression of it*, but both *the*

⁴ Lit. 'skirt' and so also in verses 8, 9, 10 and 12.

⁵ Lit. 'this word'.

⁶ Lit. 'To Reuben was granted . . . and to her also'.

⁷ Lit. 'his'.

⁸ Lit. 'for all'.

man and the woman must be uprooted from the nation: on the day on which they committed the sin⁹ they shall be put to death.

18 And do you, Moses, write *it* down for Israel, that they may observe it, and not do such a thing, and not commit a mortal sin; for the Lord our God is a judge who neither respects persons nor
19 accepts bribes. And tell them these words of the covenant, that they may hear *them*, and observe *them*, and be on their guard in relation to them, and *take care* not to be destroyed and uprooted from the land; for all on the earth who commit this sin¹⁰ are an uncleanness and an abomination and a contamination and a pollution before our God. And there is no sin on earth they can commit
20 greater than fornication, for Israel is a holy nation to the Lord its God, and a special nation of his own, and a priestly and royal nation for his possession; and no such uncleanness should be seen in a holy nation.

21 And in the third year of this sixth week Jacob and all his sons went and lived in Abraham's house near his father Isaac and his
22 mother Rebecca. And these were the names of Jacob's sons: Reuben (the eldest), Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, Zebulon – all sons of Leah; and the sons of Rachel – Joseph and Benjamin; and the sons of Bilhah – Dan and Naphtali; and the sons of Zilpah –
23 Gad and Asher; and Dinah, the daughter of Leah (Jacob's only daughter). And they came and bowed themselves before Isaac and Rebecca; and when they saw them they blessed Jacob and all his sons. And Isaac rejoiced greatly when he saw his younger son Jacob's sons; and he blessed them.

XXXIV. And in the sixth year of this week of this forty-fourth jubilee Jacob sent his sons to pasture their sheep in the pastures of
2 Shechem, and his servants with them. And the seven kings of the Amorites banded together against them and took up their positions in a wood,¹ with the intention of killing them and taking their
3 cattle as spoil. And Jacob and Levi and Judah and Joseph were at home with their father Isaac (for he was in a sorry state and they

⁹ Lit. 'committed it'.

¹⁰ Lit. 'commit it'.

¹ So Lat.: Eth. 'hiding themselves under the trees'.

could not leave him); and Benjamin was the youngest, and for this
4 reason remained with his father. And the king of Tappuah came, and the king of Aresa, and the king of Seragan, and the king of Selo, and the king of Gaash, and the king of Beth-horon, and the king of Maanisakir, and all who live in these mountains *and* in the woods
5 in the land of Canaan. And Jacob was told, Behold, the kings of the Amorites have surrounded your sons and plundered their herds.
6 And he left his house, he and his three sons and all his father's servants and his own servants, and he went against them with six
7 thousand men armed with swords. And he cut them down in the pastures of Shechem, and he pursued the fugitives and put them to the sword; and he killed *the kings* of Aresa and Tappuah and Saregan and Selo and Amanisakir and Gaash and recovered his
8 herds. And he gained the mastery over them and imposed tribute on them, and he made them pay him as tribute five fruit products
9 of their land; and he built² Robel and Timnath-heres. And he returned in peace; and he made peace with them, and they became his servants till the day that he and his sons went down to Egypt.

10 And in the seventh year of this week he sent Joseph from home to the land of Shechem to see how his brothers were faring; and he
11 found them in the land of Dothan. And they conspired against him³ and hatched a plot to kill him, but they changed their minds and sold him to Ishmaelite merchants; and they took him down to Egypt and sold him to Potiphar, a eunuch of Pharaoh's *and his* chief
12 cook, priest of the city of Elew.⁴ And Jacob's sons slaughtered a kid and dipped Joseph's coat in the blood and sent *it* to their father
13 Jacob on the tenth of the seventh month. And he mourned all that night (for they had brought it to him in the evening), and he was beside himself with grief⁵ and said, An evil beast has devoured Joseph; and all his household mourned with him that day, and
14 they mourned and lamented with him the whole day. And his sons and his daughter tried to comfort him, but he refused to be comforted for his son.

15 And on that day Bilhah heard that Joseph was dead, and she

² Or 'restored'.

³ Lit. 'behaved treacherously towards him'.

⁴ i.e. Heliopolis.

⁵ Lit. 'he became feverish with mourning for his death'.

died while mourning for him, and she was living in Qafratef; and Dinah, Jacob's⁶ daughter, also died when *she heard that* Joseph was dead. And so Israel suffered three losses⁷ in a single month. And they buried Bilhah opposite Rachel's tomb; and they buried Jacob's⁶ daughter Dinah there too. And Jacob⁸ mourned for Joseph for a whole year and would not desist, for he said, Let me go down to the grave mourning for my son. This is why it is decreed that the sons of Israel should mortify themselves on the tenth of the seventh month (on the day that the news which made him weep for Joseph came to his father Jacob), *and* that on it they should make expiation for themselves with a young goat – on the tenth of the seventh month, once a year, for their sin (for they had resented their father's affection for his son Joseph⁹). And this day has been set apart so that on it they should grieve for their sins and for all their transgressions and for all their misdeeds, *and* so cleanse themselves, once a year, on that day.

And after Joseph was taken away, Jacob's sons married wives. The name of Reuben's wife was Ada; and the name of Simeon's wife Adibaa, a Canaanite; and the name of Levi's wife Melka, an Aramaean,¹⁰ a descendant of the sons of Terah; and the name of Judah's wife Betasuel, a Canaanite; and the name of Issachar's wife Hezaqa; and the name of Zebulun's wife Niiman; and the name of Dan's wife Eglā; and the name of Naphtali's wife Rasuu, from Mesopotamia; and the name of Gad's wife Maka; and the name of Asher's wife Ijona; and the name of Joseph's wife Asenath, the Egyptian; and the name of Benjamin's wife Ijasaka. And Simeon repented and took a second wife from Mesopotamia, like his brothers.

XXXV. And in the first year of the first week of the forty-fourth jubilee Rebecca summoned her son Jacob and gave him instructions to honour his father and his brother all the days of his life.

2 And Jacob said, I will do everything you tell me; for to honour

⁶ Lit. 'his'.

⁷ Lit. 'And there came these three mournings on Israel'.

⁸ Lit. 'he'.

⁹ Lit. 'for they had grieved the affection of their father regarding his son Joseph'.

¹⁰ Lit. 'of the daughters of Aram'.

them will bring me honour, and greatness, and credit with¹ the Lord. And you know, mother, all my deeds and thoughts from the day of my birth till now; *and you know* that I am always well-disposed towards everyone.² How, then, should I not do what you tell me, and honour my father and my brother? Point out to me, mother, anything³ you have observed in me that is evil, and I will set my face against it, and ask for mercy. And she said to him, I have never at any time, my son, seen you do anything that is evil but *only* what is good.⁴ And I will tell you the truth, my son: this year I shall die, and I shall not survive this present year; for I have seen the day of my death in a dream, *and I know* that I shall not live more than a hundred and fifty-five years: I have *now all but* completed the span of life allotted to me.⁵ And Jacob laughed at his mother's words, because his mother told him that she was about to die, when she was sitting opposite him in full possession of all her faculties and was not in any way infirm; for she went in and out, her sight was good, her teeth were strong, and she had never had an illness in her life. And Jacob said to her, I should indeed be blessed, mother, if the span of my life were to be anywhere near what yours is, and I were to retain my faculties as you have: you are not dying: it is only an idle dream you are telling me about your death.

9 And she went in to Isaac and said to him, One thing I would ask you: make Esau swear that he will not injure Jacob or maintain a feud with him; for you know Esau's disposition, how savage he has been from his youth up, and there is nothing good about him, and he is *only* waiting for your death to kill Jacob.⁶ And you know everything he has done from the day his brother Jacob went to Haran until to-day, how he deliberately left us⁷ and has done us evil: he has appropriated your flocks and stripped you of all your possessions. And when we implored and besought him for what was our own he assumed the role of someone taking pity on us. And he is embittered against you because you blessed Jacob, your

¹ Lit. 'and righteousness before'.

² Eth. 'that I always think good concerning all': Lat. 'that I always (have the intention) to do good to all'.

³ Lit. 'what'.

⁴ Lit. 'upright'.

⁵ Lit. 'all the days of my life which I am to live'.

⁶ Lit. 'for he desires after your death to kill him'.

⁷ Lit. 'how he forsook us with all his heart'.

perfect and upright son; for in Jacob⁸ there is nothing evil, but only what is good, and since he came back from Haran until to-day he has not let us lack for anything, but brings us everything in its season always, and rejoices with all his heart when we take it at his hands, and blesses us and has not left us since he came back from Haran until to-day, and he remains with us continually at home and honours us.

13 And Isaac said to her, I too know and see what Jacob does, how he stays by us,⁹ and how he honours us with all his heart: at one time I loved Esau more than Jacob, because he was the firstborn; but now I love Jacob more than Esau, for Esau¹⁰ has done all kinds of evil, and there is no righteousness in him *at all* – everything he does is vicious¹¹ and violent, and there is no righteousness about him whatsoever. But now I am troubled in mind because of what he does: neither he nor his descendants will be saved, for they are destined to perish from the earth and be uprooted from under heaven; for he has forsaken the God of Abraham and followed his wives and their uncleanness and their misdeeds, he and his children. And *now* you ask me to make him swear that he will not kill his brother Jacob: even if he does swear, he will not abide by his oath; and he will do no good, but evil only. But if he does want to kill his brother Jacob, he will be given into Jacob's hands and will not escape his hands [for he will fall into his hands]. Have no fear on Jacob's account; for Jacob's guardian is great and powerful and honourable, and much more glorious than Esau's guardian.

18 And Rebecca sent and summoned Esau; and he came to her, and she said to him, I have something to ask you, my son: promise me you will do it, my son. And he said, I will do everything you tell me and not refuse you what you ask. And she said to him, I ask that when I die, you will take me and bury me near Sarah, your father's mother. And *I ask too* that you and Jacob will love one another, and that neither will harbour evil desires against the other, but mutual love only, and *so* you will prosper, my sons, and be honoured in the land, and no enemy will rejoice over you, and you will be a blessing and a mercy in the eyes of all that love you. And he said, I will do everything you have told me, and on the day you die I will bury you

⁸ Lit. 'in him'.

⁹ Lit. 'who is with us'.

¹⁰ Lit. 'he'.

¹¹ Lit. 'unrighteous'.

near Sarah, my father's mother, since you want her bones to be near your bones. And I will, too, love my brother Jacob more than any other living creature;¹² for I have no *other* brother anywhere in the world, but him only. It is no great virtue in me if I love him, for he is my brother: we were sown together in your womb, and we came forth together from your womb,¹³ and if I do not love my brother, whom shall I love? And I, for my part, would ask you to appeal to Jacob on my behalf and on my sons' behalf, for I know that he must rule over me and *over* my sons; for on the day my father blessed him he made him the senior and me the junior. And I swear to you that I will love him and not harbour any evil desires against him, but good only, all my life. And he swore an oath to her in these terms.

25 And she summoned Jacob in Esau's presence and gave him the same instructions she had given Esau. And he said, I will do as you would have me do:¹⁴ believe me, no evil shall come to Esau either from me or from my sons, and I will be the first in nothing, but in love only. And they ate and drank, she and her sons that night. And that night she died, three jubilees and one week and one year old; and her two sons, Esau and Jacob, buried her in the double cave near Sarah, their father's mother.

XXXVI. And in the sixth year of this week Isaac summoned his two sons, Esau and Jacob; and they came to him, and he said to them, My sons, I am going the way of my fathers, to the eternal house where my fathers are. Bury me near my father Abraham, in the double cave in the field of Ephron the Hittite, which Abraham bought as a burial place: bury me there, in the grave that I dug for myself. And this command I lay upon you, my sons, that you are just and upright in your dealings on the earth, so that the Lord may bring upon you all that the Lord said he would do to Abraham and his descendants. And love one another, my sons, as a man loves his own soul, and let each see what he can do to help his brother and act together *with him* on the earth; and let each love the other as his own soul.

5 And as for idols, I command *you* and I warn you to keep them

¹² Lit. 'above all flesh'.

¹³ Lit. 'navel'.

¹⁴ Lit. 'I will do your pleasure'.

from you and hate them, and love them not; for they are a delusion and a snare¹ to those who worship them and bow down to them.

6 Remember the Lord, my sons, the God of Abraham your father, and how I too made him my God and served him in righteousness and joy, that he might multiply you and increase the number of your descendants *till they were* like the stars of heaven, and that he might establish you on the earth as the plant of righteousness which will not be uprooted for all generations for ever.

7 And now I will make you swear a great oath (for there is no oath greater) by the Name, glorious and honoured and great and splendid and wonderful, *the Name of him* who created the heavens and the earth and all things together – that you will fear him and worship him; and that each *of you* will love his brother in affection and righteousness, and that neither *of you* will harbour any evil desires against his brother either now or at any future time, so that you may prosper in everything you do and may not be destroyed.

9 And if either of you plans any evil against his brother, know now that whoever does plan evil against his brother will fall into his hand and be uprooted from the land of the living, and his progeny will perish from the earth.² But on the day of turmoil and execration and indignation and anger, just as the Lord³ burned Sodom with flaming *and* devouring fire, so will he burn that man's⁴ land and his city and all that is his, and he will be blotted out of the book of the discipline of mortal men, and not be recorded in the book of life, but rather in that which is⁵ appointed for destruction; and he will depart into eternal execration – so that their condemnation may be always renewed in hate and execration and wrath and torment and indignation, and in plagues and disease for ever. I tell you *this* and testify to you, my sons, that judgement will come⁶ upon the man who lays plans to injure his brother.

12 And on that day he divided all his possessions between the two *of them*; and he gave the larger part to the elder – the tower and all that was round about it, and everything that had belonged to Abraham
13 at the Well of the Oath. And he said, I will give the elder this larger

¹ Lit. 'they are full of deception'.

² Lit. 'from under heaven'.

³ Lit. 'he'.

⁴ Lit. 'his'.

⁵ Or 'that of those'.

⁶ Lit. 'according to the judgement that will come'.

14 portion. And Esau said, I sold Jacob my portion as elder brother and have given it to him: let it *therefore* be given him: I have no claim on it,⁷ for it is his. And Isaac, said, May a blessing rest upon you, my sons, and upon your descendants this day; for you have set my mind at rest, and I have no anxiety about the elder's portion,
16 that you will come to blows about it. May the Most High God bless the man that does what is right, *may he bless* him and his
17 descendants for ever. And he finished instructing them and blessing them; and they ate and drank together in his presence, and he rejoiced at the harmony between them. And they went out from
18 him and rested that day and slept. And Isaac slept on his bed that day rejoicing; and he slept the eternal sleep and died, a hundred and eighty years old. He *thus* completed twenty-five weeks and five years; and his sons Esau and Jacob buried him.

19 And Esau went to the land of Edom, to the mountains of Seir, and lived there. And Jacob lived in the mountains of Hebron, in the tower in the country where his father Abraham had lived; and he worshipped the Lord with all his heart and in accordance with the commandments that had been revealed at the time of his
21 birth.⁸ And his wife Leah died in the fourth year of the second week of the forty-fifth jubilee; and he buried her in the double cave near Rebecca his mother, on the left of the grave of Sarah his father's
22 mother. And all her sons and his sons came to mourn over his wife Leah with him, and to comfort him on her account, because he was making lamentation for her. For after her sister Rachel died he
23 loved her all the more,⁹ for she was perfect and upright in all her ways and honoured¹⁰ Jacob; and all the time she lived with him he never heard a harsh word from her mouth, for she was gentle and
24 peaceable and upright and honourable. And he remembered everything she had done during her lifetime; and he made a great lamentation for her, for he loved her heart and soul.

XXXVII. And on the day that Jacob and Esau's father Isaac died, Esau's sons heard that Isaac had given the elder's portion to Jacob

⁷ Lit. 'I have not a single word to say regarding it'.

⁸ Both the text and the meaning are uncertain here: the Eth. MSS differ among themselves as well as from the Lat.

⁹ Lit. 'he loved her exceedingly'.

¹⁰ One Eth. MS reads 'loved'.

2 his younger son; and they were very angry. And they started a
 dispute with their father, saying, why has your father given Jacob
 the elder's portion and passed you over, although you are the elder
 3 and Jacob the younger? And he said to them, Because I sold my
 birthright to Jacob for a modest lentil stew; and on the day my
 father sent me out hunting to bring him back something, so that he
 could eat *of it* and bless me, Jacob¹ treacherously came and
 brought my father food and drink, and my father blessed him and
 4 made me his subordinate.² And now our father has made us swear,
 both of us, that we will plan no evil against each other, either *of us*
 against his brother, and that we will persevere in love and peace,
 5 each with his brother, and not be led astray.³ And they said to him,
 we will not listen to you and make peace with him, for our strength
 is greater than his strength, and we are more powerful than he is:
 we will attack him and kill him, and we will destroy his sons;⁴ and if
 6 you will not go with us, we will do you some damage too. Listen
 now to us: let us send to Aram and Philistia and Moab and Ammon
 and choose for ourselves picked men, ardent for battle, and let us
 attack him and do battle with him and exterminate him from the
 earth before he takes root and grows strong.

7 And their father said to them, Do not go and make war with him
 8 in case you fall before him. And they said to him, This is exactly
 how you always have behaved from your youth till now: you
 submit your neck to his yoke; but we will not listen to such talk.
 9 And they sent to Aram, and to Aduram, their father's friend, and
 they hired along with them a thousand fighting men, picked war-
 10 riors *all of them*. And there came to them from Moab and from the
 Ammonites a thousand picked mercenaries, and from Philistia a
 thousand picked warriors, and from Edom and the Horites a
 thousand picked fighting men, and from the Kittim mighty war-
 11 riors. And they said to their father, Take the field with them and
 lead them, or we will kill you. And he was furious and indignant
 12 when he saw his sons were forcing him to take command of them
 and lead them against his brother Jacob. But afterwards he recol-

¹ Lit. 'he'.

² Lit. 'put me under his hand'.

³ Lit. 'and not make our ways corrupt'.

⁴ So the majority of Eth. MSS: Lat. and (it would seem) one Eth. MS read 'him and his sons'.

lected all the evil *thoughts* about his brother Jacob that lay hidden in
 his heart; and he forgot the oath he had sworn to his father and his
 mother that he would never plan evil against his brother Jacob at
 any time.

14 And in spite of all this Jacob was unaware that they were coming
 against him to battle (for he was mourning for his wife Leah) until
 they came very near to the tower with four thousand warriors and
 15 picked fighting men. And the men of Hebron sent to him, saying,
 Behold your brother has come against you to fight you, with four
 thousand men armed with swords and with shields and other
 weapons. (They told him because they much preferred Jacob to
 Esau, for Jacob was a much kinder and more generous man than
 16 Esau.) But Jacob would not believe *it* until they came very near the
 17 tower. And he shut the gates of the tower and stood on the
 battlements and addressed his brother Esau and said, This is fine
 comfort you come with to comfort me for my wife's death. Is this
 the oath that you swore to your father and again to your mother
 before they died? You have broken the oath; and at the very
 moment you swore to your father you were condemned.
 18 And Esau answered immediately and said to him, Neither man
 nor beast knows of any oath that is inviolable, which when once
 sworn, is valid for ever;⁵ but they plan evil against each other every
 19 day, how they can kill their rivals and *their* enemies. You hate me
 and my children always; and there is no *possibility* of observing the
 20 tie of brotherhood with you. Listen now to this,⁶

If the boar can change his skin and make his bristles as soft as
 wool,

Or if he can make horns to sprout out of his head like the
 horns of a stag or a sheep,

Then will I observe the tie of brotherhood with you.⁷

⁵ Lit. 'Neither the sons of men nor the beasts of the earth have any oath of righteousness, which in swearing they have sworn for ever'.

⁶ Lit. 'Hear these words which I declare to you'.

⁷ All the Eth. MSS add an extra line at this point, which does not fit well into the context. Charles rendered it 'And if the breasts separated themselves from their mother, for you have not been a brother to me' and supposed it to be a wandering fragment from verse 19. After transposing the two distinct clauses in the line, and some further emendation, he suggested as the original for verse 19, 'You hate me

- 21 And if the wolves can make peace with the lambs so as not to devour them or do them violence,
And if their hearts are inclined towards them for good,
Then shall there be peace in my heart towards you.
- 22 And if the lion becomes the friend of the ox and makes peace with him,⁸
And if he is joined under one yoke with him and ploughs with him,
Then will I make peace with you.
- 23 And when the raven becomes white like the raza,⁹
Then know that I am well disposed towards you,
And that I will make peace with you.
But now you shall be rooted up, and your sons shall be rooted up,
And you shall have no peace.
- 24 And when Jacob saw that he was so evilly disposed towards him and was determined at all costs to kill him, and that he had come charging *at him* like a wild boar that hurls itself without flinching
- 25 against the spear that pierces and kills it, he gave the order to his household and his servants to attack him and all his associates.

XXXVIII. And Judah spoke up at once and said to his father Jacob,

Bend your bow, father, and let fly your arrows,
And bring low the adversary and slaughter the enemy;
And may you have the power,
For we will not kill your brother because he is your *brother*,
And we owe him as much honour as *we owe* to you.

- 2 Then Jacob bent his bow and let fly an arrow and shot his brother
3 Esau in the right breast, and killed him. And he let fly another

and my children always; for you have never been a brother to me since the twins were separated from their mother, and there is no *possibility* of observing the tie of brotherhood with you'.

⁸ In some MSS 'and makes peace with him' is placed after 'and ploughs with him': in others it is omitted.

⁹ According to Charles this was the local name for 'a large white bird'.

- arrow and shot Adoran the Aramaean in the left breast, and knocked him off his feet and killed him.
- 4 And then Jacob's sons went out with their servants, divided into
5 companies on the four sides of the tower. And Judah went out in front, and Naphtali and Gad with him and fifty servants, on the south side of the tower; and they killed everyone they found before
6 them, and not a single one escaped. And Levi and Dan and Asher went out on the east side of the tower, and fifty men with them; and
7 they killed the fighting men of Moab and Ammon. And Reuben and Issachar and Zebulun went out on the north side of the tower, and fifty men with them; and they killed the fighting men of the
8 Philistines. And Simeon and Benjamin and Enoch, Reuben's son, went out on the west side of the tower, and fifty men with them; and they killed four hundred men of Edom and the Horites (stout warriors *all of them*), and six hundred fled; and four of Esau's sons fled with them and left their father lying dead, just as he had fallen
9 on the hill in Aduram. And Jacob's sons pursued them to the mountains of Seir. And Jacob buried his brother on the hill in Aduram and returned home.
- 10 And Jacob's sons pressed hard on¹ Esau's sons in the mountains in Seir and subdued them,² so that they became their servants.³
- 11 And they sent to their father asking whether they should make
12 peace with them or kill them. And Jacob sent word to his sons that they should make peace; and they made peace with them and laid on them the yoke of servitude, so that they paid tribute to Jacob
13 and his sons in perpetuity. And they continued to pay tribute to
14 Jacob till the day he went down into Egypt. And the Edomites have not got quit of the yoke of servitude that Jacob's twelve sons imposed on them to this day.
- 15 And these are the kings that reigned in Edom before there
16 reigned any king over Israel – to this day in the land of Edom.⁴ And Balak, the son of Beor, reigned in Edom, and the name of his city
17 was Dinhaba. And Balak died, and was succeeded by Jobab, the

¹ So Eth.: Lat. 'surrounded'.

² Lit. 'made them bow their necks'.

³ Lit. 'became servants of Jacob's sons'.

⁴ Charles bracketed 'to this day' as an insertion. Perhaps both phrases are dittographs.

18 son of Zerah of Bosra. And Jobab died, and was succeeded by
 19 Husham from Teman. And Husham died, and was succeeded by
 20 Adath, the son of Barad, who defeated Midian in Moabite terri-
 21 tory, and the name of his city was Avith. And Adath died, and
 22 was succeeded by Salman from Amaseqa. And Salman died,
 23 and was succeeded by Saul of Rehoboth *by the river*. And Saul
 died, and was succeeded by Baal-Hanan, the son of Achbor. And
 Baal-Hanan, the son of Achbor, died, and was succeeded by
 Adath; and the name of his wife was Maitabith, the daughter of
 24 Matarat, the daughter of Metabedzaab. These are the kings that
 reigned in the land of Edom.

XXXIX. And Jacob lived in the country¹ where his father had
 2 settled, in the land of Canaan. This is the story of his family.²

Joseph was seventeen years old when they took him down to the
 land of Egypt, and Potiphar, one of Pharaoh's eunuchs and *his*
 3 chief cook, bought him. And he put Joseph in charge of his house-
 hold; and the Lord blessed the Egyptian's household because of
 Joseph, and the Lord made him successful in everything he did.
 4 And the Egyptian left everything in Joseph's hands,³ for he saw that
 the Lord was with him and made him successful in everything he
 did.

5 And Joseph was handsome and very good-looking, and his
 master's wife eyed him and took notice of him; and she fell in love
 6 with him and begged him to lie with her. But he would not
 surrender himself, for he remembered the Lord and what⁴ his
 father Jacob used to read from the commandments⁵ of Abraham,
 that no man should commit fornication with a woman that has a
 husband, that for the man who does⁶ the punishment of death has
 been ordained in the heavens before the Most High God, and that
 his sin will be recorded against him in the eternal books before the
 7 Lord for ever. And Joseph remembered this and refused to lie with

¹ Or 'land'.

² Lit. 'These are the generations of Jacob'.

³ All Eth. MSS 'in Joseph's presence': the emendation is based on the Lat. of
 verse 12 and the Heb. of Gen. xxxix. 6.

⁴ Lit. 'the words which'.

⁵ Lit. 'the words'.

⁶ Lit. 'for him'.

8 her. And she pleaded with him for a *whole* year, and *then* for another
 year; but he refused to listen.

9 At last,⁷ when they were indoors, she caught hold of him and
 clung to him, to try and force him to lie with her, and she locked the
 doors of the house and clung tightly to him; but he fled, leaving his
 10 cloak in her hands, and broke open the doors and escaped. And the
 woman saw that he would not lie with her,⁸ and she told his master
 lies about him, saying, Your Hebrew servant that you are *so* fond of
 tried to force me and lie with me; and when I screamed out he fled
 and left his cloak I had taken hold of in my hands and broke open
 11 the door. And the Egyptian saw Joseph's cloak and the broken
 door and believed what his wife had told him;⁹ and he put Joseph
 in prison, in the place where the king's prisoners were kept.

12 And he was there in the prison. And the Lord made the governor
 of the prison well-disposed towards Joseph and treat him kindly
 (for he saw that the Lord was with him and that the Lord made
 him successful in everything he did); and he left everything in his
 13 hands.¹⁰ And the governor of the prison knew of nothing that was
 happening in the prison,¹¹ for Joseph did everything; and the Lord
 made it *all* succeed. And he remained there two years.

14 And in those days Pharaoh, king of Egypt, was angry with two of
 his eunuchs, the chief butler and the chief baker, and he put them
 in custody in the chief cook's house, in the prison where Joseph was
 15 kept. And the governor of the prison appointed Joseph to attend to
 them; and he waited on them. And they both dreamed a dream,¹²
 the chief butler and the chief baker, and they told it¹² to Joseph.
 17 And as he interpreted *it* to them, so it happened to them: the chief
 butler Pharaoh restored to his office, and the chief baker he
 18 hanged¹³ – just as Joseph had interpreted to them. But the chief
 butler forgot Joseph in the prison, although he had told him what
 would happen to him; and he did not remember to tell Pharaoh
 how Joseph had told him,¹⁴ but forgot.

⁷ Lit. 'But'.

⁸ So Eth.: Lat. 'that he despised her'.

⁹ Lit. 'heard the words of his wife'.

¹⁰ So Lat.: Eth. 'in his presence'.

¹¹ So Lat.: Eth. 'nothing that was with him'.

¹² So Eth.: Lat. 'dreamed dreams . . . them'.

¹³ So Lat.: Eth. 'the baker he killed'.

¹⁴ So Eth.: Lat. 'and did not remember *to ask* that Pharaoh the king might
 intervene and release Joseph'.

XL. And in those days Pharaoh had two dreams in one night, about a famine there was to be in all the land; and he woke up from his sleep and called all the interpreters of dreams there were in Egypt, and the magicians, and he told them his two dreams, and they were not able to interpret *them*. Then the chief butler remembered Joseph and spoke to the king about him; and he had him fetched from the prison and repeated his two dreams to him. And he told Pharaoh that his two dreams were one; and he said to him, There will be seven years of plenty throughout the land of Egypt, and after that seven years of famine, such as there have never been *before* in all the land. Pharaoh should now appoint controllers¹ in all the land of Egypt, who can store up food in every city during the seven years² of plenty, so that there will be food for the seven years of famine, and the land will not perish through the famine, for it will be very severe.

5 And the Lord made Pharaoh look favourably on what Joseph said,³ and Pharaoh said to his servants, we shall not find *anywhere* such a wise and knowledgeable man as this man; for the spirit of the Lord is with him. And he appointed him viceroy⁴ in all his kingdom, and gave him authority over the whole of Egypt, and mounted him in Pharaoh's viceroy's chariot. And he dressed him in fine linen and put a gold chain on his neck, and he was acclaimed El El wa Abirer.⁵ And Pharaoh⁶ put a ring on his finger⁷ and placed his household in his charge; and he made a great man of him and said to him, Only as regards the throne will I be greater than you. 8 And Joseph ruled over all the land of Egypt; and all Pharaoh's princes and all his servants and all who did the king's business loved him, for he was straight in his dealings, without pride or arrogance, and he showed favour to no one and accepted no bribes, but decided every case that was brought before him with strict impartiality.⁸ And the land of Egypt lived at peace under Pharaoh

¹ The Eth. MSS differ among themselves: Lat. '*speculatores*'.

² So Lat.: Eth. 'throughout the days of the years'.

³ Lit. 'And the Lord gave Joseph grace and mercy in the eyes of Pharaoh'.

⁴ Lit. 'the second'.

⁵ So Eth. (God, God, the Mighty One of God): Lat. '*El el Habirel*'.

⁶ Lit. 'he'.

⁷ Lit. 'hand'.

⁸ Lit. 'but judged in uprightness all the peoples of the land'.

because of Joseph, for the Lord was with him and made all those that knew him and had heard about him look with favour on him and on his family; and Pharaoh's kingdom was well ordered, and there was no adversary⁹ nor any evil person in it. And the king named Joseph Zaphnath-paaneah; and he gave Joseph as a wife the daughter of Potiphar (the daughter, that is, of the priest of Heliopolis, the chief cook).

11 And Joseph was thirty years old the day that he entered Pharaoh's service;¹⁰ and *it was* in that *same* year *in which* Isaac died. 12 And it came to pass as Joseph had foretold in the interpretation of Pharaoh's¹¹ two dreams, just as he had foretold it, there were seven years of plenty throughout the land of Egypt, and the land of Egypt produced abundantly, one measure *producing* eighteen hundred measures. And Joseph gathered food in every city until each one was stacked so full of corn that it was no longer possible to keep a record of how much there was.

XLI. And in the forty-fifth jubilee, in the second week, in the second year, Judah found a wife for his eldest son Er, a woman of Aram named Tamar. But he took a dislike to her and would not lie with her, because his mother was a woman of Canaan and he wanted a wife from his mother's kinsfolk, but his father, Judah, would not allow it. And this Er, Judah's eldest son, was wicked, and the Lord took his life. And Judah said to Onan, his brother, Take your brother's wife and do your duty as her brother-in-law and raise offspring for your brother. And Onan knew that the offspring would not be his, *but* his brother's only, and he went into his sister-in-law's house and spilled his seed on the ground; and he *too* was wicked in the Lord's sight, and he took his life *as well*. And Judah said to his daughter-in-law Tamar, Remain in your father's house as a widow till my son Shelah grows up, and I will give you to him as his wife. And he grew up; but Bath-Shua, Judah's wife, would not allow her son Shelah to marry her. And Bath-Shua, Judah's wife, died in the fifth year of this week.

8 And in the sixth year Judah set off for Timnathah to shear his

⁹ Or 'Satan'.

¹⁰ All MSS add 'when he entered Pharaoh's service' – clearly a dittograph.

¹¹ Lit. 'his'.

9 sheep. And they said to Tamar, Behold your father-in-law is going
 10 up to Timnathah to shear his sheep. And she set aside her widow's
 11 weeds, and put on a veil, and adorned herself, and sat in the gate by
 12 the Timnathah road. And as Judah was on his way he came upon
 13 her and thought she was a harlot and said to her, Let me come in to
 14 you; and she said to him, Come in; and he went in. And she said to
 15 him, Give me my fee; and he said to her, I have nothing with me'
 16 but the ring on my finger, my bracelet, and the staff in my hand.
 17 And she said to him, Give me them till you send me my fee; and he
 18 said to her, I will send you a kid; and he gave them to her and went
 19 in to her,² and she conceived by him. And Judah went to his sheep,
 20 and she went to her father's house.

14 And Judah sent his shepherd, an Adullamite, with the kid, but
 15 he could not find her; and he asked the people of the place, saying,
 16 Where is the harlot here?³ And they said to him, We have no harlot
 17 here. And he returned and told Judah⁴ that he could not find her
 18 and said to him, I asked the people of the place, and they said to
 19 me, There is no harlot here. And he said, Let her keep them,⁵ or we
 20 shall become a laughing-stock.

16 And when she had completed three months it became obvious
 17 that she was with child; and they told Judah, saying, Behold,
 18 Tamar, your daughter-in-law, is with child by harlotry. And
 19 Judah went to her father's house and said to her father and her
 20 brothers, Bring her out and let her be burnt, for she has committed
 an outrage⁶ in Israel. And it came to pass when they brought her
 out to burn her, she sent her father-in-law the ring and the bracelet
 and the staff, saying, Do you recognize whose these are? By him I
 am with child. And Judah realized *that they were his* and said, Tamar
 is more in the right than I am, so let her not be burnt. And for that
 reason she was not given to Shelah;⁷ and he did not approach her

¹ Lit. 'in my hand'.

² So Lat.: Eth. om. 'and went in to her'.

³ Eth. 'who is here': Lat. 'who was here'.

⁴ So Lat.: Eth. 'him'.

⁵ So Lat.: Eth. 'You keep it'.

⁶ Lit. 'wrought uncleanness'.

⁷ This sentence fits in very oddly here. In Gen. xxxviii. 26 Judah gives no explicit counter-instructions that Tamar should not be burnt, and the statement about her not being given to Shelah is part of Judah's declaration, explaining why he thought she was more in the right than he was. The probability is that Judah's counter-

21 again. And after that she bore two sons, Perez and Zerah, in the
 22 seventh year of this second week. (And it was then that the seven
 years of plenty came to an end, about which Joseph had spoken to
 Pharaoh.)

23 And Judah realized that what he had done was wrong (for he
 had had intercourse with his daughter-in-law), and he despised
 himself because of it⁸ and realized he had transgressed and done
 something shameful (for he had dishonoured his son's bed), and he
 began to lament and make supplication before the Lord because of
 24 his transgression. And we told him in a dream that it would be
 forgiven him because his supplication and his lamentation were
 25 sincere, and *provided* he did not transgress again. And he received
 forgiveness because he repented of his sin and because he had done
 it without knowing what it was he did (although his transgression
 was very great before our God, and everyone that behaves like this,
 and everyone that has intercourse with his mother-in-law, must be
 burnt with fire and destroyed,⁹ for they are unclean and polluted:
 26 let them be burnt with fire. And do you give instructions to the sons
 of Israel that there be no uncleanness among them, for everyone
 that has intercourse with his daughter-in-law or his mother-in-law
 brings on himself¹⁰ uncleanness: let them be burnt with fire, *both*
 the man who has had intercourse with her and the woman also;
 and the Lord¹¹ will turn back *his* wrath and *avert* the punishment
 27 from Israel.) And we assured Judah that inasmuch as his two sons
 had not had intercourse with Tamar,¹² his own offspring *by her*
 were established as a second family and would not be rooted up.
 28 For he had honestly sought *her* punishment, and, in accordance
 with Abraham's ruling that he had given to his sons, Judah had
 tried to have her burnt with fire.

instruction (whether added by the author of Jubilees himself or by a later source) had been accidentally inserted in the wrong place in the text, and that we should reverse the clauses in verses 19–20 and read 'And Judah realized *that they were his* and said, "Tamar is more in the right than I am, because she was not given to Shelah: so let her not be burnt". And he did not approach her again'.

⁸ Lit. 'and he esteemed it hateful in his eyes'.

⁹ Lit. 'burnt with fire that he may burn in it'.

¹⁰ Lit. 'has wrought'.

¹¹ Lit. 'he'.

¹² Lit. 'her'.

XLII. And in the first year of the third week of the forty-fifth jubilee the famine struck the land; and the rain failed,¹ for none whatever
2 fell. And the *whole* earth was parched; but in the land of Egypt there
3 was food, for Joseph had gathered the produce of the land in the
seven years of plenty and had preserved it. And the Egyptians
came to Joseph to provide them with food; and he opened the
granaries where the first year's grain was *stored*, and he sold it to the
people of the land for gold.

4 Now in the land of Canaan the famine was very severe indeed;²
and Jacob heard there was food in Egypt, and he sent ten of his
sons to buy food for him in Egypt (Benjamin he did not send), and
they arrived³ together with others that had come *to buy corn there*.
5 And Joseph recognized them, but they did not recognize him; and
he spoke harshly to them⁴ and said to them, You are spies and have
6 come to spy on our defences.⁵ And he put them in prison. And
afterwards he set them free, but kept Simeon behind and sent off
7 his nine brothers. And he filled their sacks with corn; and he put
8 their money in their sacks *as well*, and they did not know *it*. And he
ordered them to bring *him* their younger brother – for they had told
him their father was still living and *about* their younger brother.

9 And they went up from the land of Egypt and came to the land of
Canaan; and they told their father all that had happened to them,
and how the lord of the country had spoken harshly to them and
10 had kept Simeon behind till they should bring him Benjamin. And
Jacob said, You have robbed me of my children! Joseph is no more,
and Simeon too is no more, and *now* you would take Benjamin
11 away: on me has your wickedness fallen.⁶ And he said, My son
shall not go down with you: he might fall ill;⁷ for his⁸ mother gave
birth to two sons, and one is dead, and *now* you would take this one
12 from me: if he was taken ill on the way, you would bring down my
grey hairs with sorrow to the grave. (For he saw⁹ that their money

¹ Lit. 'refused to be given to the land'.

² 'Now . . . indeed' is read by the Lat. only.

³ So Eth.: Lat. 'and the ten sons of Jacob arrived in Egypt'.

⁴ So Lat.: Eth. 'spoke to them and questioned them'.

⁵ Eth. 'to spy out the approaches of the land': Lat. 'to spy out the land'.

⁶ So Eth.: Lat. differs substantially.

⁷ Lat. adds 'on the way'. ⁸ Lit. 'their'.

⁹ So Eth.: Lat. 'for they had told him'.

had been returned to each of them in their sacks, and it was for this
reason that he was afraid to send him.)

13 And the famine became even more severe in the land of Canaan,
and in all *other* lands, though not in the land of Egypt, for many of
the Egyptians had *of their own accord* been storing their produce for
food ever since they saw Joseph gathering it and putting it in
14 granaries to preserve it for the years of famine. And the people of
15 Egypt fed themselves on it in the first year of their famine. And
when Israel saw that the famine was so severe in the land and that
there was no relief, he said to his sons, Go again and buy food for us
16 to keep ourselves alive. And they said, We will not go: unless our
17 youngest brother goes with us, we will not go. And Israel saw that
18 if he did not send him with them they would all starve.¹⁰ And
Reuben said, Entrust him to me, and if I do not bring him back to
you, you can kill both my sons in exchange for him.¹¹ And he said
19 to him, He shall not go with you. And Judah came forward and
said, Send him with me, and if I do not bring him back to you, you
20 can hold me guilty all my life. And he sent him with them in the
second year of this week, on the first day of the month, and they
came to the land of Egypt with all *the others* who had come *to buy*;
and *they took* presents with them, stacte and almonds and terebinth
nuts and pure honey.

21 And they came and stood before Joseph. And he saw his brother
Benjamin and recognized him; and he said to them, Is this your
youngest brother? And they said to him, It is. And he said, May the
Lord be gracious to you, my son! And he sent him into his house.
22 And he brought Simeon out to them, and he made a feast for them;
23 and they gave him the present they had brought with them. And
they ate in his presence; and he gave them each a portion, but
24 Benjamin's portion was seven times larger than any of theirs. And
25 they ate and drank and returned to¹² their asses. And Joseph
devised a plan to test them out,¹³ and he said to the steward who
was in charge of his household, Fill all their sacks with food, and

¹⁰ Lit. 'perish through famine'.

¹¹ Lit. 'instead of his soul'.

¹² Lit. 'remained with'.

¹³ Lit. 'a plan by which he might learn their thoughts as to whether thoughts of
peace prevailed among them'.

put their money back in their sacks,¹⁴ and put my cup (the silver cup I drink out of) in the youngest's sack, and send them away.

XLIII. And he did as Joseph had told him, and he filled all their sacks for them with food and put their money in their sacks, and he put the cup in Benjamin's sack; and early in the morning they departed. And it came to pass, after they had started, Joseph said to the steward of his household, Hurry after them¹ and accuse them, saying, You have repaid me evil for good: you have stolen from me the silver cup my lord drinks out of. And bring me back their youngest brother – and fetch *him* quickly before I go out to court. And he ran after them and said what he had been told to them. And they said to him, God forbid that your servants should do such a thing as to steal anything² from your lord's house. Even the money we found in our sacks the first time, your servants brought back from the land of Canaan: how then could we steal anything? Behold, here are we and our sacks: search *us*, and in whoever's sack among us you find the cup, let him be put to death, and we and our asses will become your lord's slaves. And he said to them, No! I will take as a slave only the man in whose possession I find *it*, and *the rest* of you shall go home in peace. And he searched in their sacks,³ starting with the eldest and finishing with the youngest; and it was found in Benjamin's sack. And they rent their clothes and loaded their asses and returned to the city and came to Joseph's house; and they all prostrated themselves before him with their faces to the ground.

And Joseph said to them, You have done a wicked thing. And they said, What shall we say and how shall we defend ourselves? Our lord has discovered his servants' sin: behold, we are our lord's slaves and our asses also. And Joseph said to them, No!⁴ You shall go home, and your brother shall be my slave (for you have done a wicked thing). Did it not occur to you that a man could be as fond of his cup as I am of this cup?⁵ – and yet you stole it from me. And

¹⁴ Lit. 'vessels'.

¹ Lit. 'Pursue them and run'.

² Lit. 'any vessel'.

³ Lit. 'vessels'.

⁴ Lit. 'No, I am afraid'.

⁵ Lit. 'Do you not know that a man delights in his cup as I with this cup'.

Judah said, Let *the blame* be on me; and let your servant explain to your lordship.⁶ Your servant's mother bore to our father two brothers: one went away and was lost, and has not been found, and this one⁷ is his mother's only remaining child, and your servant our father loves him, and his life is bound up with this *lad's* life. And if we go back to your servant our father, and the lad is not with us, then he will die, and we shall bring down our father with sorrow to the grave. Let me, your servant, remain instead of the boy as my lord's slave, and let the lad go with his brothers; for I went surety for him with your servant our father, and if I do not take him back our father will hold your servant guilty for ever.

And Joseph saw there was a common bond of good-will and unity between them, and he could not control himself; and he told them he was Joseph. And he talked with them in Hebrew and embraced them and wept. But they did not recognize him; and they began to weep. And he said to them, Do not weep over me, but hurry back and bring my father to me, so that I can see him before we die and my brother Benjamin can see him too.⁸ For behold, this is *but* the second year of the famine, and there will be another five years without harvest or fruit on the trees or ploughing. Come down quickly, you and your households, so that you do not perish in the famine; and do not be worried about *leaving* your possessions, for the Lord sent me ahead of you to arrange things so that many lives may be saved. And tell my father that I am still alive, as you can see for yourselves, and that the Lord has made me like a father to Pharaoh, and ruler over his household and over all the land of Egypt. And tell my father of all my glory and all the riches and glory that the Lord has given me. And on Pharaoh's instructions⁹ he gave them wagons and provisions for the journey; and he gave them all clothes of many colours and silver. And to their father he sent clothes and silver and ten asses laden with corn; and he sent them away.

⁶ Lit. 'and let your servant speak a word in my lord's ear'.

⁷ Lit. 'he'.

⁸ Lit. 'and while the eyes of my brother Benjamin see'. Charles proposed a radical emendation of the whole passage, based on Gen. xlv. 12 – '... father to me; and you see that it is my mouth that speaks, and the eyes of my brother Benjamin see'.

⁹ Lit. 'And by the command of the mouth of Pharaoh'.

23 And they went up and told their father that Joseph was alive and
 24 measuring out corn to all the nations of the earth, and that he was
 ruler over all the land of Egypt. And their father did not believe it,
 for he was stunned; but when he saw the wagons that Joseph had
 sent, his spirit¹⁰ revived, and he said, It is enough for me if Joseph is
 still alive: I will go down and see him before I die.

XLIV. And Israel set out from his house in Hebron¹ on the new
 moon of the third month; and he went by way of the Well of the
 Oath and offered a sacrifice to the God of his father Isaac on the
 2 seventh of this month. And Jacob remembered the dream he had
 3 had at Bethel, and he was afraid to go down to Egypt. And he
 thought of sending word to Joseph to come to him, *saying* that he
 would not go down; and he stayed there seven days in the hope that
 he might see a vision *telling him* either to stay *where he was* or go down
 4 to Egypt. And he kept the harvest festival of the first-fruits with old
 grain, for in all the land of Canaan, there was not *even* a handful of
 seed in the land, for the famine had affected all the wild animals
 and cattle and birds as well as men.

5 And on the sixteenth the Lord appeared to him and said to him,
 Jacob, Jacob. And he said, Here I am. And he said to him, I am the
 God of your fathers, the God of Abraham and Isaac: do not be
 afraid to go down to Egypt, for I will make you a great nation there.
 6 I will go down with you, and I will bring you up *again*, and in this
 land you shall be buried, and Joseph shall close your eyes.² Do not
 7 be afraid: go down to Egypt. And he got up, and his sons and his
 grandsons, and they put their father and their possessions on the
 8 wagons. And Israel left the Wall of the Oath on the sixteenth of this
 third month and set out for the land of Egypt.

9 And Israel sent Judah before him to his son Joseph to inspect the
 land of Goshen, for Joseph had told his brothers to come and settle
 10 there so that they could be near him. And this was the finest *region*
 in the land of Egypt, and near to him – *the best* for all of *them* and also
 for *their* cattle.

¹⁰ Lit: 'the life of his spirit'.

¹ Text 'Haran'.

² Lit. 'put his hand upon your eyes'.

11 And these are the names of Jacob's sons who entered Egypt with
 12 their father Jacob. Reuben, Israel's eldest; and these are the
 names of his sons – Enoch and Pallu and Hezron and Carmi (five
 13 *altogether*). Simeon and his sons; and these are the names of his sons
 – Jemuel and Jamin and Ohad and Jachin and Zohar and Saul, the
 14 son of a Phoenician³ woman (seven *altogether*). Levi and his sons;
 and these are the names of his sons – Gershon and Kohath and
 15 Merari (four *altogether*). Judah and his sons; and these are the
 names of his sons – Shelah and Perez and Zerah (four *altogether*).
 16 Issachar and his sons; and these are the names of his sons – Tola
 17 and Phua and Jasub and Shimron (five *altogether*). Zebulon and his
 sons; and these are the names of his sons – Saar and Elon and
 18 Jahleel (four *altogether*). And these are Jacob's sons (and their
 sons), whom Leah bore to Jacob in Mesopotamia – six *sons*, and
 their only sister Dinah; and Leah's sons, and their sons, who
 entered Egypt with their father Jacob, were twenty-nine in all, and
 19 including their father Jacob there were thirty of them. And the sons
 of Zilpah, Leah's slave-girl, Jacob's wife, that she bore to Jacob,
 20 were Gad and Asher. And these are the names of their sons who
 entered Egypt with him: the sons of Gad – Ziphion and Haggi and
 Shuni and Ezbon (and Eri) and Areli and Arodi (eight *altogether*);
 21 and the sons of Asher – Imnah and Ishvah (and Ishvi) and Beriah
 22 and Serah, their only sister (six *altogether*). Zilpah thus had four-
 teen descendants; and so Leah's total was forty-four.⁴

23 And the sons of Jacob's wife Rachel were Joseph and Benjamin.
 24 And there were born to Joseph in Egypt, before his father came
 into Egypt, the two sons that⁵ Asenath the daughter of Potiphar,
 priest of Heliopolis, bore to him – Manasseh and Ephraim (three
 25 *altogether*). And the sons of Benjamin – Bela and Becher and Ashbel
 and Guad and Naaman and Abdeyo and Rosh and Senanim and
 26 Huphim and Gaam (eleven *altogether*). Rachel thus had fourteen
 27 descendants.⁶ And the sons of Bilhah, Rachel's slave-girl, Jacob's

³ So the majority of MSS ('Fenesawit'). Charles, following Rönsch, preferred the reading of a single MS ('Sifnawat'), which, in the light of the mention of Zephath at Judges i. 17, he rendered 'Zephathite'.

⁴ Lit. 'All the souls were fourteen; and all those of Leah were forty-four'.

⁵ Lit. 'those whom'.

⁶ Lit. 'And all the souls of Rachel were fourteen'.

28 wife, that she bore to Jacob, were Dan and Naphtali. And these are
the names of their sons who entered Egypt with them. The sons of
Dan were Hushim and Samon and Asudi and Ijaka and Salomon
29 (six *altogether*). And the last four of them⁷ died in the year they
30 entered Egypt, and Dan had Hushim only left. And these are the
names of the sons of Naphtali – Jahziel and Guni and Jezer and
31 Shallum and Iv. And Iv, who was born after the year of famine,
32 died in Egypt. Thus Rachel's total altogether was twenty-six.⁸

33 So Jacob's household, when it entered Egypt, numbered seventy
– that is his children and his grandchildren numbered seventy in
all; but five died in Egypt before Joseph,⁹ and they had no children.
34 And two of Judah's sons, Er and Onan, had died *already* in the land
of Canaan, and they had no children. And Israel's sons buried
those who had died, and they were reckoned among the seventy
Gentile nations.

XLV. And Israel came into Egypt, into the land of Goshen, on the
new moon of the fourth month, in the second year of the third week
2 of the forty-fifth jubilee. And Joseph went to the land of Goshen to
meet his father Jacob; and he threw his arms round his father's
3 neck and wept. And Israel said to Joseph, Now I can die *in peace*, for
I have seen you *again alive*; and now may the Lord God of Israel be
blessed, the God of Abraham and the God of Isaac, who has not
4 held back his mercy and his grace from his servant Jacob. It is
enough for me that I have seen your face while I am¹ still alive.
True indeed is the vision that I saw at Bethel. Blessed be the Lord
5 my God for ever and ever, and blessed be his name. And Joseph
and his brothers ate in their father's presence and drank wine; and
Jacob was overjoyed to see Joseph eating with his brothers and
drinking in his presence, and he blessed the Creator of all things,
who had preserved him and had preserved his twelve sons.

6 And Joseph had given his father and brothers the right to settle
in the land of Goshen, and in Rameses² and the surrounding region

⁷ Lit. 'And they'.

⁸ Lit. 'And all the souls of Rachel were twenty-six'.

⁹ Alternative reading 'before they married'.

¹ Charles would emend 'I am' to 'you are' to accord with Gen. xlvii. 30.

² Eth. 'Ramesina'.

which he ruled as Pharaoh's viceroy.³ And Israel and his sons
settled in the land of Goshen, the best part of the land of Egypt; and
Israel was a hundred and thirty years old when he entered Egypt.

7 And Joseph supported his father and his brothers, and also their
possessions, with as much as they needed during the seven years of
8 the famine. And the land of Egypt suffered because of the famine.
And Joseph acquired all the land for Pharaoh in return for food,
and he gained possession of the people and their cattle, and he
acquired everything for Pharaoh.

9 And the years of famine came to an end, and in the eighth year
Joseph gave the people in the land seed-corn⁴ to sow the land,⁵ for
10 the river had overflowed all the land of Egypt (in the seven years of
the famine it had not⁶ overflowed and had irrigated only a few
places on the banks of the river, but now it overflowed *once more*);
and the Egyptians sowed the land, and it produced much corn that
11 year. And this was the first year of the fourth week of the forty-fifth
12 jubilee. And Joseph took a fifth part of all the harvest⁷ for the king
and left four parts for them as seed and food; and Joseph established
it as a law for the land of Egypt – *a law that has survived* till to-day.

13 And Israel lived in the land of Egypt seventeen years; and he
lived altogether for three jubilees, *that is for* a hundred and forty
seven years, and he died in the fourth year of the fifth week of the
14 forty-fifth jubilee. And Israel blessed his sons before he died and
told them everything that would happen to them in the land of
Egypt, and made known to them what would come upon them in
the last days; and he blessed them and gave Joseph two portions in
15 the land. And he slept with his fathers and was buried in the double
cave in the land of Canaan, near Abraham his father, in the grave
which he dug for himself in the double cave in the neighbourhood⁸
16 of Hebron. And he gave all his books and his fathers' books to his
son Levi, to preserve them and keep them in repair⁹ for his children
till to-day.

³ Lit. 'before Pharaoh'.

⁴ Lit. 'seed and food'.

⁵ So Lat.: Eth. om. 'the land'.

⁶ So Lat.: Eth. om. 'not'.

⁷ So Lat.: Eth. 'of the corn of the harvest'.

⁸ Lit. 'land'.

⁹ Or 'have fresh copies made of them': lit. 'renew them'.

XLVI. And it came to pass after Jacob died the number of Israelites in the land of Egypt increased, and they became a great nation; and they were united in heart and mind, so that each one loved his brother and helped his brother. And their numbers increased more and more and multiplied greatly, ten weeks of years, all the time that Joseph was alive. And there was no adversary¹ nor any evil to afflict them all the time that Joseph lived after his father Jacob's death, for while Joseph lived all the Egyptians held the Israelites in high esteem.

3 And Joseph died at the age of a hundred and ten: for seventeen years he lived in the land of Canaan, for ten years he was a servant, for three years he was in prison, and for eighty years he was viceroy and ruled the whole of the land of Egypt. And he died, and so did all his brothers and all that generation. And before he died he gave instructions to the Israelites to take his bones with them when they went out of the land of Egypt. And he put them on oath regarding his bones, for he knew that the Egyptians would not take him and bury him in the land of Canaan (for Makamaron,² king of Canaan, while living in the land of Assyria, fought in the valley with the king of Egypt and killed him there, and pursued the Egyptians to the gates of Ermon.³ But he was not able to get inside, because another king, a new one, had become king of Egypt, and he was stronger than he was, and so he returned to the land of Canaan; and the gate of Egypt was shut, and no one went out of Egypt and no one went in). And Joseph died in the forty-sixth jubilee, in the sixth week, in the second year; and they buried him in the land of Egypt. And all his brothers died after him.

9 And the king of Egypt went out to war with the king of Canaan in the forty-seventh jubilee, in the second week in the second year; and the Israelites brought out all the bones of Jacob's children except Joseph's, and they buried them in the country, in the double cave in the mountain. And most of them returned to Egypt, but a few of them remained in the mountains of Hebron; and your father Amram remained among them. And the king of Canaan was victorious over the king of Egypt; and he shut the gate of Egypt.

¹ Or 'Satan'.

² Alternative reading 'Mamkeron'.

³ According to Charles this is Heroonpolis, near the desert, on the canal of Ramses.

12 And he devised an infamous plan to afflict the Israelites; and he said to the Egyptians, Behold the Israelite people have increased in number and multiplied more than we have. Come then, let us take steps to curb them⁴ before they become too many, and let us wear them down with heavy labour,⁵ in case war comes on us and they join our enemies⁶ and fight against us too and leave our land altogether (for their hearts and faces are always turned towards the land of Canaan). And he set over them taskmasters⁷ to wear them down with heavy labour. And they built strong cities for Pharaoh, Pithom and Raamses; and they built all the walls and all the fortifications which had fallen in the cities⁸ of Egypt. And they forced them into slavery; but the more harshly they treated them, the more their numbers increased and multiplied. And the Egyptians despised⁹ the Israelites.

XLVII. And in the seventh week, in the seventh year, in the forty-seventh jubilee, your father left the land of Canaan, and you were born in the fourth week, in its sixth year, in the forty-eighth jubilee: this was a time of great distress for the Israelites. And Pharaoh, king of Egypt, issued an order that they should throw all male children born to them into the river. And for seven months they threw them in; and your mother hid you for three months, but information was laid against her.¹ So she made a basket for you, and covered it with tar and pitch, and put it among the reeds by the river's bank, and put you in it; and you were there for seven days, and your mother came by night and suckled you, and by day your sister Miriam kept you from the birds.

5 And in those days Tharmuth, Pharaoh's daughter, came to bathe in the river, and she heard your voice crying; and she told her maids² to fetch you out, and they brought you to her. And she lifted

⁴ Eth. 'let us act cleverly against them': Lat. 'let us afflict them'.

⁵ Eth. 'let us afflict them with slavery': Lat. 'let us humble them by (in) their works' - and similarly in verse 14.

⁶ So Lat.: Eth. 'the enemy'.

⁷ Eth. lit. 'elders of workmen': Lat. 'executors of works'.

⁸ So Lat.: Eth. 'city'.

⁹ Lit. 'regarded as an abomination'.

¹ Lit. 'and they told concerning her'.

² Lat. 'maid': Eth. 'Hebrew women' (by a misreading of a presumed Gk. original ἄβραις as Ἑβραίας).

7 you out of the basket and took pity on you. And your sister said to her, Shall I go and call you one of the Hebrew women to nurse this
8 babe and suckle *him* for you? And she said to her, Please do.³ And she went and called your mother Jochebed; and she paid her for
9 nursing you. And afterwards, when you were old enough,⁴ they brought you to Pharaoh's daughter⁵ and you became her son, and your father Amram taught you to write; and three weeks after that they took you to the royal court.

10 And you were three weeks of years at court, until one day you went out from the royal court and saw an Egyptian belabouring one of your fellow-Israelites, and you killed him and hid him in the
11 sand. And on the next day you found two Israelites fighting, and
12 you asked the culprit,⁶ why are you hitting your brother? And he was angry and indignant and said, Who made you a chief and judge over us? Do you want to kill me as you killed the Egyptian yesterday? And you were frightened by what he said and fled.

XLVIII. And in the sixth year of the third week of the forty-ninth jubilee you went and lived in the land of Midian;¹ and you stayed there for five weeks and a year. And you returned to Egypt in the second
2 week, in the second year, in the fiftieth jubilee. And you yourself know what the Lord said to you on Mount Sinai, and what the prince Mastema tried to do with you when you were returning to
3 Egypt, on the way when you met him at the lodging-place.² Did he not try his very best to kill you and deliver the Egyptians from you, when he saw that you were sent to execute judgement and ven-
4 geance on the Egyptians? And I delivered you from him; and you performed the signs and portents which you were sent to perform in Egypt against Pharaoh, and against his whole household, and against his servants, and against his people.

³ Lit. 'Go'.

⁴ Lit. 'when you were grown'.

⁵ Both Eth. and Lat. 'Pharaoh's house'.

⁶ So Eth. (lit. 'said to him who was doing the wrong'): Lat. 'said to him who was hitting his neighbour'.

¹ Eth. om. 'in the land of Midian'.

² So Lat.: Eth. corrupt (though it might mean 'on the way, at Elath, in the lodging-place').

5 And the Lord took a fearful vengeance on them for Israel's sake. And he plagued them³ with blood and frogs, lice and dog-flies, and with festering boils: their cattle died: he destroyed with hail-stones everything they had that grew, and locusts ate what the hail had left: *he plagued them* with darkness and (the death)⁴ of their first-born, of men and of animals; and on all their gods⁵ the Lord
6 took vengeance and burned them with fire. And everything was arranged through you,⁶ that you should **declare**⁷ *these things* before they were done; and you spoke with the king of Egypt in the
7 presence of all his servants and in the presence of his people. And everything happened just as you had said: ten great and terrible judgements came on the land of Egypt to execute vengeance on it
8 for Israel. And the Lord did everything for Israel's sake, and in accordance with his covenant that he had made with Abraham, that he would take vengeance on them because they had enslaved them.

9 And the prince Mastema set himself against you and tried to get you into Pharaoh's clutches; and he helped the Egyptian sorcerers, and they set themselves up against you and did the best they
10 could.⁸ (For, although we let them do the evils, we did not allow
11 them to effect their cure.) And the Lord struck them with the boils, and they were not able to stand against you (for we destroyed them so that they could not perform a single sign).

12 Yet in spite of all *these* signs and marvels the prince Mastema was not put to shame **because**⁹ he encouraged the Egyptians¹⁰ to pursue you with all the might of Egypt, with their chariots and with their
13 horses and with all the forces of the people of Egypt. And I stood between the Egyptians and Israel; and we delivered Israel from him and from his people, and the Lord brought them through the
14 middle of the sea, as if it were dry land. And all the people he had brought in pursuit of Israel, the Lord our God threw them into the sea – into the depths of the abyss beneath the Israelites, just as the

³ Lit. 'he struck them': Eth. adds 'and killed them'.

⁴ Omitted by both Eth. and Lat.

⁵ So Eth.: Lat. 'all the gods of the Egyptians'.

⁶ Lit. 'was sent through your hand'.

⁷ Text 'do'.

⁸ Lit. 'and wrought before you'.

⁹ Text 'until'.

¹⁰ Lit. 'he took courage and cried to the Egyptians'.

people of Egypt had thrown their children into the river. He took vengeance on a million of them; and a thousand strong and active men were destroyed for each babe in arms from among your people that they had thrown into the river. (On the fourteenth day, and on the fifteenth, and on the sixteenth, and on the seventeenth, and on the eighteenth, the prince Mastema had been kept bound and in chains¹¹ behind the Israelites, so that he could not harass¹² them. And on the nineteenth we let them¹³ loose so that they could help the Egyptians and *encourage them to pursue the Israelites*. And he made them obstinate and stubborn – the plan was devised by the Lord our God so that he could strike the Egyptians down and throw them into the sea. And we bound him on the fourteenth *day*¹⁴ so that he could not harass¹² the Israelites on the day they asked the Egyptians for ornaments¹⁵ and clothing – ornaments¹⁵ of silver and gold and bronze, in order to despoil the Egyptians in return for the slavery they had forced upon them. And *so* we did not bring the Israelites out of Egypt empty-handed.)

XLIX. Remember the commandment which the Lord gave you concerning the Passover, that you should celebrate it in its season on the fourteenth of the first month, that you should slaughter the lamb¹ before the evening, and that it should be eaten at night on the evening of the fifteenth after sunset. For on this night (the beginning of the festival and the beginning of the rejoicing) you were eating the Passover in Egypt, when all the powers of Mastema had been let loose to kill all the first-born in the land of Egypt, from the first-born of Pharaoh to the first-born of the captive maid-servant at the mill and to the cattle.

And this is the sign that the Lord gave them – they should not enter any house *with intent* to kill, on the door-posts of which they saw the blood of a yearling lamb, but should pass *it* by, so that all those in the house might be preserved because the sign of the blood

¹¹ Lit. 'locked up'.

¹² Or 'accuse'.

¹³ i.e. Mastema and his minions.

¹⁴ The MSS vary between 'fourteenth', 'fifteenth', and 'seventeenth'.

¹⁵ Or 'articles', 'objects'.

¹ Lit. 'it'.

4 was on its door-posts. And the powers of the Lord did everything just as the Lord commanded them, and they passed over all the Israelites, and the plague did not touch them and destroyed not so much as a single man or beast or dog among them. But among the Egyptians² the plague struck savagely, and there was not a house in Egypt without its dead and weeping and lamentation. And *meanwhile* all Israel was eating the flesh of the paschal lamb, and drinking the wine, and singing praises, and blessing and giving thanks to the Lord God of their fathers, *all* ready to escape from the yoke of Egypt and the shackles of their slavery.³

7 And remember this day all the days of your life and observe it regularly, once a year, on its *appointed* day, in accordance with all its regulations;⁴ and do not change its date, either from one day to another, or from one month to another. For it is a rule for all time, and *it is* written on the heavenly tablets concerning all Israelites, that they should observe it every year on its *appointed* day, once a year, in every generation; and there is no time limit, for it is decreed for ever. And whoever is not unclean and fails to come and observe it on its proper day, and to bring an acceptable offering in the Lord's presence, and to eat and drink in the Lord's presence, on the day it is celebrated, that man, if he is clean and near at hand, shall be rooted up: inasmuch as he has not offered the Lord's offering at the proper time, he must accept responsibility for his sin.⁵

10 Let the Israelites come and celebrate the Passover⁶ at the time appointed, on the fourteenth day of the first month at dusk,⁷ from the third part of the day to the third part of the night (for two parts of the day are given to the light and a third part to the evening). This is what the Lord commanded you – that you should celebrate it⁸ at dusk.⁷ And the lamb¹ should not be slaughtered at any time during the daylight, but *only* towards the evening; and it should be eaten between the time when evening comes and the third part of

² Lit. 'in Egypt'.

³ Lit. 'the evil bondage'.

⁴ Lit. 'law'.

⁵ Lit. 'that man will bear his sin'.

⁶ Or 'offer the paschal lamb': lit. 'do the Passover'.

⁷ Eth. lit. 'between the evenings' (as in the Heb. at Exod. xii. 6): Lat. lit. 'at eventide' (as in the Gk. at Exod. xii. 6).

⁸ Lit. 'do it'.

the night, and if afterwards⁹ any of its flesh is left over, it must be burnt in the fire.

13 And it shall not be boiled in water, nor shall it be eaten raw, but
 14 roast on the fire: it must be eaten¹⁰ with care:¹¹ its head with its
 15 entrails and its feet shall be roasted on the fire; and no bone of it
 16 shall be broken (for of Israelites no bone shall be crushed¹²). That
 17 is why the Lord commanded Israelites to celebrate the Passover⁶ at
 18 the time appointed, and not to break any of the lamb's bones;¹³ for
 19 it is a festal day, and a day *he has* commanded, and there can be
 20 no changing it from day to day, and from month to month, but *only*
 21 on its proper day¹⁴ must it be celebrated.¹⁵ And command the
 22 Israelites to celebrate the Passover⁶ generation after generation,
 23 every year, once a year at the time appointed; and it will serve as a
 24 reminder, acceptable to the Lord, and no plague shall come upon
 25 them to harm *them* or destroy them in any year in which they
 26 celebrate the Passover⁶ at the proper time *and* in every way in
 27 accordance with what he has commanded.

16 And the lamb¹ shall not be eaten outside the Lord's sanctuary,
 17 but within its precincts;¹⁶ and the whole community of Israel shall
 18 offer it¹⁷ at the time appointed. And every one who comes then
 19 shall eat it¹⁸ in the sanctuary of your¹⁹ God in the Lord's presence,
 20 from twenty years old and upwards; for so it is written and decreed
 21 that they should eat it in the Lord's sanctuary.

18 And when the Israelites come into the land they are to occupy,
 the land of Canaan, and set up the Lord's tabernacle in one of their

⁹ Lit. 'from the third part of the night'.

¹⁰ Eth. obscure: Lat. 'you shall eat it'.

¹¹ So both Eth. and Lat. here, understanding the Gk. *μετὰ σπουδῆς* at Exod. xii. 11 in this sense. At verse 23 below, however, Eth. (Lat. is not extant) takes the sense 'in haste', which is clearly preferable in both places in the light of the underlying Heb. *b'hippazon* (cp. also Deut. xvi. 3).

¹² So Eth.: Lat. 'and there shall be no tribulation among Israelites in that day'.

¹³ Lit. 'break any bone of it'.

¹⁴ Eth. 'on the day of its festival': Lat. 'at its own time'.

¹⁵ Or 'offered'.

¹⁶ Eth. 'within view of the Lord's sanctuary': Lat. 'alongside the Lord's tabernacle'.

¹⁷ Or 'celebrate the Passover': lit. 'do it'.

¹⁸ Eth. 'And every man who has come on its day shall eat it': Lat. is difficult and presumably corrupt ('*et omnis homo quicumque praetermiserit in visitatione manducare illud*').

¹⁹ So Eth.: Lat. 'our'.

tribes, till the Lord's sanctuary is built in the land, they shall come
 and celebrate the Passover⁶ in the Lord's tabernacle and slaughter
 19 the lamb¹ in the Lord's presence from year to year. And when the
 20 house is built in the Lord's name in the land of their heritage, they
 21 shall go there and slaughter the paschal lamb in the evening, at
 22 sunset, at the third part of the day. And they shall offer its blood at
 23 the base of the altar, and they shall place its fat on the fire that is on
 the altar, and they shall eat its flesh roast on the fire in the court of
 the house which has been hallowed in the Lord's name. And they
 may not celebrate the Passover⁶ in their cities, nor in any *other*
 place, but only within the precincts of the Lord's tabernacle, or
 within the precincts of his house where his name dwells; and they
 shall not go astray from the Lord.

22 And as for you, Moses, command the Israelites to keep the rules
 of the Passover, as you yourself have received them: draw their
 attention to them²⁰ every year on the day appointed and during the
 Feast of unleavened bread;²¹ *and command them* to eat unleavened
 bread for seven days, *and* to keep the feast and make an offering
 every day during those seven days of joy in the Lord's presence on
 23 the altar of your God. For you celebrated this feast in haste when
 you set out from Egypt, till you entered the wilderness of Shur, and
 it was *only* on the sea-shore that you completed it.

L. And after this law I made known to you *the laws of* the sabbath
 2 days in the desert of Sinai, which is between Elim and Sinai. And I
 told you about the sabbaths of the land on mount Sinai, and I told
 you about the jubilee years in the sabbaths of years; but its year
 3 have we not told you till you enter the land you are to occupy. And
 the land also shall keep its sabbaths while the sons of Israel¹ are
 4 living in it; and *then* shall they know the jubilee year. And so I have
 set in order for you the year-weeks, and the years, and the jubilees:
 there are forty-nine jubilees, one week, and two years, from the
 days of Adam until to-day; and there are forty years yet to come,²

²⁰ So one Eth. MS and Lat.: the other Eth. MSS differ but give the general sense 'you shall perform it'.

²¹ This seems the sense required, though neither Eth. nor Lat. are completely intelligible by themselves.

¹ Lit. 'they'.

² Lit. 'distant'.

5 in which to learn the commandments of the Lord, before they pass over into the land of Canaan and cross the Jordan to the west. And the jubilees shall pass by till Israel is cleansed from all guilt of fornication, and uncleanness, and pollution, and sin, and error, and dwells in safety in all the land; and there shall no longer be an adversary³ or any evil power⁴ to afflict them, and the land shall be clean from that day forward for evermore.

6 And behold, the commandment about the sabbaths, and all the
7 rules and regulations,⁵ I have written down for you. Six days you shall work, but on the seventh day is the sabbath of the Lord your God: on it you shall do no work, neither you, nor your sons, nor your slaves, nor your slave-girls, nor any of your cattle, nor the
8 alien who is among you. And the man that does any work on it shall die: whoever desecrates that day, whoever lies with a woman, or whoever talks on it about anything he intends to do (what, *for example*, he will buy or sell next day), and whoever draws water on it because he did not remember to draw it on the sixth day,⁶ or whoever lifts any load to carry it out of his tent or out of his house,
9 shall die. You shall do no work whatever on the sabbath day: only what you have prepared for yourselves on the sixth day *shall you eat and drink*, so that you may eat and drink and rest and keep sabbath from all work on that day, and bless the Lord your God who has given you a festal day and a holy day; and this day shall be a day of
10 the holy kingdom for all Israel among their days for ever. For great is the honour which the Lord has given Israel, to eat and drink their fill on this festal day, and to rest on it from all the work men have to do, except to burn frankincense and present offerings and sacrifices in the Lord's presence every day and every sabbath.⁷
11 This work alone shall be done on the sabbath days in the sanctuary of the Lord your God, that atonement may be made for Israel with offerings continually, day by day, as a reminder, acceptable to the Lord, and that he may receive them always, day by day, just as you
12 have been commanded. And any man who does any work on the sabbath days,⁸ or goes on a journey or tills a field (whether at home

³ Or 'a Satan'.

⁴ Lit. 'any evil one'.

⁵ Lit. 'and all the judgements of its laws'.

⁶ Lit. 'which he has not prepared for himself on the sixth day'.

⁷ Lit. 'for days and for sabbaths'.

⁸ Lit. 'on them'.

or elsewhere), and whoever lights a fire or loads any beast or travels by ship on the sea, and whoever shoots or kills anything or slaughters a beast or bird or takes⁹ an animal or a bird or a fish, or
13 whoever fasts or makes war on the sabbath—the man who does any of these things on the sabbath shall die, so that the sons of Israel may observe the sabbaths in accordance with the commandments concerning the sabbaths of the land, as it is written on the tablets which he gave into my hands to write out for you the laws of the seasons, and the seasons according to the division of their days.

And with this the account of the division of the days is complete.

⁹ Or 'catches'.

THE LIFE OF ADAM AND EVE

INTRODUCTION

The Life of Adam and Eve here translated is the Latin version of the story of Adam and Eve from the time of their expulsion from Paradise until their deaths.

Jewish legends connected with Adam and Eve and their children abound. So much is clear from the Rabbinic literature. Yet there is no direct evidence for the existence of any pre-Christian written collection of these legends in either Hebrew or Aramaic. The Church, however, seems to have known a number of apparently different Adam books from a comparatively early date: Epiphanius, for example, says that 'many' Gnostic books were attributed to Seth and 'revelations' to Adam,¹ the Apostolic Constitutions mentions Adam along with Moses and Enoch as one of the 'ancients' who wrote apocryphal books,² and the Gelasian Decree includes in its list of apocrypha 'the book that is called The Penitence of Adam'.³

The Adam books which have survived have various titles: they have been preserved in a variety of forms and recensions, and in a variety of languages. Some are distinct: others are interrelated, some obviously so, others less obviously. Thus, the Coptic 'Apocalypse of Adam', discovered near Nag Hammadi in 1945, has no points of contact at all with the Syriac 'Testament of Adam' (apart from its form), nor with the Ethiopic 'Conflict of Adam and Eve with Satan': on the other hand, our Latin 'Life of Adam and Eve' has a number of points of contact with the Ethiopic 'Conflict', but nothing like as many as it has with the Armenian 'Book of Adam'. No attempt will be made, therefore, either to summarize the contents of these books individually, or to disentangle the very complicated interrelationships where they exist. Fundamental to the group most closely related to our 'Life' would appear to be the

¹ Epiph. *Haer.* XXVI. viii. 1.

² *Const. Apost.* VI. xvi. 3.

³ *Decr. Gelas.* v. 6.

Greek work edited by Tischendorf in 1866 (under the title 'The Apocalypse of Moses'⁴) and again by Ceriani two years later.⁵

Despite the very considerable differences in detail, Tischendorf's 'Apocalypse' covers in all essentials the same ground as our 'Life'. On the debit side it lacks the account of the penitence of Adam and Eve contained in Life i-xxi, as well as the vision of Adam in Life xxv-xxix: on the credit side, it puts into the mouth of Eve a much more elaborate account of the Fall, a translation of which, because of its inherent interest, is printed in full as an appendix at the end of our translation of the Life.⁶

So far as the origin of the Apocalypse is concerned, there is nothing in it that is necessarily Christian; and for this reason many regard it as a purely Jewish work, some even going as far as to claim that it is a translation from a Semitic original. But for this last view there is no sound evidence. Against it is the presence of certain Greek terms and expressions, which are unlikely to be found in a translation, and the fact that references and allusions to the Old Testament betray dependence on the Septuagint. All that can safely be said about it is that the author, whether Jew or Christian, constructed his narrative making use of such Jewish traditions or written sources as were known to him: that he almost certainly wrote in Greek; and that in all probability he is to be dated within the first three Christian centuries. Wells, for instance, saw the author as a Jew of the Dispersion, who wrote perhaps at Alexandria, 'between AD 60 and 300, and probably in the earliest years of this period'. Wells reckoned, however, with the possibility that the extant Greek text may be 'a slightly revised version'.⁷

The Latin text of the Life, with which we are more immediately concerned, was first published by Meyer in 1878 from twelve MSS, all (with one exception) at Munich and dating from the 9th to 15th

⁴ This title was Tischendorf's own. His four MSS all gave as title (with minor variations) 'The Story and Life of Adam and Eve, revealed by God to Moses his servant, when he received the tables of the Law of the Covenant from the Lord's hand, being taught by the archangel Michael'.

⁵ Ceriani printed only the text of Cod. Ambrosianus C. 237 Inf. (11th cent.; = Tischendorf's 'D'), which unfortunately has a lacuna of eighteen chapters in the middle. To-day more than twenty MSS are known.

⁶ See below, pp. 161-67.

⁷ L.S.A. Wells in R. H. Charles, *APOT* ii, pp. 129 and 130.

cents. In 1929 J. H. Mozley printed a text based on twelve 13th-15th cent. English MSS. This text does not differ markedly from Meyer's in content: it only makes even more clear what is already evident from Meyer, namely that the mediaeval copyists of the Life had no scruples about altering and expanding the phraseology of their original whenever they felt so inclined, or about incorporating odd scraps of additional material that came their way wherever it seemed appropriate.

As already indicated, it is the presence of not a little of such additional material in the Latin Life which particularly differentiates it from the Greek 'Apocalypse'. Some of this additional material is undoubtedly Jewish—as, for example, the legend which appears in Life l-li, that, in accordance with Eve's final instructions before her death, Seth wrote down the story of Adam and Eve and 'all that he had heard and seen from them' both on 'tablets of stone' and on 'tablets of clay', so that whatever form the threatened judgement took, whether fire or flood, the record on one or other might survive.⁸ Some of the additional material, however, is undoubtedly Christian—as, for example, the speech of Michael in xli.2-xlii.5 prophesying the coming upon earth of 'the most beloved King, Christ, the son of God', which is almost verbally identical with Michael's speech as given in the 'Latin A' recension of the Acts of Pilate (Gospel of Nicodemus) chap. xix. The Life is thus a typical compound of Jewish and Christian elements, but with the Jewish predominating. It has come down to us in Latin, yet the occurrence from time to time of transliterated Greek words (e.g. *cinnamomum et calaminthen et nardum* at xliii.3) makes it as reasonably certain as anything can be that it is basically a translation of a Greek original. It is best explained as the translation either of a later recension of the 'Apocalypse', or, possibly but less probably, of one of the sources behind the 'Apocalypse'.

The English translation which follows is based on the Latin as printed by Meyer.

⁸ Cp. Josephus, *Ant.* I. ii. 3 (70-71).

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- I. When they were driven out of Paradise they made a booth for themselves and spent seven days mourning and lamenting in great grief.
- II. But after seven days they began to be hungry and started to look for food to eat, and they did not find it. Then Eve said to Adam, My lord, I am hungry. Go and look for something for us to eat. Perhaps the Lord God will relent and pity us and recall us to the place where we were before.
- III. And Adam got up and roamed for seven days through all that land and found no food of the kind they had had in Paradise. And Eve said to Adam, Would you kill me and have me dead? Then, perhaps, the Lord God will take you back into Paradise, for it was because of me that you were driven out of it. Adam answered, Do not say such things, Eve, lest the Lord God bring on us some other curse. How could I stretch out my hand against my own flesh? Rather let us bestir ourselves and look for something to keep ourselves alive on.
- IV. And they wandered about and searched for nine days; and they found nothing of the kind they had had in Paradise, but found only animals' food. And Adam said to Eve, This kind of food the Lord has provided for the animals and beasts to eat, but we had angels' food. Yet it is right and proper for us to lament in the sight of God who made us. Let us be truly penitent.¹ Perhaps the Lord God will be gracious to us and pity us and give us something to live on.
- V. And Eve said to Adam, What is penitence?¹ Tell me, my lord, what sort of penitence¹ should I do? Let us not impose on ourselves

¹ Lit. 'Let us repent with a great repentance'.

¹ Or 'penance'.

too great a strain so that we cannot bear it, with the result that the Lord will not listen to our prayers, and turn his face away from us because we have not done what we promised. My lord, how much penitence¹ have you in mind? I have indeed brought trouble and tribulation on you.

VI. And Adam said to Eve, You cannot do as much as I can, so do only as much as you have strength for. I will spend forty days fasting. As for you, get up and go to the River Tigris and take a stone and stand on it in the water up to your neck in the deep part of the river. And let no words pass your lips,¹ since we are unworthy to entreat the Lord, for our lips are unclean because of the unlawful and forbidden tree. And stand in the water of the river for thirty-seven days. I will spend my forty days in the water of Jordan. Perhaps the Lord God will take pity on us.

VII. And Eve made her way to the River Tigris and did as Adam had told her. So, too, Adam made his way to the River Jordan and stood on a stone up to his neck in water.

VIII. And Adam said, I bid you, water of Jordan, share my grief; and assemble for me all those creatures in you that swim, and let them surround me and mourn together with me. Let them lament, not for themselves, but for me; for it is not they that have sinned, but I. Immediately all living things came and surrounded him. And from that moment¹ the water of Jordan stood still and stopped its flow.

IX. And eighteen days passed by. Then Satan in anger transformed himself into the brightness of the angels, and went off to the River Tigris, to Eve, and found her weeping. And the devil pretended to share her grief himself; and he began to weep and said to her, Come out of the river and lament no more. Cease now from your sorrow and your groans. Why are you anxious, you and your husband Adam? The Lord God has heard your groans and accepted

¹ Or 'penance'.

¹ Lit. 'And speech shall not go out of your mouth.'

¹ Lit. 'hour'.

your penitence;¹ and all we angels have entreated him on your behalf and made supplication to the Lord, and he has sent me to fetch you out of the water and give you the food² you had in Paradise, the loss of which has caused your present wails. So come out of the water now, and I will take you to the place where your food has been made ready.

X. Eve heard this and believed it, and she got out of the water of the river; and her body was blue with cold from the water.¹ And when she had got out she collapsed. And the devil helped her to her feet and led her to Adam. But when Adam saw her, and the devil with her, he wept and cried aloud and said, O Eve, Eve, where is the fruit² of your penitence?³ How is it that you have been again ensnared by our adversary? It was through him we were driven out of our dwelling-place in Paradise as aliens and deprived of all spiritual joy.

XI. When she heard this, Eve realized it was the devil who had persuaded her to get out of the river; and she fell on her face on the earth, and her sorrow and groaning and wailing were redoubled. And she cried out and said Woe to you, devil. Why do you attack us for no reason? Why do you interfere with us?¹ What have we done to you that you pursue us with such craft?² Or why is your malice directed against us?³ Have we taken away your glory and caused you to be dishonoured? Why, enemy, do you persecute us to the death with such malice and such spite?

XII. And with a heavy sigh the devil said, O Adam! all my hostility, envy, and sorrow is in consequence of you, for it is

¹ Or 'penance'.

² Lit. 'nourishment'.

¹ Or 'she was quivering all over with cold from the water'. The force of the simile in the text as it stands (lit. 'her flesh was like grass from the cold of the water') is obscure.

² Lit. 'work'.

³ Or 'penance'.

¹ Lit. 'What have you to do with us?'

² Reading with the text *dolose*: some emend to *dolore* ('with such pain').

³ Lit. 'Or what has your malice to do with us?'

because of you that I was driven from my glory, which I had in heaven among the angels, and because of you I was thrown out onto the earth. Adam answered, What have I done to you, or what can you blame me for? We have done you no harm or injury. Why, then, do you pursue us?

XIII. The devil replied, Adam, what are you saying to me? It was on account of you that I was thrown out of heaven.¹ When you were formed I was expelled from the presence of God and banished from the company of the angels. When God breathed into you the breath of life, and your face and likeness was made in the image of God, Michael brought you and made us worship you in the sight of God; and the Lord God said, Here is Adam. I have made him² in our image and likeness.

XIV. And Michael went out and called all the angels, saying, Worship the image of God as the Lord God has commanded. And Michael himself worshipped first. And *then* he called me and said, Worship the image of God. And I answered, I have no *duty* to worship Adam. And since Michael kept urging me to worship, I said to him, Why do you urge me? I will not worship an inferior and a younger *being than I am*. I am his senior in creation: before he was made I was already made: he ought to worship me.

XV. When the rest of the angels, who were under me, heard this, they *too* refused to worship him. And Michael said, Worship the image of God; and, if you will not worship him, you will make the Lord God very angry. And I said, If he is angry with me, I will set my seat above the stars of heaven and I will be like the Most High.

XVI. And the Lord God was angry with me and banished me and my angels from our glory; and on your account were we driven from our dwelling-places into this world and thrown out onto the earth. At this we were overcome with grief, since we had been deprived of so great glory. And we were pained to see you in such joy and luxury. So I beguiled your wife and caused you to be driven

¹ Lit. 'thence'.

² The MSS read 'you'.

from your joy and luxury through her, just as I was driven from my glory.

XVII. When Adam heard the devil say this, he cried out and wept; and he said, O Lord my God, my life is in your hands. Put far from me this adversary, who seeks to destroy my soul, and give me his glory which he himself has lost. And immediately the devil vanished from him. But Adam persevered for forty days, standing in penitence¹ in the water of Jordan.

XVIII. And Eve said to Adam, Live *out your life*, my lord. You are granted life, since you are guilty of neither the first nor the second error. But I have erred and been led astray, for I have not kept God's commandment. Cut me off now from the light of your life, and I will go westwards¹ and remain² there till I die. And she began to make her way towards the regions of the west and to mourn and weep bitterly and groan aloud. And she made there a booth, having been pregnant for about three months.

XIX. And when the time came for the child to be born she was seized with pains; and she cried aloud to the Lord and said, Have mercy on me, Lord, *and* help me. But she was not heard and God's mercy was denied her.¹ And she said to herself, Who will tell my lord Adam? I implore you, luminaries of heaven, on your way back to the east, bear a message to my lord Adam.

XX. At that very moment¹ Adam said, A cry of woe from Eve² has reached me: perhaps the serpent has attacked her once again. And he went and found her in great distress. And Eve said, As soon as I saw you, my lord, my grief-stricken soul was refreshed. And now entreat the Lord God for me, that he may listen to you, and look on

¹ Or 'penance'.

¹ Lit. 'to the sunset'.

² Lit. 'be'.

¹ Lit. 'was not around her'.

¹ Lit. 'hour'.

² Or 'Eve's cry of woe'.

3 me and free me from my awful pains. And Adam entreated the Lord for Eve.

XXI. And behold, twelve angels came and two powers, and they stood on Eve's right and on her left. And Michael was standing on the right. And he stroked her on the face as far down as her breast; and he said to Eve, You are blessed, Eve, for Adam's sake. In answer to his fervent prayers and intercessions¹ I have been sent to you to give you our help. Get up now and prepare to give birth. And she bore a son; and he was beautiful.² And at once the babe got up and ran and brought a blade of grass in his hands and gave it to his mother. And his name was called Cain.³

XXII. And Adam took Eve and the boy and led them towards the east. And the Lord God sent Michael the archangel with different kinds of seeds and gave them to Adam and showed him how to work and till the ground so that they might have fruit on which they and all their descendants could live. After this Eve conceived and bore another son, whose name was Abel. And Cain and Abel lived together. And Eve said to Adam, My lord, while I was asleep I saw a vision. The blood of our son Abel was in Cain's hand, and he was gulping it down with his mouth. I am worried by it. And Adam said, Cain surely could not murder Abel!¹ Yet let us separate them from one another and give each of them a separate place to live in.

XXIII. And they made Cain a farmer and Abel they made a shepherd, so that they were separate from one another. And after this Cain murdered Abel (Adam was then a hundred and thirty years old, and Abel, when he was murdered, was twenty-two¹).

¹ Lit. 'Since his prayers and intercessions are great'.

² Or 'shining' (*lucidus*).

³ a blade of grass . . . Cain: a Hebrew word-play would seem to be involved here (*qaneh* . . . *Qayyin*), parallel to, but different from, that at Gen. iv. 1.

¹ Lit. 'Alas, if Cain should kill Abel'.

¹ The text reads 'a hundred and twenty-two'. The emendation depends partly on common sense and partly on the information in Syncellus (*Chron.* – ed. Dindorf, i, p. 14) that Abel was twenty-two when he offered his sacrifice.

3 And after this Adam had intercourse with his wife; and he became the father of another son and called his name Seth.

XXIV. And Adam said to Eve, Behold, I have fathered a son in place of Abel, whom Cain murdered. And after Adam had fathered Seth he lived eight hundred years and fathered thirty sons more and thirty daughters – in all, sixty-three children. And they increased in numbers and spread everywhere in the earth and became nations.¹

XXV. And Adam said to Seth, Listen, Seth my-son, and I will tell you what I heard and saw after your mother and I had been driven out of Paradise. When we were at prayer, Michael the archangel, a messenger of God, came to me. And I saw a chariot like the wind, and its wheels were fiery; and I was caught up into the Paradise of righteousness. And I saw the Lord sitting; and his face was a flaming fire that no man could endure. And many thousands of angels were on the right and on the left of that chariot.

XXVI. When I saw this I was thrown into confusion: terror seized me; and I prostrated myself before God with my face to the ground. And God said to me, Behold, you shall die, because you have transgressed the commandment of God; for you chose to listen to your wife, over whom I gave you authority, in order that you might control her, and you have listened to her and have ignored what I said.

XXVII. And when I heard these words of God I fell prone on the ground and worshipped the Lord and said, My Lord, all-powerful and merciful God, Holy and Righteous One, let not the name that is mindful of thy majesty be blotted out; but renew my life,¹ for I am at the point of death and my breath is about to leave my mouth. Do not drive me from thy presence, even me, whom thou didst form from the clay of the earth. Do not banish from thy favour him whom thou didst rear. And lo, a word concerning you came to me,

¹ Lit. 'And they were multiplied over the earth in their nations'.

¹ Lit. 'convert my soul'.

and the Lord said to me, Since your days were fashioned² you have been created with a love of knowledge: your descendants, therefore, shall never lose *the right* to serve me.

XXVIII. And when I heard these words I threw myself to the ground and adored the Lord God and said, Thou art the eternal and supreme God, and all creatures give thee honour and praise.
2 Thou art the True Light, which shines above every light, the Living Life, the Infinite Mighty Power. To thee the spiritual powers give honour and praise. Thou workest on the race of men the miracles of thy mercy.

XXIX. After I had worshipped the Lord, Michael, God's archangel, took hold of my hand immediately and led me out¹ of the Paradise of God's Reckoning.² And Michael had a rod in his hand and touched the waters that surrounded Paradise, and they froze hard. And I went across. And Michael the archangel went across with me and led me back to the place from which he had caught me up. Listen, Seth my son, to the rest of the secrets also, and the mysteries that are to be, which were revealed to me when I had eaten from the tree of knowledge and learned and understood what is to come to pass in this age, and what God intends to do to the human race he has created. The Lord will appear in a flame of fire, and from the mouth of his majesty will issue commandments and precepts: from his mouth *also* will proceed a two-edged sword; and men will hallow him in the house where his majesty dwells. And he will show them the marvellous place of his majesty. And then will they build a house to the Lord their God in the land he will prepare for them; and there will they disobey his precepts. And their sanctuary will be burnt up, their land deserted, and they themselves dispersed, because they have aroused the wrath of God. And once more he will bring them back from their dispersion; and again they will build God's house. And in the last time God's house will

² So Meyer (= *figurantur*): all MSS are corrupt.

¹ Lit. 'threw me out'.

² Both text and interpretation are highly uncertain: the MSS vary between *visitationis*, *visionis*, *visitationis et visionis*, and *visitationis et iussionis*.

be exalted *even* higher than before. And once more iniquity will exceed righteousness. And after that God will dwell with men on the earth in visible form; and then will righteousness begin to shine. And God's house will be honoured for ever.³ And the adversary will be able no more to harm men who believe in God. And God will raise up for himself a faithful people that he will keep safe for evermore. And the impious will be punished by God their
10 King – *that is* those who have refused to love his law. Heaven and earth, nights and days, and all creatures will obey him and neither transgress his commandment nor change their ways.⁴ But men will
11 be changed and forsake the law of the Lord. Therefore the Lord will drive away the wicked from him, but the righteous will shine
12 like the sun before him.⁵ And at that time men will be purified by water from their sins; but those who will not be purified will be condemned. And happy shall that man be who has reformed his life⁶ when the judgement comes, and God's mighty power is seen among men, and their deeds are inquired into by God the righteous judge.

XXX. When Adam was nine hundred and thirty years old and knew that his end was near, he said, Let all my sons come together
2 to me, so that I can bless them before I die and talk with them. And they came together into his presence in three groups, in the house
3 of prayer where they used to worship the Lord God. And they asked him, *saying*, Why is it, father, you have called us together?
4 And why are you lying on your bed? Then Adam answered and said, My sons, I am ill and in pain. And all his sons said to him, What do illness and pain mean, father?

XXXI. Then his son Seth said, You have been pining, perhaps, for the fruit of Paradise, which you used to eat *once*, and that is why you are lying in such a sorry state. *Only* tell me, and I will go to the nearest of the gates of Paradise and put dust on my head and prostrate myself on the ground before the gates of Paradise and lament and entreat the Lord with a loud and bitter lament: perhaps

³ Or 'in *that* age'.

⁴ Lit. 'works'.

⁵ Lit. 'in the sight of God'.

⁶ Or 'learned discipline': lit. 'corrected his soul'.

he will listen to me and send his angel to fetch me the fruit you have
 2 been pining for. Adam answered and said, No, my son, I have not
 been pining *for that fruit*; but I feel weak and am in great pain in my
 body. Seth answered, What is pain, my lord father? I do not
 understand. But explain it to us and¹ tell us *about it*.

XXXII. And Adam answered and said, Listen to me my sons.
 When God made us, me and your mother, and placed us in
 Paradise, and gave us every tree that bears fruit to eat, he laid a
 prohibition on us concerning the tree of the knowledge of good and
 2 evil that is in the middle of Paradise, saying, Do not eat of it. And
 God gave a part of Paradise to me and *a part* to your mother: the
 trees of¹ the eastern part and the north he gave to me, and he gave
 the south and the western part to your mother.

1,2 XXXIII. Also, the Lord God gave us two angels to guard us. The
 time came when the angels had gone up to worship in God's
 presence; *and* at once the adversary, the devil, took the oppor-
 tunity, while the angels were away, and led your mother astray *and*
 3 *persuaded her* to eat of the unlawful and forbidden tree. And she ate
of it herself and gave *some* to me.

XXXIV. And immediately the Lord God was angry with us. And
 the Lord said to me, Because you have forsaken my commandment
 and have not kept my word, which I made binding on you, behold
 I will afflict your body with seventy ills.¹ With all kinds of different
 pains will you be tormented in every limb, from your head and eyes
 2 and ears right down to your toe-nails. These *ills* he appointed for us
 as a punishment.² All of them has the Lord laid on me and all our
 race.

¹ Lit. 'But do not hide it from us, but'.

¹ Some MSS read 'the authority over'.

¹ Lit. 'I will bring upon your body seventy blows (or 'strokes' - of the rod)'.

² All MSS have an additional phrase here. They differ widely from one another,
 but not one makes even tolerable sense.

XXXV. So did Adam speak to his sons. And he was seized with
 violent pains and cried out loudly, What shall I do? I am exhausted,
 2 so cruel are the pains that grip me. And when Eve saw him
 weeping, she also began to weep herself and said, O Lord, my God,
 3 transfer to me his pain, for it was I who sinned. And Eve said to
 Adam, My lord, let me share your pains,¹ for it is my fault they
 have come on you.

XXXVI. And Adam said to Eve, Get up and go with my son Seth to
 the neighbourhood of Paradise, and put dust on your heads and
 prostrate yourselves on the ground and lament in the sight of God.
 2 Perhaps he will pity you and send his angel across to the tree of
 mercy, from which flows the oil of life; and *perhaps* he will give you a
 drop of it to anoint me with, so that I can get some respite from
 these pains by which I am consumed.

XXXVII. Then Seth and his mother went off towards the gates of
 Paradise. And while they were going, suddenly a beast appeared, a
 2 serpent, and it attacked and bit Seth. And as soon as Eve saw it, she
 wept and said, Alas, wretched woman that I am. I am accursed
 3 because I have not kept God's commandment. And Eve shouted at
 the serpent, Accursed beast! How *is it* you are not afraid to let
 yourself loose against the image of God but dare to fight it?

XXXVIII. The beast answered in human speech, Is it not against
 you, Eve, that our malice *is directed*? Are not you the objects of our
 2 spite? Tell me, Eve, how came it that your mouth was open to eat
 the fruit? Yet now, if I should *even* begin to reproach you, you could
 not endure it.

XXXIX. Then Seth said to the beast, The Lord God rebuke you!
 Be silent, be dumb, shut your mouth, accursed enemy of truth,
 confounder and destroyer! Keep your distance from the image of
 God till the day when the Lord God orders you to be brought to the
 2 *final* trial. And the beast said to Seth, See I leave the presence of

¹ Lit. 'give me a part of your pains'.

God's image as you have told me to. At this, he left Seth with the marks of his teeth upon him.¹

XL. But Seth and his mother continued their journey to the regions of Paradise, *looking* for the oil of mercy to anoint the ailing Adam; and they arrived at the gates of Paradise. They took dust from the ground and put it on their heads and they prostrated themselves and began to lament with loud moans, supplicating the Lord God to pity Adam in his pains and to send his angel to give him the oil from the tree of his mercy.

XLI. And when they had been praying and making supplication for many hours, behold, the angel Michael appeared to them and said, I have been sent to you by the Lord. I am appointed by God to look after men's bodies; and I *am* to tell you, Seth, *since you are* a man of God, not to weep or pray or make supplication for the oil of the tree of mercy, so as to anoint your father Adam and ease the pains in his body.

XLII. For, I tell you, you can never have it, except in the last days. When five thousand five hundred years have been completed, then will come upon earth the most beloved King, Christ, the Son of God, to revive the body of Adam, and to revive the bodies of the dead with him. He himself, the Son of God, will be baptized at his coming in the River Jordan; and when he comes out of the water of Jordan, then will he anoint with the oil of mercy all that believe in him. And the oil of mercy will be *given* generation after generation to those who are ready to be born again to life eternal by water and the Holy Spirit. Then, when the most beloved Son of God, Christ, descends to earth, he will take your father Adam into Paradise and *lead him* to the tree of mercy.¹

¹ Lit. 'wounded by his teeth'.

¹ Michael's speech up to here (i.e. xli.2–xlii.5) is almost verbally identical with his speech as given in the Latin 'A' recension of the Acts of Pilate (Gospel of Nicodemus) xix, where, at Adam's request, Seth recounts the incident to his 'sons the patriarchs and prophets' in Hell. The Greek and the Latin 'B' recensions of the Acts also include the speech, but in slightly different forms. Neither the Greek nor either of the Latin recensions, however, has the concluding verse in the Life (i.e. xliii. 1). See M. R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford, 1924), pp. 126–8.

XLIII. But as for you, Seth, go to your father Adam, for his life-span is complete. Six days from now his soul will leave his body; and, when it goes out, you will see great marvels in the heaven and on the earth and in the luminaries of heaven. And with these words Michael left Seth immediately. And Eve and Seth returned, carrying with them sweet-smelling herbs – nard, and crocus, and calamus, and cinnamon.

XLIV. And when Seth and his mother reached Adam, they told him how the serpent-beast had bitten Seth. And Adam said to Eve, What *is it that* you did? A great plague have you brought on us – transgression and sin for all our generations. After my death tell your children what you did;¹ for our descendants² will toil and not make a living, they will be in want and curse us and say, Our first parents brought all *these* evils on us. And when Eve heard what he said, she began to weep and moan.

XLV. And after six days came Adam's death, just as the archangel Michael had foretold. When Adam realized that the hour of his death was near he said to all his sons, Behold, I am nine hundred and thirty years old; and after I am dead bury me towards the sunrising † in the field that belongs to the house over there†. And it came to pass, when he had finished speaking, he breathed his last. Then was the sun darkened, and the moon and the stars *also*, for seven days.

XLVI. And Seth bent over his father's body, mourning, and embraced it;¹ and Eve stared at the ground with hands folded over

¹ The Apocalypse of Moses puts this charge of Adam to Eve in the form of a command to summon their children and grandchildren immediately and, when assembled in a group round Adam's deathbed, to 'tell them the manner of our transgression'. The Apocalypse then continues with Eve's account of the fall (chaps. xv–xxx), which thus *precedes* Adam's death. It consequently lacks Eve's speech in Life xlix. 1–1.2, which accords with Adam's instructions here to Eve to tell her story *after* his death. The account of the Fall in the Apocalypse will be found printed in full as an Appendix (pp. 161–67, below).

² Lit. 'those who arise from us'.

¹ Lit. 'And Seth in his mourning embraced from above his father's body'.

2 her head, and all her children wept most bitterly. And behold,
 3 Michael the angel appeared and stood at Adam's head and said to
 Seth, Get up and leave your father's body, and come to me and see
 what the Lord God has in store for him. His creature he is, and he
 has had pity on him.

XLVII. And all the angels blew their trumpets and cried, Blessed
 art thou, O Lord, for thou hast had pity on thy creature.

XLVIII. Then Seth saw God's hand stretched out *and* holding
 2 Adam; and he delivered him over to Michael, saying, Let him be in
 your charge till the day of judgement in punishment, till the last
 3 years when I will turn his sorrow into joy. Then shall he sit on the
 4 throne of his supplanter.¹ And the Lord said again to the angels
 Michael and Uriel, Bring me three linen sheets and spread them
 out over Adam, and *spread* other sheets over his son Abel, and bury
 5 Adam and his son. And all the angelic powers marched in proces-
 sion in front of Adam; and the sleep of the dead was consecrated.
 6 And the angels Michael and Uriel buried Adam and Abel in the
 regions of Paradise, before the eyes of Seth and his mother and no
 7 one else. And Michael and Uriel said, Just as you have seen *us*
doing, so do you also bury your dead.

XLIX. Six days after Adam died, Eve, realizing *that* her own death
was near, called all her sons and daughters together – that is, Seth
 2 with *his* thirty brothers and thirty sisters. And Eve said to all *of*
them, Listen to me, my children, and I will tell you what the
 archangel Michael said to us when your father and I transgressed
 3 the command of God. Because of your transgression, *he said*, our
 Lord will bring on your race the anger of his judgement, first by
 water, the second time by fire: by these two things will the Lord
 judge the whole human race.

L. But listen to me, my children. Make *two kinds of* tablets, *some of*
 stone and others of clay, and record on them everything that has
 happened in my life and your father's, what you have heard from

¹ Or, according to some MSS, 'of his seducer'.

2 us and *what you* have seen *yourselves*. If the Lord judges our race by
 water, the clay tablets will become mud,¹ but the stone ones will be
 preserved; but if he judges our race by fire, *then* the stone tablets
 3 will be shattered,¹ but the clay ones baked *hard*. When Eve had said
 this to her children, she spread out her hands to heaven in prayer,
 and bent her knees to the earth; and while she was worshipping the
 Lord and giving him thanks she breathed her last. *And* afterwards
 all her children buried her with loud lamentation.

LI. When they had been mourning four days the archangel
 2 Michael appeared and said to Seth, Man of God, never mourn for
 your dead more than six days, because on the seventh day is the
 sign of the resurrection *and* the rest of the age to come, for on the
 3 seventh day the Lord rested from all his works. Then Seth made
 the tablets.¹

APPENDIX

EVE'S ACCOUNT OF THE FALL FROM THE APOCALYPSE OF MOSES XV–XXX

[As noted above (p. 142, n. 6) this account corresponds to the short speech
 of Eve to 'all her sons and daughters' in Life xlix. 1–1.2, though it differs in
 that (1) it is placed in the Apocalypse *before* and not *after* the death of
 Adam, and (2) it is very much more elaborate. In fact, it incorporates the
 only considerable body of matter contained in the Apocalypse that is not
 also contained in some form in the Life. It is printed partly for this reason,
 and partly on account of its intrinsic interest.]

¹ Lit. 'will be dissolved'.

¹ Some MSS add an account of how these tablets survived the Flood, but no one
 could read them: Solomon, however, had the secret of the script revealed to him by
 the same angel who had 'held the hand' of Seth when he wrote them. The account
 concludes by stating that 'on these stones was found what Enoch, the seventh from
 Adam, had prophesied before the Flood about the advent of Christ'; and then
 follows the well-known passage from 1 Enoch i. 9, quoted at Jude 14 and 15. Still
 other MSS have further additions, including information about the materials out of
 which Adam's body was made and the statement that he was fashioned 'in that
 place in which Jesus was born, that is to say in Bethlehem, which is in the middle of
 the world'.

XIV. 3 . . . And he said to her, Call all our children and our children's children, and tell them how it was that we transgressed.

XV. Then Eve said to them, Listen, my children and children's children, all of you, and I will tell you how the enemy deceived us.
 2 It happened when we were guarding Paradise, each of us the part allotted to us by God. I was on guard in my lot, the south and the
 3 west. But the devil went to Adam's lot, where the male creatures were (for God had divided the creatures: all the males he had given to your father, and all the females he had given to me; and we each looked after our own).

XVI. And the devil spoke to the serpent, saying, Get up *and* come *here* to me, and I will tell you something that could be to your
 2 advantage. And he got up and came to him. And the devil said to him, I hear you are the wisest of all the animals, and I have come to
 3 talk to you. Why do you eat Adam's tares and not the fruits of Paradise? Come, and let us see to it that he is thrown out of
 4 Paradise, just as we were thrown out because of him. The serpent
 5 said to him, I am afraid the Lord will be angry with me. The devil said to him, Do not be afraid, only be my tool, and I will put into your mouth such words as will deceive him.

XVII. And he *went* immediately *and* hung from the wall of Paradise. And when the angels went up to worship God, then Satan appeared
 2 in the form of an angel and sang hymns like the angels. And I bent over the wall and saw him *looking* just like an angel. And he said to
 3 me, Are you Eve? And I said to him, I am. And he said to me, What do you do in Paradise?¹ And I said to him, God set us to guard *it*
 4 and to eat from it. The devil answered through the serpent's mouth, You do well; yet you do not eat from every plant. And I
 5 said, Yes, we do eat from every plant, except only one—the one that is in the middle of Paradise, about which God commanded us not to eat from it. For on the day you do eat from it, he said to us, you will certainly die.

¹ Or 'what are you doing in Paradise?'

XVIII. Then the serpent said to me, As God lives, I am grieved about you, because you are like the animals; and I would not have you remain in ignorance. Come, listen to me and eat, and learn the
 2 value of that tree. But I said to him, I am afraid that God will be
 3 angry with me, as he told us *he would*. And he said to me, Do not be afraid, for as soon as you eat from it, you too will be like God,¹
 4 knowing good and evil. God realized this, that you would be like
 5 him, so he envied you and said, You must not eat from it. But *go and*
 6 look at the plant and you will see how splendid it is.² Yet I was afraid to take *any* of the fruit. And he said to me, Come, and I will give it you: follow me.

XIX. And I opened *the gate* for him, and he came inside, into Paradise, and went on in front of me. And when he had gone a little way he turned and said to me, I have changed my mind: I will not give you *any of the fruit* to eat till you swear to me that you will give
 2 *some* also to your husband. I said to him, I do not know what sort of oath I should swear to you by; yet, so far as my knowledge goes, I promise you, By the Throne of Majesty, and by the Cherubim, and by the Tree of Life, I will give *some of the fruit* also to my husband to
 3 eat. And as soon as he had the oath from me, he went and put on the fruit the poison of his wickedness — that is to say, lust, the root and origin of every sin. And he bent the branch down to the ground; and I took *some* of the fruit and ate *it*.

XX. And at that very moment my eyes were opened; and I knew immediately that I had been stripped¹ of the righteousness I had
 2 been clothed with. And I wept and said to him, Why have you done
 3 this to me and deprived me of my glory? And I wept also because of the oath I had sworn. But he got down from the tree and vanished.
 4 And in my nakedness I began to look in my part of *Paradise* for leaves to hide my shame, but I could not find any; for, as soon as I had eaten, the leaves dropped off all the trees in my part of *Paradise*,

¹ Or 'like gods'.

² Lit 'the great glory concerning it'.

¹ Lit. 'was naked'.

except the fig-tree. So I took some leaves from it and made myself a girdle. And it was from that very same tree that I had eaten.

XXI. And I cried out loud, saying, Adam, Adam, where are you?
 2 Get up *and* come to me, and I will show you a great secret. But
 when your father came I spoke wicked words to him – words that
 3 brought us down from our pinnacle of glory. For, when he came, I
 opened my mouth and began to exhort him and said (it was the
 devil speaking), Come here, my lord Adam: listen to me, and eat
some of the fruit of the tree God told us not to eat of, and you will be
 4 like God.¹ And your father answered and said, I am afraid that
 God will be angry with me. And I said to him, Do not be afraid, for
 5 as soon as you have eaten you will know good and evil. And I
 quickly persuaded him; and he ate. And his eyes were opened
 6 immediately, and he too became aware of his nakedness. And he
 said to me, You wicked woman! What have I done to you that you
 have deprived me of the glory of God?

XXII. And at that very moment we heard the archangel Michael
 blowing with his trumpet and calling to the angels and saying,
 2 Thus says the Lord, Come with me to Paradise and hear the
 judgement with which I am about to judge Adam. And when we
 heard the archangel trumpeting, we said, Behold, God is coming
 3 into Paradise to judge us. And we were afraid and hid. And when
 God appeared in Paradise, mounted on the chariot of the cherubim,
 with the angels going before him and singing hymns of praise, all
 the plants of Paradise, both of your father's lot and mine, burst into
 4 flower. And God's throne was set up where the Tree of Life was.

XXIII. And God called Adam, saying, Adam where are you? Can
 2 the house be hidden from its builder? Then your father answered,
 We have not hidden, Lord, because we think thou canst not find
 us; but I was afraid, because I am naked, and overawed, Lord, by
 3 thy might. God said to him, Who showed you that you are naked?
 Have you forsaken my commandment which I told you to observe?
 4 Then Adam remembered my promise to him, I will protect you if

¹ Or 'like a god'.

God is angry;¹ and he turned to me and said, Why have you done
 5 this? And I said, The serpent deceived me.

XXIV. God said to Adam, Because you have disregarded my
 commandment and have listened to your wife, cursed shall the
 2 ground be by your labours. You will work it and it will not yield its
 wealth: thorns and thistles will it grow for you; and by the sweat of
 your brow you shall eat your bread. Manifold will be your toils:
 you will be crushed by bitterness; and of sweetness you will have no
 3 taste. Weary you will be and yet find no rest, by heat exhausted
 and by cold distraught. You will labour incessantly, but not be
 4 rich; and you will grow fat, yet come to no *good* end.¹ Even the
 beasts, over whom you were given the dominion, will rise up in
 rebellion against you, because you have not kept my commandment.

XXV. And the Lord turned to me and said, Because you listened to
 the serpent and turned a deaf ear to my commandment, you shall
 2 suffer **the pangs of child birth**¹ and agonizing pains. You shall bear
 children in much **trembling**,² and within a single hour you shall come *to*
the point of birth and lose your life, so intense will be your anguish and
 3 *your* pangs. *Then* will you make confession and say, Lord, Lord, *save*
 4 *me*, and I will turn no more to carnal sin. And so, by your own words
 will I judge you, because of the enmity which the enemy has planted
 in you.

XXVI. And he turned to the serpent in great wrath and said, Because
 you have done this and become a graceless creature¹ and have
 deceived the innocent in heart, accursed shall you be more than all
 beasts. You shall be deprived of the food you used to eat and shall feed
 on dust all the days of your life. On your breast and your belly shall

¹ Lit. 'I will make you safe before God'.

¹ The MSS vary in this catalogue both in the ordering, and in the inclusion or omission, of some of the details.

¹ Text 'you shall be in vain things'.

² = *τρόμοις*. Text 'in many ways (= *τρόποις*)'.

¹ Lit. 'vessel, thing'.

you crawl and lose your hands and feet. There shall be left to you neither ear nor wing nor any limb that in your malice you ensnared them with and caused them to be thrown out of Paradise. And I will put enmity between you and human kind:² they shall watch out for your head and you shall watch out for their heel till the day of judgement.

XXVII. So he spoke and gave orders to his angels that we should be thrown out of Paradise. And as we were being driven out, with loud lamentations, your father Adam pleaded with the angels, saying, Spare me a moment, so that I may entreat the Lord to have compassion on me and pity me, for only I have sinned. And they left off driving him. And Adam cried out with tears and said, Forgive me, Lord, for what I did. Then the Lord said to the angels, Why have you stopped driving Adam out of Paradise? Is it I who have done wrong? Or is my judgement faulty? Then the angels fell to the ground and worshipped the Lord, saying, Thou art righteous, Lord, and thou judgest rightly.

XXVIII. And the Lord turned to Adam and said, I will allow you to remain in Paradise no longer. And Adam answered and said, Grant me, Lord, to eat from the Tree of Life before I am thrown out. Then the Lord spoke to Adam, saying, You shall not have *any* of it now, for because of you I have commanded the Cherubim to guard it with the flaming sword that turns *every way*, so that you should not taste *it* and thereby gain immortality for ever: you must endure instead the conflict that the enemy has brought upon you. Yet after you have gone out of Paradise, if you can keep yourself from all evil (as one about to die), at the resurrection¹ I will raise you up, and then shall you be given to eat from the Tree of Life, you shall be immortal for evermore.

XXIX. So the Lord spoke and ordered us to be thrown out of Paradise. But your father Adam wept in the angels' presence in¹

² Lit. 'and his seed'.

¹ Lit. 'when the resurrection has again come into being'.

¹ Lit. 'opposite, over against'.

Paradise; and the angels said to him, What would you have us do for you, Adam? And your father said to them, Behold, you are driving me out: I beg you, let me take away *some* sweet-smelling *herbs* from Paradise so that I can make an offering to God after I have gone out of Paradise, and God may listen to me. And the angels approached God and said, Jael, eternal king, give orders that Adam be given sweet-smelling incense from Paradise. And God ordered Adam to go and take sweet-smelling spices from Paradise *and also some seeds* for his food. And the angels let him go; and he gathered both kinds – crocus and nard and calamus and cinnamon, and other seeds for his food. And, taking them *with him*, he went out of Paradise. And we found ourselves on earth.

XXX. So now, my children, I have shown you how it was we were deceived. And as for you, see to it that you do not abandon what is good.

XXXI. And when Eve had said this, surrounded by her sons, and Adam was lying ill and about to die the following day . . .

I ENOCH

INTRODUCTION

The patriarch Enoch was well known in pre-Christian Judaism and in the primitive Church, not merely as a paragon of righteousness, but also as an author whose writings had a wide circulation and in some quarters were accepted as 'scripture'. The Book of Jubilees represents him as the inventor of writing, and it refers to his having written several apparently quite unrelated works dealing with 'the signs of heaven', his own vision of 'what will happen to the sons of men in every generation', and certain angelic revelations concerning 'everything on earth and in the heavens':¹ later on, his 'special function' is described as 'to be a witness to the world's generations and report all the deeds of each generation till the day of judgement';² and, later still, the dying Abraham is reported as telling Isaac that he had found certain regulations about sacrifice 'written . . . in the words of Enoch'.³ In the New Testament, the Epistle of Jude explicitly quotes Enoch and introduces the quotation with the formula 'Enoch, the seventh from Adam, prophesied, saying . . .'⁴ Thereafter quotations and references are frequent. Thus, the Epistle of Barnabas quotes him ('. . . concerning which it is written, as Enoch says, . . .'),⁵ and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs have no less than nine references to material contained in the 'words', or 'writing', or 'book', or 'books', 'of Enoch'.⁶

Among the Fathers, Tertullian, although he himself accepted Enoch, knew of some who did not.⁷ Origen quoted and referred to Enoch, but he had reservations;⁸ and he was at pains to point out to Celsus that 'the books entitled "Enoch"' are not generally held to

¹ Jub. iv. 17-21.

² Jub. x. 17.

³ Jub. xxi. 10.

⁴ Jude 14-15.

⁵ *Ep. Barn.* iv. 3 (the quotation at xvi. 5 is attributed to 'Scripture', and that at xvi. 6 is introduced by 'it is written': in neither case is Enoch mentioned by name).

⁶ It should be noted, however, that there is textual uncertainty in five of these instances.

⁷ *Tert. cult. fem.* I. iii. 1.

⁸ *Orig. In Ioann.* VI. xlii (25); *in Num. hom.* xxviii. 2.

be divine by the churches'.⁹ For Jerome Enoch was certainly apocryphal.¹⁰ And so too for Augustine: Augustine admitted that Enoch had written 'not a little' by divine inspiration, but he himself found the writings then circulating under Enoch's name so full of incredible fables and other undesirable matter that they could not possibly be genuine: they were quite rightly rejected by both Jews and Christians.¹¹

'Enoch' is listed among the works outside the Canon in the Stichometry of Nicephorus, in the List of Sixty Books, and in the pseudo-Athanasian Synopsis; but it is not mentioned in the Gelasian Decree. This presumably means that writings attributed to Enoch passed out of circulation in the West rather earlier than they did in the East. The last Eastern writer to show personal acquaintance with the writings of Enoch is Georgius Syncellus (c.800). In his *Chronography* Syncellus gives (in Greek) four extracts 'from the first book of Enoch', and later on he refers to certain astronomical information which the archangel Uriel had given Enoch 'as Enoch records in his book'.¹²

After the lapse of more than a thousand years the Enoch literature was re-introduced to the West at the end of the eighteenth century by James Bruce as a result of his travels in Abyssinia. Among the Ethiopic manuscripts that Bruce brought back were three containing what is now known as 1 Enoch or 'Ethiopian Enoch'. One of these manuscripts (now in the Bodleian Library at Oxford) contained 1 Enoch only; the second (also in the Bodleian) contained 1 Enoch, followed by Job, Isaiah, the Twelve, Proverbs, Wisdom, Ecclesiastes, Canticles and Daniel: the third (now in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris) is a transcript of the second. In all three the work was entitled 'the Book of Enoch the Prophet'. Richard Laurence, Regius Professor of Hebrew at Oxford and subsequently Archbishop of Cashel, issued a translation of the text of the first of the Bodleian manuscripts in 1821 and followed this in 1838 by printing the text itself. Meanwhile, more manuscripts

⁹ Orig. c. Cel. v. 54.

¹⁰ Hieron. vir. inl. 4; Comm. in Tit. i. 12; cp. Tract. de Ps. cxxxii. 3.

¹¹ Aug. Civ. Dei, xv. 23, xviii. 38.

¹² Syncellus, *Chronographia* (ed. Dindorf = Corp. Scr. Hist. Byz., vol i (Bonn, 1829), pp. 20-23, 42-47, 60).

were being brought back by other travellers, and three of these, along with the two in the Bodleian, were used by Dillmann for the first critical edition of the Ethiopic text, published in 1851.

In 1886-7 workers attached to the French Archaeological Museum at Cairo discovered in a monk's tomb at Akhmim two extensive parchment fragments of Enoch in Greek, bound up together with fragments of the Gospel and the Revelation of Peter (also in Greek). The larger of the two Enoch fragments was found to correspond to 1 Enoch i. 1-xxxii. 6 in the Ethiopic, and the smaller to xix. 3-xxi. 9. They are to be assigned to either the fifth or the sixth centuries. They were published by U. Bouriant and A. Lods in 1892-3 and were consequently not available to R. H. Charles for use in the first edition of his *The Book of Enoch* (English translation, with Introduction and Commentary), which appeared in 1893. However, when Charles produced his full critical edition of the Ethiopic text in 1906 (based on twenty-three MSS), he printed opposite the Ethiopic text at the appropriate points, not only the complete Greek text of the Akhmim fragments, but also the Greek extracts from Syncellus, a Greek fragment corresponding to lxxxix. 42-49 from Vat. Cod. Gr. 1809 (which had been published by A. Mai in 1844 in the second volume of his *Patrum Nova Bibliotheca*), and a Latin fragment corresponding to cvi. 1-18 discovered in the British Museum by M. R. James in 1893 and published in the Cambridge *Texts and Studies* in the same year. All this additional material was assimilated in the 'wholly recast, enlarged, and re-written' second edition of Charles's *The Book of Enoch* in 1912.

Since Charles's day there have been two major discoveries.¹³

First, in 1930 the University of Michigan acquired six leaves of a papyrus codex, written in Greek and dating from the fourth or early fifth century. Shortly afterwards it appeared that eight more leaves and three fragments, all belonging to the same codex as the Michigan leaves, were included in the very valuable collection of papyri acquired by A. Chester Beatty about the same time. When reconstructed, this codex was found to contain a complete Greek

¹³ Among minor discoveries should be mentioned the 6th-7th cent. fragment, which appears to contain a text of 1 Enoch xciii. 3-8 in Coptic, and which was discovered during the excavations at Antinoë in 1937 and published in 1960.

text (apart from the inevitable minor deficiencies) of 1 Enoch xcvi. 6–civ. 13 and cvi. 1–cvii. 3, followed by the Greek text of the otherwise lost *Homily on the Passion* of Melito of Sardis. It was clear at once that the text of Enoch offered by the codex differed from the Ethiopic in lacking both chap. cv and the final chap. cviii (chaps. civ and cvi are continuous, and after cvii. 3 is written the colophon ‘Epistle of Enoch’, with Melito’s *Homily* following immediately). What was not clear was how much had been lost before xcvi. 6. Campbell Bonner, who was entrusted with the task of editing both texts, was of the opinion, for technical reasons, that it was most unlikely that the codex had ever contained the whole of 1 Enoch: in his view it included only chaps. xci–cvii (minus cv), and these chapters were preceded by another short work of which the three fragments were the sole extant remains. These fragments he assigned to an apocryphal ‘Ezekiel’.

The second major discovery since Charles’s day is that of the Aramaic fragments found in Cave IV at Qumran. The first of these was identified as belonging to 1 Enoch by J. T. Milik at the beginning of September 1952: the identification of others soon followed; and Milik published a sumptuous edition of all of them, with extended commentary, explanatory essays, and plates, in 1976. Altogether there are some hundreds of fragments, which Milik interpreted as the remains of eleven different manuscripts, the oldest of which he assigned to the first half of the second century BC; and they cover all parts of the book as we know it with the exception of chaps. xxxvii–lxxi. This is clear proof that the greater part of what is now 1 Enoch, if not all of it, was known and was popular at Qumran in pre-Christian times. On the other hand, since all the fragments are so small (many of them minute), the amount of continuous Aramaic text preserved is effectively very little: this means that the value of the Aramaic evidence for text-critical purposes is far less than might be expected.

In 1978, two years after Milik, came M. A. Knibb’s *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch: A new Edition in the Light of the Aramaic Dead Sea Fragments*. In Volume 1 (Text and Apparatus) Knibb printed as his base text photographs of Rylands Ethiopic MS 23 and assembled in his apparatus the variants of twenty-five other Ethiopic MSS together with the variants of the Greek witnesses: Volume 2 con-

tained the Introduction, Translation, and Commentary. As explained in the Introduction, the Translation was intended as a translation of the Ethiopic version and not of an Ethiopic version corrected or revised in the light of the Greek or Aramaic, where they exist. Furthermore, the translation follows the base text (Ryl. Eth. MS 23) very closely and only diverges from it where, for example, it seems to make no sense. Thus, Knibb made no attempt to reconstruct a supposed ‘original’ text of the Ethiopic, nor of an ‘original’ Enoch, either in its Aramaic or its Greek forms. Those who wish to try their hands at this must resort first to the Apparatus in volume 1 and then to the Commentary in volume 2, which is throughout textual and not exegetical.

When, towards the middle of the nineteenth century, 1 Enoch became known generally, most of the scholars who studied it very naturally treated it as a unity – as ‘the Book of Enoch the Prophet’ as the manuscripts described it. But it was soon realized that it was composite; and to-day it is commonly agreed that it is in fact a collection of several previously independent writings, or ‘books’, that have been put together and edited. These, we may suppose, already circulated under Enoch’s name before they were put together, though there is reason to think that some bits and pieces have been incorporated to which the name of Noah was previously attached (e.g. chaps. cvi–cvii), and perhaps some others as well. But leaving aside the details, 1 Enoch, in its present form, is plainly divisible into five subsidiary ‘books’:

- Book I, chaps. i–xxxvi;
- Book II, chaps. xxxvii–lxxi;
- Book III, chaps. lxxii–lxxxii;
- Book IV, chaps. lxxxiii–xc; and
- Book V, chaps. xci–cviii.

A parallel has frequently been noted between this five-fold division and the five books ascribed to Moses and the five books of the Psalter. If such an arrangement was intentional, then 1 Enoch is not just a collection of writings ascribed to Enoch: it is an Enochic Pentateuch.

It will be convenient to make a few comments on each ‘book’ separately.

Book I is commonly known as 'The Book of Watchers', because three out of Syncellus's four extracts were certainly taken from it, and he says they were 'from the first book of Enoch, concerning the Watchers'. This book is undoubtedly ancient, probably the most ancient of the five. It was well known to the Fathers: it was quoted as scripture by the author of the Epistle of Jude:¹⁴ the Akhmim fragments, together with Syncellus's extracts, are evidence for the existence of a complete Greek version of it; and there were no less than five copies of it in Aramaic at Qumran. The oldest of these copies is assigned by Milik to the first half of the 2nd cent. BC, which takes back the date of the book itself to the 3rd cent., if not earlier.

Book II (The Book of Parables – cp. xxxviii. 1, xlv. 1, etc.) provides a complete contrast. No Aramaic fragments of it were found at Qumran: no traces of any version of it (apart from the Ethiopic) have survived; and there are no quotations from it in the Fathers. Indeed, there is no convincing proof that it ever existed before the 15th cent. AD, when it was copied as a constituent part of 1 Enoch in the earliest of the Ethiopic MSS. No one, however, has proposed a date for the Parables anything like as late as this. Representative dates proposed are the first half of the last century BC (Charles), the end of the first century AD (Knibb), and the end of the 3rd cent. AD (Milik).

Such wide variations in the dating of the Parables pose an awkward problem for the New Testament scholar, inasmuch as the Parables are notable, not only for the number of verbal parallels with the New Testament that are to be found in them (cp., e.g., 1 Enoch lxix. 27 with Matt. xxv. 31 and John v. 22, 27), but also for their use of several of the well-known New Testament Christological titles, particularly 'the Son of Man'. It has been customary to explain this (on the assumption that Charles's dating was correct) by supposing that Our Lord and his earliest followers were very much influenced by the Parables, and that the Parables are therefore of primary importance for the study of Christian origins. Charles himself wrote:

¹⁴ 1 Enoch i. 9 is quoted at Jude 14–15.

'This definite title [i.e. Son of Man] is found in 1 Enoch for the first time in Jewish literature, and is, historically, the source of the New Testament designation, and contributes to it some of its most characteristic contents'.¹⁵

But if Charles's dating is wrong and the Parables are to be dated in the Christian era, then the parallels and the common use of the Christological titles will have to be explained in some other way – it may be, for example, that it was the New Testament that influenced the Parables, and not *vice versa*. In any case, it looks as if much that has been written during the twentieth century about these matters will have to be re-written.

Book III (The Astronomical Book). Fragments of four MSS of this book were found at Qumran, but they attest a much fuller text than the eleven chapters now preserved in the Ethiopic version. Jubilees records that Enoch 'wrote down in a book *details about* the signs of heaven according to the order of their months';¹⁶ and since the author of Jubilees places this first among the works of Enoch known to him, it is probable that he regarded it as the most significant part of the Enoch corpus, and in consequence he may well have known it in its longer form. At any rate, the length of the book, as read at Qumran, was such as to require a complete roll of parchment for each copy.

The oldest of the Qumran copies is dated by Milik to the end of the 3rd or the beginning of the 2nd cent. BC, which takes back the date of the book itself to sometime in the 3rd cent. at the latest – as is the case with the Book of Watchers. For the existence of a Greek version there is no incontrovertible evidence. But several considerations converge to make it likely that there was a Greek version: (1) the Ethiopic version was presumably made from one; (2) Origen's remarks in his *Homilies on Numbers* seem to refer to the final chapter of the Astronomical Book,¹⁷ while Syncellus's reference to the astronomical information that the archangel Uriel had given Enoch is in effect a brief-summary of the entire book,¹⁸ and both Origen and Syncellus are likely to have known a text in Greek rather than any other language; and (3) Milik claimed to have

¹⁵ Charles, *APOT* ii, p. 185.

¹⁷ See above p. 169.

¹⁶ Jub. iv. 17.

¹⁸ See above p. 170.

identified two scraps of a Greek text of lxxvii. 7–lxxviii. 1 and of lxxviii. 8 on an Oxyrhynchus fragment published in 1927.

Even so, the absence of any representative sections of continuous Greek text is a serious handicap in trying to decide whether the abridgement preserved in the Ethiopic was made when the Aramaic was translated into Greek, or, alternatively, when the Greek was translated into Ethiopic, or at some other stage in the transmission. Yet are we certainly dealing with an abridgement? Charles held that the Astronomical Book was originally written in Hebrew. If so, then it is possible to argue that the Hebrew had the shorter text and that the Aramaic represents an expansion when the Hebrew was translated into Aramaic, but that the Greek version was made from the Hebrew – in which case the Ethiopic will in general be a more faithful witness to the text of the book as the author wrote it than the Aramaic from Qumran!

Book IV (The Book of Dreams) is represented by fragments from four of the Qumran MSS, the oldest of which is to be dated to the third quarter of the 2nd cent. The book was known to the author of Jubilees;¹⁹ and its origin is securely anchored within the last years of the Maccabaeen revolt by the details in xc. 6–19. Since Judas (the ram with the 'big horn') is apparently still active, this section must have been written before his death in 161 BC – more exactly (according to Milik) in the few weeks that followed the battle of Bethsur in 164. The existence of a Greek version is made virtually certain, not only by the existence of the Ethiopic version, but also by the fragment containing lxxxix. 42–49, discovered and published by Mai, and by the quotation in *Ep. Barn.* xvi. 5. It should be noted, however, that the Mai 'fragment' is not a fragment in the technical sense (like the Qumran fragments), but rather an 'extract', comparable with the extracts preserved by Syncellus. Furthermore, despite the author's use of the quotation-formula 'the scripture says', Barnabas is so inexact as to raise doubts whether the reference is to lxxxix. 66–67, or to xc. 26–28, or is merely general: it is, it seems, an 'allusion' and not a true quotation.²⁰

¹⁹ Jub. iv. 19.

²⁰ Unless, of course, the author was quoting from a Greek text different from the one that underlies the Ethiopic.

Book V (The Epistle of Enoch). The title derives from the colophon at the end of the Chester Beatty-Michigan papyrus; and it is supported by the Greek text offered at c. 6 ('... these words of this epistle') as against the Ethiopic ('... the words of this book'). As previously mentioned, Campbell Bonner, who edited the papyrus, thought that Book V was the only part of 1 Enoch that it contained. Fragments in Aramaic from two MSS are available from Qumran: the fragments from one of these MSS (to be dated c. 50 BC) correspond to parts of chaps. xci–xciv and those from the other (to be dated c. 100 BC) to parts of chaps. civ–cvii. From the Aramaic evidence two points stand out: (1) As with the Astronomical Book, the text of the earlier part of the Epistle as read at Qumran was much fuller than that preserved in the Ethiopic; and (2). Although chaps. cvi–cvii were undoubtedly included in the second of the Qumran MSS, they were separated from the preceding text by a gap of a line and a half. All in all, it looks very much as if the text of Book V had suffered more than ordinarily at the hands of its editors, particularly through their additions and re-ordering of the material in the last few chapters. And in this connection it is interesting to observe that several of the suggestions made by the earlier source-critics, such as Charles, purely on the basis of internal evidence, have been confirmed by the more recent manuscript discoveries.

When the five separate Books were put together we do not know. Nor do we know the dates of the Greek or the Ethiopic translations. Nor, again, do we know whether there were translations initially of the separate Books made independently, or of the five books together, or of earlier collections containing two, three, or four of the Books.

According to Milik, the idea of an Enochic Pentateuch can be traced back at least as far as Qumran. At Qumran the works attributed to Enoch were copied in two volumes: the first volume contained the (much fuller) text of the Astronomical Book; and the second the texts of the Book of Watchers, the Book of Giants (a work that told the story of the Watchers in some detail and foretold their future destruction by the waters of the Flood and by eternal fire), the Book of Dreams, and the Epistle of Enoch. When, some-

time in the later third or fourth century AD, the Book of Giants fell into disfavour in the Church, perhaps because of its popularity with the Manichees, it was replaced by the Book of Parables; and thus 1 Enoch took its present shape. So Milik. But obviously the almost complete lack of evidence does not enable us either to prove or to disprove such a detailed reconstruction.

As we have seen, quotations in Greek begin to appear from about AD 100 onwards. The difficulty here is that since nearly all of them are quotations of isolated passages, they give no help in deciding whether they were taken from a text containing only one or more of the Books. Nevertheless, there are some pointers. *Ep. Barn.* xvi. 6, for example, which offers a combined quotation of 1 Enoch xci. 13 and xciii. 7, follows immediately on the 'allusion' to 1 Enoch lxxxix and xc, to which attention was drawn in our discussion of Book IV: from this it may be inferred that the author read 1 Enoch lxxxix-xc and xci-xciii continuously - i.e. that in the text he was familiar with Books IV and V stood side by side. Similarly, Tertullian (*idol.* iv. 2-3) connects an apparent allusion to 1 Enoch xix. 1 and an explicit quotation of xcix. 6-7: from this again it might be inferred, though perhaps with less justification, that for Tertullian Books I and V belonged together. In other words, although without a doubt separate copies were made of individual Books, and continued to be made for some time, there is good reason to suspect that from early times a Greek Enoch corpus also circulated in the Church, which, apart from the fact that it lacked Book II, otherwise closely resembled the 1 Enoch we know today.²¹

For the Ethiopic translation various dates have been suggested: Burkitt suggested the fourth century AD, Milik thought 'hardly earlier than the sixth century', Knibb 'before the end of the sixth century', and Charles suggested either the sixth or the seventh century. If there is anything in Ullendorff's suggestion that the Ethiopic translators had access to an Aramaic text as well as a Greek one, then we must be prepared to treat their version with

²¹ Whether or not this corpus was a Pentateuch and included the Book of Giants as Book II it is impossible to say, since we have no detailed knowledge of the text of Giants. If it was, it may be that some of the patristic quotations, which are attributed to Enoch and difficult to place, are actually quotations from it.

greater respect than perhaps we otherwise would and occasionally prefer its readings when these differ from the Greek.

Our English translation is, with only very slight alterations, a reprint of the translation in Knibb's *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*. It is important, therefore, to repeat that what the reader is offered is a straight translation of the Ethiopic text as found in Ryl. Eth. MS 23, the only exceptions being in passages where this particular MS seems to make no sense. The reader is not offered either a translation of an 'original' Ethiopic text or of an 'original' Enoch. The more important variants of the other Ethiopic MSS are mentioned from time to time in the notes, and all readings in the extant Greek evidence which differ from the Ethiopic are recorded there; but it must not be thought that any of such information implies a value judgement unless explicitly stated - e.g. 'adds' or 'omits' indicates nothing more than 'has' or 'does not have'. Since the Aramaic evidence is for the most part so fragmentary it has only been referred to in those places where it seems to cast a clear light on the Greek and Ethiopic.

The two main families of the Ethiopic MSS are designated Eth. I and Eth. II respectively. The capitals used for the MSS are the same as the letters used by Dillmann, Charles, and Flemming, though two more MSS have been added, viz:-

D' = Lake Tana MS 9 (15th cent.).

C' = an early 18th cent. MS in the possession of Edward Ullendorff.

(D' belongs to Eth. I and C' to Eth. II).

The Greek authorities are differentiated as follows:-

Gk.^a = the Akhmim fragments.

Gk.^m = the Chester Beatty-Michigan fragments.

Gk.^s = the extracts in Syncellus.

Gk.^v = the Vatican fragment.

(Gk.^{a1} and Gk.^{a2}, Gk.^{s1} and Gk.^{s2}, indicate variations in text where either Gk.^a or Gk.^s offer the same passage more than once in slightly different forms).

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I. The words of the blessing of Enoch according to which he blessed the chosen and righteous who must be¹ present on the day of distress *which is appointed* for the removal of all the wicked and impious.² And Enoch answered³ and said, *There was* a righteous man whose eyes were opened by the Lord,⁴ and he saw a holy vision in the heavens⁵ which the angels showed to me. And I heard everything from them, and I understood what I saw,⁶ but not for this generation,⁷ but for a distant generation which will come.⁸ Concerning the chosen I spoke, and I uttered a parable⁹ concerning them, The Holy and Great One¹⁰ will come out from his dwelling, and the Eternal God will tread from there¹¹ upon mount Sinai, and he will appear with his host,¹² and will appear in the strength of his power from heaven.¹³ And all will be afraid, and the Watchers will shake,¹⁴ and fear and great trembling will seize them unto the ends of the earth. And the high mountains will be shaken,¹⁵ and the high hills will be made low,¹⁶ and will melt like wax before

¹ Gk.^a 'will be'.

² the wicked and impious: UD' 'the impious'; Gk.^a 'the enemies, and the righteous will be saved'.

³ Gk.^a 'took up his parable', and so probably Aram.

⁴ whose eyes . . . the Lord: Gk.^a 'to whom a vision from God was disclosed'.

⁵ GMD'BY 'a vision of the Holy One in the heavens'; Gk.^a 'a vision of the Holy One and of heaven'.

⁶ which the angels . . . what I saw: Gk.^a 'He showed *it* to me, and the holy ones speaking holy things I heard; and when I heard everything from them, I understood as I looked'.

⁷ Gk.^a adds 'did I take thought'.

⁸ Gk.^a 'but to a distant one I will speak', and so probably Aram.

⁹ Gk.^a 'and I took up my parable'.

¹⁰ Gk.^a 'My Holy Great One'.

¹¹ from there: Gk.^a 'upon earth'.

¹² with his host: Gk.^a 'from his camp'.

¹³ Gk.^a 'from the heaven of heavens'.

¹⁴ will shake: Gk.^a 'will believe, and they will sing hidden things in all the ends of the (earth), and all the ends of the earth will shake'.

¹⁵ D' 'will fall and be shaken'; Gk.^a 'will be shaken and fall and be broken up'.

¹⁶ Gk.^a adds 'so that the mountains will waste away'.

7 the flame. And the earth will sink¹⁷ and everything that is on the earth will be destroyed, and there will be judgement upon all, and upon all the righteous.¹⁸ But for the righteous he will make peace, and he will keep safe the chosen,¹⁹ and mercy will be upon them. They will all belong to God, and will prosper and be blessed,²⁰ and the light of God²¹ will shine upon them.²² And behold!²³ He²⁴ comes with ten thousand holy ones²⁵ to execute judgement upon them,²⁶ and to destroy the impious, and to contend with²⁷ all flesh²⁸ concerning everything which the sinners and the impious have done and wrought against him.²⁹

II. Contemplate¹ all the events in heaven, how the lights in heaven do not change their courses, how² each rises and sets in order, each at its proper time,³ and they do not transgress their law. Consider

¹⁷ GQT'D' Gk.^a 'will be split open'.

¹⁸ and upon all the righteous: Gk.^a om.

¹⁹ and he will keep safe the chosen: Gk.^a 'and upon the chosen will be protection and peace'.

²⁰ and will prosper and be blessed: Gk.^a 'and he will show (lit. 'give') favour to them and will bless them all, and he will help them all and will help us'.

²¹ of God: Gk.^a om.

²² Gk.^a adds 'and he will make peace with them'.

²³ And behold: Gk.^a 'For'. This verse is cited in Jude 14f.

²⁴ Jude 'The Lord'.

²⁵ Gk.^a 'with his ten thousands and his holy ones'; Jude 'with his holy ten thousands'.

²⁶ D' Gk.^a Jude 'upon all'.

²⁷ contend with: Eth I (cp. Gk.^a Jude) 'reprove'.

²⁸ and to destroy . . . all flesh: Gk.^a 'and he will destroy all the impious and will reprove all flesh'; Jude 'and to reprove all the impious'. Some Eth. MSS follow Gk.^a in having a future construction.

²⁹ concerning . . . him: Gk.^a 'concerning all the deeds of their impiety which they have impiously committed, and the hard words which they have spoken, and concerning all the things which the impious sinners have spoken against him'; Jude 'concerning all the deeds of their impiety which they have impiously committed, and concerning all the hard things which the impious sinners have spoken against him'. Aram., like Gk.^a and Jude, probably also had a clause referring to the 'hard words' spoken by the impious.

¹ So D' Gk.^a: all other Eth. MSS 'I contemplated'; Aram. 'Consider'.

² Gk.^a 'how they do not change their courses, and the lights in heaven, how'.

³ Gk.^a adds 'and they appear at their feasts'.

the earth, and understand⁴ from the work which is done upon it, from the beginning to the end,⁵ that no work of God changes as it becomes manifest.⁶ Consider⁷ the summer and the winter, how the whole earth is full of water, and clouds and dew and rain rest upon it.⁸

III. Contemplate and see¹ how all the trees² appear withered, and how all their leaves are stripped, with the exception of fourteen trees which are not stripped, which remain with the old foliage until the new comes after two or three years.

IV. And again, contemplate¹ the days of summer, how at its beginning² the sun is above it.³ You seek shelter and shade because of the heat of the sun, and the earth burns with a scorching heat, and you cannot tread upon the earth, or upon a rock, because of its heat.

V. Contemplate¹ how the trees are covered with green leaves,² and bear fruit.³ And understand in respect of everything and perceive⁴ how he who lives for ever made all these things for you;⁵

⁴ Q 'I considered the earth and understood'.

⁵ Gk.^a adds 'they are corrupt'.

⁶ Gk.^a 'that nothing upon earth changes, but all the works of God become manifest to you'.

⁷ QD' 'I considered'.

⁸ how . . . upon it: Gk.^a om.

¹ So UD' Gk.^a: all other Eth. MSS 'I contemplated and saw'; Aram. 'Consider'.

² Gk.^a om. iib - v. 1a by homoioteleuton and reads only 'Contemplate and see all the trees . . . how the green leaves etc.'.

¹ So U: all other Eth. MSS 'I contemplated'; Aram. 'consider'.

² at its beginning; so GQU; D' corrupt; all other Eth. MSS 'opposite it', viz. 'how the sun is above it, opposite it'.

³ above it: i.e. the earth.

¹ So GU: Q 'I contemplated and saw'; all other Eth. MSS 'I contemplated'.

² Gk.^a 'how the green leaves on them cover the trees'.

³ Gk.^a 'and all their fruit is for honour and glory', and so probably Aram.

⁴ Gk.^a 'Understand and know in respect of all his works and perceive'.

⁵ GMQT'U 'how you made all these things who live for ever'; D' corrupt; Gk.^a 'how the living God made these things so, and he lives for all eternity'.

2 and how his works are before him in each succeeding year,⁶ and all his works serve him and do not change,⁷ but as God has decreed,⁸ so everything is done. And consider how the seas and rivers together⁹ complete¹⁰ their tasks.¹¹ But you have not persevered, nor observed the law of the Lord.¹² But you have transgressed, and have spoken proud and hard words with your unclean mouth against his majesty.¹³ You hard of heart! You will not have peace! And because of this you will curse your days, and the years of your life you will destroy.¹⁴ And the eternal curse will increase,¹⁵ and you will not receive mercy.¹⁶ In those days you will transform your name¹⁷ into an eternal curse¹⁸ to all the righteous, and they will curse you sinners for ever¹⁹ - you together with the sinners.²⁰ For the chosen there will be light and joy²¹ and peace, and they will inherit the earth. But for you, the impious, there will be a curse. When²² wisdom is given to the chosen,²³ they will all live, and will

⁶ Gk.^a 'and how his works, all the things which he has made for ever, all are thus brought into being from year to year'.

⁷ and all . . . change: Gk.^a 'and all the tasks which they complete for him, and their tasks do not change'.

⁸ Gk.^a 'but in accordance with the decree'.

⁹ Gk.^a 'likewise'.

¹⁰ Gk.^a adds 'and do not change'.

¹¹ Gk.^a adds 'from his words'.

¹² Gk.^a 'his commandments'.

¹³ Gk.^a adds 'because you have spoken with your lies'.

¹⁴ C'Gk.^a 'will be destroyed'.

¹⁵ GTUD' 'And it will increase in an eternal curse'; M 'in an eternal curse'; Gk.^a 'and the years of your destruction will increase in an eternal curse', and so probably Aram.

¹⁶ Gk.^a adds 'or peace'.

¹⁷ So GQT'UD': M is corrupt; T² Eth. II 'peace'.

¹⁸ In those days . . . curse: Gk.^a 'Then your names will become an eternal curse'.

¹⁹ The Ethiopic could also be translated 'and the sinners will curse you for ever'; Gk.^a 'and all those who curse will curse by you'.

²⁰ you . . . the sinners: Gk.^a 'and all the sinners and impious will swear by you. And all the sinless (?) will rejoice, and there will be for them forgiveness of sins and all mercy and peace and graciousness, there will be for them salvation, a good light, and they will inherit the earth. And for all you sinners there will be no salvation, but upon you all will rest a curse'.

²¹ Gk.^a 'grace'.

²² Some Eth. MSS 'If'; D' Gk.^a 'Then'.

²³ D' 'Then there will be given to the chosen wisdom, and'; Gk.^a repeats some material from verse 7 by homoioteleuton, viz. 'Then there will be given to the chosen light and grace, and they will inherit the earth. Then there will be given to all the chosen wisdom, and'.

not again do wrong, either through forgetfulness, or through pride.

9 But those who possess wisdom will be humble.²⁴ They will not again do wrong, and they will not be judged²⁵ all the days of their life, and they will not die of *the divine* wrath or anger. But they will complete the number of the days of their life, and their life will grow in peace; and the years of their joy will increase in gladness and in eternal peace all the days of their life.

VI. And it came to pass, when the sons of men had increased, that in those days¹ there were born to them² fair and beautiful³ daughters. And the angels, the sons of heaven, saw them and desired them.⁴ And they said to one another, Come,⁵ let us choose for ourselves wives from the children of men,⁶ and let us beget for ourselves children.⁷ And Semyaza, who was their leader, said to them, I fear that you may not wish this deed to be done,⁸ and *that* I alone will pay for this great sin.⁹ And they all answered him and said,¹⁰ Let us all swear an oath, and bind¹¹ one another with curses not to alter this plan, but to carry out this plan effectively.¹² Then they all swore together and all¹³ bound one another with curses to it.¹⁴ And they were in all two hundred, and they came down on

²⁴ Gk.^a 'But there will be to the enlightened man light, and to the wise man perception'.

²⁵ Gk.^a 'and they will not sin'.

¹ in those days: Gk.^s om.

² to them: Gk.^a om.

³ and beautiful: Gk.^s om.

⁴ And the angels . . . desired them: Gk.^s 'And the Watchers desired them and went astray after them'.

⁵ Come: Gk.^s om.

⁶ Gk.^a 'from men', i.e. 'from among mankind'; Gk.^s 'from the daughters of the men of the earth'.

⁷ and let us beget . . . children: Gk.^s om.

⁸ Gk.^{a,s} 'to do this deed'.

⁹ GMT¹(?) U Gk.^{a,s} 'a great sin'; D' corrupt.

¹⁰ and said: GMD' Gk.^a om.

¹¹ GMTD' Gk.^a 'and all bind'; Q is defective.

¹² but . . . effectively: C'D' 'but to do this deed'; U is defective; Gk.^a 'until we have accomplished it and have done this deed'; Gk.^s 'until we have accomplished it'.

¹³ all: Eth.I AD Gk.^{a,s} om.

¹⁴ to it: Gk.^s om.

Ardis which is the summit of Mount Hermon.¹⁵ And they called the mountain Hermon, because on it they swore and bound one another with curses. And these *are* the names of their leaders:¹⁶ Semyaza,¹⁷ who was their leader, Urakiba, Ramiel,¹⁸ Kokabiel,¹⁹ Tamiel,²⁰ Ramiel, Daniel,²¹ Ezeqiel,²² Baraqiel,²³ Asael,²⁴ Armaros,²⁵ Batriel,²⁶ Ananel, Zaqiel,²⁷ Samsiel, Sartael,²⁸ . . . ,²⁹ Turiel, Yomi, Araziel.³⁰ These are the leaders of the two hundred angels, and of all the others with them.³¹

VII. And they took wives for themselves, and everyone chose for himself one each.¹ And they began to go in to them and were

¹⁵ Gk.^s 'And they were two hundred who came down in the days of Jared on the summit of Mount Hermon', and so probably Aram.; Gk.^a omits the entire verse by hmt.

¹⁶ The following list of names was copied out in the wrong order in Gk.^a through an easily recognisable mistake, but the evidence of Gk.^a is given in the correct order in the notes. The list also occurs, with some variations, in lxix.2 and is partially reproduced in viii.3. Many of the names suffered corruption during the course of their transmission, and the versions now offer a large number of variants, not all of which are recorded below.

¹⁷ Aram. 'Shemihazah'.

¹⁸ Urakiba (or 'Arakiba'), Ramiel: most Eth. MSS in vi. 7 write these two names as one word; the division into two follows D', and external evidence confirms that its division is correct. Gk.^a 'Atarqouph, Araziel'; Gk.^a 'Arathak, Kimbra, Sammane'. For the second name in the list Aram. apparently read 'Arataqqiph' or 'Arataqoph'.

¹⁹ Eth. II 'Akibeel'.

²⁰ Gk.^s 'Horammame'; Aram. defective.

²¹ Gk.^s 'Sampsich'.

²² Gk.^s 'Zaqiel'; Aram. 'Ziqiel'.

²³ Eth. II 'Saraqiel'; Gk.^s 'Balqiel'.

²⁴ Gk.^s 'Azalzel'; Gk.^a 'Aseal'.

²⁵ Gk.^s 'Pharmaros'; Gk.^a 'Arearos'; Aram. 'Hermoni'.

²⁶ Gk.^s 'Amariel'; Araq. 'Matarel'.

²⁷ So D'N: other Eth. readings in vi. 7 appear to be corruptions of Zaqiel. Gk.^s 'Thausael'; Gk.^a 'Raziel'; Aram. 'Satherel' or 'Sathawel'.

²⁸ So most Eth. MSS: GM 'Satarel'; other Eth. readings are corruptions of Sartael or Satarel; Gk.^s 'Sarinias'; Gk.^a 'Sathiel'; Aram. 'Sahriel'.

²⁹ The seventeenth name has dropped out of the list in Eth; Gk.^s 'Eumiel'; Gk.^a 'Thoniel'; Aram. defective.

³⁰ Gk.^s 'Sariel'; Gk.^a 'Atriel'; Aram. uncertain.

³¹ So T² Eth. II: G 'These are their leaders of tens, and of all the others with them', and this is probably what is intended by the other Eth. I MSS; Gk.^a 'These are their leaders (over) tens'; Gk.^s 'These and all the others (vii.i. in the . . .)'.

¹ Gk.^a 'And they took wives for themselves; each of them chose for himself a wife'; Gk.^s '(vi. 8 . . . the others) in the one thousand, one hundred and seventieth year of the world took wives for themselves'.

promiscuous with them.² And they taught them charms and spells,
 2 and showed to them the cutting of roots and trees.³ And they
 became pregnant⁴ and bore large giants, and their height *was* three
 3 thousand cubits.⁵ These⁶ devoured all the toil of men,⁷ until⁸ men
 4 were unable to sustain them. And the giants turned against them
 5 in order to devour men.⁹ And they began to sin against birds, and
 against animals, and against reptiles and against fish, and they
 6 devoured¹⁰ one another's flesh and drank the blood from it.¹¹ Then
 the earth complained about the lawless ones.

VIII. And Azazel taught men to make swords,¹ and daggers, and
 shields and breastplates.² And he showed them the things after
 these, and the art of making them: bracelets,³ and ornaments,⁴ and

² Gk.^a 'And they began to go in to them and to defile themselves with them'; Gk.^s 'And they began to defile themselves with them until the flood'.

³ GQT(?)NY Gk.^a 'And they taught them charms and spells and the cutting of roots, and showed to them trees (Gk.^a 'plants'); Gk.^s om. (but Aram. supports Eth. Gk.^a).

⁴ And they became pregnant: so Eth. Gk.^a Aram.; Gk.^s om., and then instead of verse 2 continues 'And they bore to them three kinds: first large giants, and the giants begat the Naphilim, and to the Naphilim were born the Elioud. And they grew according to their greatness, and they taught themselves and their wives charms and spells'.

⁵ and their . . . cubits: Gk.^a 'three thousand cubits *in height*'.

⁶ MFC' Gk.^a 'who'; Gk.^s om. vii. 3-6.

⁷ all the toil of men: Gk.^a om. 'all'; C' Aram. 'the toil of all men'.

⁸ Gk.^a 'And when'.

⁹ And the giants . . . men: Gk.^a 'the giants acted with effrontery against them and devoured men'; Aram., whose text is incomplete and in part uncertain, used the verb 'to kill', not 'to devour'.

¹⁰ ABCX Gk.^a 'and to devour'.

¹¹ from it: D' Gk.^a om.

¹ Gk.^a 'Azazel taught men to make swords'; Gk.^s 'First Azazel, the tenth of the leaders, taught the making of swords'.

² Gk.^a 'and arms, and shields and breastplates, teachings of angels'; Gk.^s 'and breastplates and all military equipment'.

³ Eth. I (cp. Gk.^a) 'and bracelets'.

⁴ Gk.^a 'And he showed them metals, and the art of working them, and bracelets, and ornaments'; Gk.^s 'and the metals of the earth and gold, how they work *them* and make them into ornaments for women, and silver. And he showed to them'. In Eth. 'the things after these' possibly derives from a corrupt translation of the word for 'metals'.

the art of making up the eyes and of beautifying the eyelids,⁵ and
 the most precious and choice stones, and all *kinds* of coloured dyes.
 2 And the world was changed.⁶ And there was great impiety and
 much fornication,⁷ and they went astray,⁸ and all their ways
 3 became corrupt.⁹ Amezarak¹⁰ taught all¹¹ those who cast spells
 and cut roots,¹² Armaros the release of spells,¹³ and Baraqiel
 astrologers,¹⁴ and Kokabel portents,¹⁵ and Tamiel taught
 4 astrology,¹⁶ and Asradel¹⁷ taught the path of the moon.¹⁸ And at

⁵ So Eth., lit. 'and *how* to make up *the eyes* with antimony and *how* to beautify the eyelids'; Gk.^a 'and antimony and eyepaint' (cp. Aram. 'concerning antimony and concerning eye-paint'); Gk.^s is in part corrupt, but should probably be read 'both *how* to make up *the eyes* with antimony and *how* to beautify the face'.

⁶ And the world was changed: so G; Q is corrupt; D' 'and the changing of the world'; all other Eth. MSS 'and eternal change'. But Gk.^a om., and Eth. is probably a second rendering (more precisely, a corrupt transliteration) of 'the metals (of the earth)'. Gk.^s adds 'And the sons of men made *these things* for themselves and their wives, and they transgressed and led astray the holy ones'.

⁷ MT'U 'And there was great and widespread (lit. 'much') impiety, and they committed fornication' (GD' are similar); Gk.^a 'And there was much impiety, and they committed fornication'; Gk.^s 'And there was much impiety on the earth'.

⁸ and they went astray: Q Gk.^s om.

⁹ Gk.^a 'and became corrupt in all their ways'; Gk.^s 'and they made all their ways corrupt'.

¹⁰ So Eth. II: Eth. I 'Amizaras' or similar. Both forms are corrupt for 'Semyaza'.

¹¹ GMQT'UD' om.

¹² Gk.^a 'Semyaza taught spells and the cutting of roots'; Gk.^s 'And furthermore their leader, Semyaza, taught spells (so I correct Gk.^s) against the mind, and the roots of the plants of the earth'.

¹³ Gk.^s 'the eleventh, Pharmaros, taught charms, spells, *magical* skills and the release of spells'. Aram. is incomplete, but appears to have had a long text comparable to that of Gk.^s.

¹⁴ Gk.^a '[Ba]raqiel astrology'; Gk.^s 'the ninth taught astrology'.

¹⁵ Gk.^s 'the fourth taught astrology'.

¹⁶ Gk.^a 'Sathiel astrology'; Gk.^s 'the eighth taught aerocopy'. Eth. 'Tamiel' and Gk.^a 'Sathiel' are corrupt for 'Ziqiel' which is attested by Aram. here and is the eighth name in vi. 7. - Gk.^s adds 'the third taught the portents of the earth; the seventh taught the portents of the sun'; correspondingly Aram. adds 'Arataqqiph (or 'Arataqoph') taught the portents of the earth; Shamshiel taught the portents of the sun'. Arataqqiph and Shamshiel are second and fifteenth in vi. 7, not third and seventh, but in Gk.^s in vi. 7 the third name ('Araqiel') appears to be an alternative form of the second, and the seventh ('Sampsich') of the fifteenth.

¹⁷ Corrupt; the name originally was 'Sahriel' ('Moon of God').

¹⁸ Gk.^a 'Seriel the course of the moon'; Gk.^s 'the twentieth taught the portents of the moon'. Sahriel is sixteenth in vi. 7, not twentieth, but Gk.^s appears to presuppose this

the destruction of men¹⁹ they cried out,²⁰ and their voices reached heaven.²¹

IX. And then Michael, Gabriel, Suriel and Uriel¹ looked down from heaven and saw² the mass of blood that was being shed on the earth and all the iniquity that was being done on the earth.³ And they said⁴ to one another, Let the devastated earth cry out with the sound of their cries unto the gate of heaven.⁵ And now, to you O holy ones of heaven,⁶ the souls of men complain, saying,⁷ Bring our suit⁸ before the Most High.⁹ And they said to their Lord, the

name for the twentieth angel, as well as for the sixteenth. Gk.⁵ further adds 'All these began to reveal mysteries to their wives and their children. After this the giants began to devour the flesh of men'; Aramaic evidence has survived corresponding to the first of these sentences, but not to the second.

¹⁹ And at . . . men; Gk.⁵ 'And men began to decrease on the earth'.

²⁰ they cried out: Gk.⁵ om.

²¹ and their . . . heaven: Gk.⁵ 'a cry went up to heaven'; Gk.⁵¹ 'and the rest cried out to heaven concerning their mistreatment, saying that the remembrance of them should be brought before the Lord'; Gk.⁵² 'Then men cried out to heaven, saying, Bring our suit before the Most High, and our destruction before the Great Glory, before the Lord of all the lords in majesty'.

¹ So Eth.II, but B²NX add 'Raphael' after 'Gabriel': M 'Michael, Raphael, Suriel and Gabriel'; other Eth.I MSS abbreviate the list.

² Gk.⁵ 'Then looking down, Michael, Uriel, Raphael and Gabriel saw from heaven'; Gk.⁵¹ ⁵² 'And hearing *this*, the four great archangels, Michael, Uriel, Raphael and Gabriel, looked down on the earth from the sanctuary of heaven; and seeing'. In Aram. the list of names was probably 'Michael, Sariel, Raphael and Gabriel'.

³ and all the iniquity . . . the earth: Gk.⁵ om. (hmt.); Gk.⁵¹⁵² 'and all the impiety and iniquity that was being done on it'.

⁴ And they said: Gk.⁵¹ ⁵² 'entering, they said'.

⁵ Let . . . heaven: Gk.⁵ 'The sound of those who cry out on the earth reaches unto the gates of heaven'; Gk.⁵¹ ⁵² om.; Aram is incomplete, but appears to support Eth. Gk.⁵.

⁶ And now . . . of heaven: Gk.⁵¹ ⁵² om. (hmt. ?).

⁷ Gk.⁵¹⁵² 'The spirits and souls of men groan, complaining and saying'.

⁸ Gk.⁵² 'petition'.

⁹ Gk.⁵¹ adds 'and our destruction before the Great Glory, before the Lord of all the Lords in majesty'.

King,¹⁰ Lord of Lords, God of Gods, King of Kings!¹¹ Your¹² glorious throne *endures* for all the generations of the world, and your name *is* holy¹³ and praised for all the generations of the world¹⁴ and blessed and praised!¹⁵ You have made everything, and power over everything is yours. And everything is uncovered and open before you, and you see everything, and there is nothing which can be hidden from you. See then¹⁶ what Azazel¹⁷ has done,¹⁸ how he¹⁹ has taught all iniquity on the earth²⁰ and revealed the eternal secrets which were made in heaven. And Semyaza has made known spells, *he* to whom²¹ you gave authority to rule over those who are with him. And they went in to the daughters of men together,²² and lay with those women,²³ and became unclean,²⁴ and revealed to them these²⁵ sins.²⁶ And the women²⁷ bore giants,²⁸ and thereby²⁹ the

¹⁰ Eth.I 'And they said to the Lord of the Kings'; Gk.⁵ 'And they said to the Lord'; Gk.⁵¹ 'And they said to the Lord of the ages'; Gk.⁵² 'And entering, the four archangels said to the Lord'.

¹¹ Gk.⁵ 'You are Lord of Lords, God of Gods, King of the ages'; Gk.⁵¹ ⁵² 'You are God of gods, Lord of Lords, King of Kings, God of the ages'.

¹² So ABX Gk.⁵¹ ⁵² Aram.: other Eth. MSS 'His'.

¹³ D' adds 'and blessed'; Gk.⁵ adds 'and great'.

¹⁴ Eth.I Gk.⁵¹ ⁵² 'for all eternity'.

¹⁵ and blessed and praised: D'C' Gk.⁵ om.; BX 'and you are blessed and praised'.

¹⁶ and there is nothing . . . See then: Gk.⁵ om. (hmt.). GMQTD'N Gk.⁵ read 'You see' for 'See then'.

¹⁷ Gk.⁵ adds 'and what he has introduced'.

¹⁸ how he: NA' Gk.⁵ 'who'.

¹⁹ how he . . . the earth: Gk.⁵ 'and what he has taught, wickedness and sin on the earth and all craftiness on the dry ground'.

²⁰ and revealed . . . to whom: so Eth.II; GMT'U 'and they have revealed the eternal secrets which were made in heaven. And Semyaza has brought knowledge to men, *he* to whom'; QD' are untranslatable, but in part agree with Gk.⁵; Gk.⁵ 'and has revealed the eternal secrets, the things in heaven which men practice (and) know. And *what* Semyaza has done, to whom'; Gk.⁵ 'For he has taught the secrets and revealed to the world the things in heaven. And the sons of men practise his practices in order to know the secrets. To Semyaza'. No version inspires complete confidence.

²¹ of men together: UEXC' om. 'together'; GMT corrupt; QD' 'of men on the earth'; Gk.⁵ 'of the men of the earth'.

²² Gk.⁵ 'with them'.

²³ Gk.⁵ adds 'with the women'.

²⁴ GMQTD' Gk.⁵ 'all'; U om.

²⁵ Gk.⁵ adds 'and taught them to make charms for producing hatred'.

²⁶ Gk.⁵ 'And now behold the daughters of men'.

²⁷ Gk.⁵ 'titans'; Gk.⁵ 'by them giant sons'.

²⁸ and thereby: GD' Gk.⁵ 'through whom'.

10 whole earth has been filled with blood and iniquity.³⁰ And now
 behold the souls which have died cry out³¹ and complain unto the
 gate of heaven, and their³² lament has ascended, and they³³ cannot
 go out in the face of the iniquity which is being committed on the
 11 earth. And you know everything before it happens, and you know
 this³⁴ and what concerns each of them.³⁵ But you say nothing to us.
 What ought we to do with them about this?³⁶

X. And then the Most High, the Great and Holy One, spoke¹ and
 2 sent Arsyalalyur² to the son of Lamech, and said to him,³ Say⁴ to
 him in my name, Hide yourself, and reveal to him the end which is
 coming, for the whole earth will be destroyed, and a deluge⁵ is
 about to come on all the earth, and what is in it will be destroyed.⁶
 3 And now⁷ teach him that he may escape, and *that* his offspring may
 4 survive for the whole earth.⁸ And further the Lord said⁹ to Raphael,

³⁰ and thereby . . . iniquity: Gk.^s 'Deceitfulness has been poured out on the men
 of the earth, and the whole earth has been filled with iniquity'.

³¹ GMQT'U BOXB'C' Gk.^a 'the souls of those who have died cry out'; D'
 corrupt; Gk.^s 'the spirits of the souls of the men who have died complain'.

³² and complain . . . and their: Gk.^s 'and unto the gates of heaven their'.

³³ GQT' (?) U Gk.^{as} 'it'.

³⁴ and you know this: Gk.^a 'and you see these things'; Gk.^s 'and you see them'.

³⁵ and what concerns each of them: Gk.^{as} 'but you leave them alone'.

³⁶ Gk.^a 'And you do not tell us what *we* ought to do with them about these things';
 Gk.^s 'And you say nothing. What ought *we* to do with them about this?'

¹ Gk.^a 'Then the Most High talked about these things, the Great Holy One, and
 he spoke and talked'; Gk.^s 'Then the Most High talked, and the Great Holy One
 spoke'.

² So Eth.II: D' 'Asuryal'; G 'Asaryalyor' and other Eth.I MSS similarly; Gk.^a
 'Istrael'; Gk.^s 'Uriel'. All Eth. readings probably corruptions of 'Istrael'.

³ and said to him: Eth.I Gk.^a om.; Gk.^s 'saying'.

⁴ Eth.I prefixes 'And'; Gk.^s prefixes 'Go to Noah and'.

⁵ and a deluge: Gk.^s 'And say to him that a deluge'.

⁶ D' 'and everything that is in it will be destroyed'; Gk.^a 'and it will destroy
 everything that is on it'; Gk.^s 'to destroy everything from the face of the earth'.

⁷ And now: Gk.^a 'And'; Gk.^s om. and reads for this verse 'Teach the righteous
 one, the son of Lamech, what he should do, and he will preserve his soul alive and
 will escape through the world, and from him a plant will be planted and will be
 established for all the generations of the world'.

⁸ for the whole earth: so Eth.II, but N adds 'for ever'; Eth.I 'for all generations';
 Gk.^{as} 'for all the generations of the world'.
⁹ Gk.^{as} 'And he said'.

Bind¹⁰ Azazel¹¹ by his hands and his feet,¹² and throw him into the
 darkness. And split open the desert which is in Dudael,¹³ and
 5 throw him there.¹⁴ And throw on him¹⁵ jagged and sharp stones,
 and cover him with darkness; and let him stay there for ever, and
 6 cover his face, that he may not see light,¹⁶ and that on the great day
 7 of judgement he may be hurled¹⁷ into the fire. And restore the
 earth¹⁸ which the angels¹⁹ have ruined, and announce the restora-
 tion of the earth,²⁰ for I shall restore the earth,²¹ so that not all the
 sons of men shall be destroyed through the mystery of everything²²
 8 which the Watchers **made known**²³ and taught to their sons. And
 the whole earth has been ruined²⁴ by the teaching of the works of
 9 Azazel,²⁵ and against him²⁶ write down all sin. And the Lord said²⁷
 to Gabriel, Proceed²⁸ against the bastards²⁹ and the reprobates
 and against the sons of the fornicators,³⁰ and destroy the sons of the
 fornicators and³¹ the sons of the Watchers from amongst men.³²
 And send them out, and send them against one another, and let

¹⁰ Gk.^s prefixes 'Go, Raphael, and'.

¹¹ Gk.^{as} 'Azael'.

¹² by his hands and his feet: Gk.^s 'tie him hand and foot'.

¹³ Gk.^a 'in Dadouel'; Gk.^s 'in the desert Doudael'.

¹⁴ Gk.^s 'and having gone there, throw him *in*'.

¹⁵ Gk.^{as} 'And place under him'.

¹⁶ Gk.^{as} 'and let him not see light'.

¹⁷ Gk.^{as} 'And on the day of the great (Gk.^s om. 'great') judgement he will be
 hurled'.

¹⁸ Gk.^a 'And the earth will be restored'.

¹⁹ Gk.^s 'the Watchers'.

²⁰ the restoration of the earth: Gk.^s 'the healing of the plague'.

²¹ for I shall restore the earth: GMUD' 'that the earth may be restored' (lit. 'that
 one may restore the earth'); Gk.^{as} 'that they may heal the plague'.

²² D' Gk.^a 'through the entire mystery'; Gk.^s 'through the mystery'.

²³ Eth. 'killed'; Gk.^a 'struck'; Gk.^s 'spoke'. All three are impossible, but Eth. and
 Gk.^a probably derive from a confusion of the Aramaic verbs 'to strike' and 'to show,
 make known'; hence the above translation. Gk.^s 'spoke' is an *ad hoc* correction of an
 already corrupt text.

²⁴ Gk.^a adds 'having been corrupted'.

²⁵ Gk.^{as} 'by the works taught by Azael'.

²⁷ Gk.^s 'and he said'.

²⁹ Gk.^s 'the giants'.

³¹ the sons of the fornicators and: Gk.^{as} om.; GAK om. by hmt. 'and destroy the
 sons of the fornicators'.

³² Gk.^s 'the sons of men'.

²⁶ Gk.^s 'against it'.

²⁸ Gk.^s adds 'Gabriel'.

³⁰ Gk.^{as} 'of fornication'.

10 them destroy themselves in battle,³³ for they will not have length of
 11 days. And they will all petition you, but their fathers will gain
 12 nothing in respect of them,³⁴ for they hope for eternal life,³⁵ and
 13 that each of them will live life for five hundred years. And the Lord
 14 said³⁶ to Michael, Go,³⁷ inform³⁸ Semyaza and the others with him
 15 who have associated with the women³⁹ to corrupt themselves with
 16 them in all⁴⁰ their uncleanness. When⁴¹ all⁴² their sons kill each
 other, and when⁴³ they see the destruction of their beloved ones,
 bind them for seventy generations under the hills⁴⁴ of the earth
 until the day of their judgement and of their consummation, until
 the judgement which is for all eternity is accomplished. And in
 those days⁴⁵ they will lead them to the abyss of fire; in torment and
 in prison they will be shut up for all eternity.⁴⁶ And then he⁴⁷ will be
 burnt and from then on destroyed with them; together they will be
 bound until the end of all generations.⁴⁸ And destroy all the souls of
 lust⁴⁹ and the sons of the Watchers, for they have wronged men.
 Destroy all wrong from the face of the earth, and every evil work
 will cease.⁵⁰ And let the plant of righteousness and truth appear,

³³ And send them out . . . in battle: Gk.^a 'Send them in a battle of destruction'; Gk.^s 'Send them against one another, some of them against the rest of them, in battle and in destruction.'

³⁴ And they . . . of them: Gk.^a corrupt, but probably 'And (no) petition will be granted to their fathers even in respect of them'; Gk.^s 'And no petition will be (lit. 'is') granted to their fathers'.

³⁵ for eternal life: GMTUD' Gk.^{as} 'to live an eternal life'.

³⁶ Gk.^{as} 'And he said'. ³⁷ Go: some Eth. MSS om.; Gk.^s adds 'Michael'.

³⁸ Gk.^s 'bind'. ³⁹ Gk.^s 'the daughters of men'.

⁴⁰ Q Gk.^{as} om. ⁴¹ Eth.I Gk.^{as} 'And when'.

⁴² Gk.^{as} om., and so apparently Aram.

⁴³ U Gk.^{as} om., and so apparently Aram.

⁴⁴ under the hills: Gk.^{as} 'in the valleys'. ⁴⁵ And in those days: Gk.^{as} 'Then'.

⁴⁶ in torment . . . all eternity: Gk.^{as} 'and to torment and to the prison of eternal confinement'.

⁴⁷ i.e. Semyaza, but see below.

⁴⁸ GMQT'UD' Gk.^a 'And when anyone is burnt and destroyed from now on, he will be bound together with them until the end of all generations (Gk.^a 'the generation'); Gk.^s 'And whoever is condemned and destroyed from now on will be bound with them until the end of their generation'. Aram. 'And whoever . . . ' agrees with Gk.^s.

⁴⁹ Gk.^a 'the spirits of the reprobate'.

⁵⁰ So GMQD' and some Eth.II MSS: Gk.^a and other Eth. MSS 'and let every evil work cease'.

and the deed will become a blessing; righteousness and truth⁵¹ will
 17 they plant⁵² in joy for ever. And now all the righteous will be
 18 humble,⁵³ and will live until they beget thousands; and all the days
 19 of their youth and their sabbaths⁵⁴ they will fulfil in peace. And in
 those days⁵⁵ the whole earth will be tilled in righteousness, and all
 of it will be planted with trees,⁵⁶ and it will be filled with blessing.
 And all pleasant trees they will plant on it,⁵⁷ and they will plant on
 it⁵⁸ vines, and the vine which is planted⁵⁹ on it will produce fruit⁶⁰
 in abundance;⁶¹ and every seed which is sown on it, each measure
 will produce a thousand, and each measure of olives will produce
 20 ten baths of oil.⁶² And you, cleanse the earth from all wrong,⁶³ and
 from all iniquity, and from all sin, and from all⁶⁴ impiety, and from
 all the uncleanness which is brought about on the earth; remove
 21 them from the earth.⁶⁵ And all the sons of men shall be righteous,⁶⁶
 and all the nations shall serve and bless me, and all shall worship
 22 me. And the earth⁶⁷ will be cleansed from all corruption, and from

⁵¹ and the deed . . . and truth: GTU 'and it will become a blessing; deeds of righteousness and truth'; Q corrupt; D' Gk.^a om. (hmt.).

⁵² Some Eth. MSS 'will be planted'; D' 'will he plant'; M corrupt; Gk.^a 'will he plant for himself', but most correct to 'will be planted'.

⁵³ So Eth.II: Eth.I Gk.^a Aram. 'will escape'.

⁵⁴ and their sabbaths: so Eth. Gk.^a, but long recognised to be a mistranslation of an Aramaic 'and their old age'; Aram. now confirms this.

⁵⁵ And in those days: Gk.^a 'Then'.

⁵⁶ and all . . . with trees: so Eth. and apparently Aram.; Gk.^a 'and a tree will be planted in it'.

⁵⁷ And all . . . on it: Gk.^a 'And all the trees of the earth will rejoice; they will be planted'.

⁵⁸ on it: Gk.^a om.

⁵⁹ Some Eth. MSS 'which a man plants'.

⁶⁰ GMQTD' 'wine'; U corrupt.

⁶¹ and the vine . . . in abundance: Gk.^a 'and the vine which they plant, they will produce thousands of jars of wine'.

⁶² and every seed . . . of oil: Gk.^a defective.

⁶³ Gk.^a 'uncleanness'; D' adds 'and from all uncleanness'.

⁶⁴ from all: Gk.^a om.

⁶⁵ and from all the uncleanness . . . from the earth: Gk.^a 'and wipe away all the uncleanness which is brought about on the earth'.

⁶⁶ And all . . . be righteous: Gk.^a om. In the remainder of the verse Gk.^a has a strange word order and differs slightly from Eth.

⁶⁷ Gk.^a 'And the whole earth'.

all sin, and from all wrath, and from all torment;⁶⁸ and I will not again send a flood⁶⁹ upon it⁷⁰ for all generations for ever.

XI. And in those days¹ I will open the storehouses of blessing which *are* in heaven that I may send them down upon the earth,² upon the work and upon the toil of the sons of men. Peace and truth³ will be united for all the days of eternity and for all the generations of eternity.⁴

XII. And before everything¹ Enoch had been hidden,² and none of the sons of men³ knew where he was hidden,⁴ or where he was, or what had happened.⁵ And all⁶ his⁷ doings *were* with the Holy Ones and with the Watchers⁸ in his days.⁹ And I Enoch was blessing¹⁰ the Great Lord¹¹ and the King of Eternity, and behold the Watchers¹² called to me, Enoch the scribe, and said to me, Enoch,¹³ scribe of righteousness, go, inform¹⁴ the Watchers of heaven who have left the high heaven and the holy eternal place,¹⁵ and have corrupted¹⁶ themselves with the women, and have done as the sons of men¹⁷ do, and have taken wives for themselves, and have become completely corrupt on the earth.¹⁸ They¹⁹ will have

⁶⁸ and from all sin . . . all torment: Gk.^a 'and from all uncleanness and wrath and torment'.

⁶⁹ a flood: GMQT'UD' Gk.^a om.

⁷⁰ Gk.^a 'upon them'.

¹ Gk.^a 'And then'.

² upon the earth: Gk.^a om.

³ Gk.^a 'And then truth and peace'.

⁴ Gk.^a 'of men'.

¹ D' Gk.^a 'Before these things'.

² Gk.^a 'taken'.

³ Gk.^a 'and none of mankind'.

⁴ Gk.^a 'taken'.

⁵ Gk.^a adds 'to him'.

⁶ Gk.^a om.

⁷ Gk.^a 'their', but corrupt for 'his'.

⁸ Holy Ones . . . Watchers: Eth.I Gk.^a transpose.

⁹ in his days: Gk.^a 'were his days'.

¹⁰ Gk.^a 'standing blessing'.

¹¹ D' Gk.^a 'the Lord of majesty'; GMT¹U corrupt.

¹² Gk.^a adds 'of the Holy Great One'.

¹³ the scribe . . . Enoch: Gk.^a om. (hmt.), D' omits 'the scribe'.

¹⁴ Gk.^a 'and say to'.

¹⁵ and the holy eternal place: Gk.^a 'the sanctuary of the eternal place'.

¹⁶ Gk.^a 'defiled'.

¹⁷ Gk.^a 'of the earth'.

¹⁸ and have become completely . . . earth: Gk.^a 'You have completely ruined the earth!'

¹⁹ Gk.^a 'You'.

on earth²⁰ neither peace nor forgiveness of sin,²¹ for they will not rejoice in their sons. The slaughter²² of their beloved ones they will see, and over the destruction of their sons they will lament and petition for ever. But they will have neither mercy nor peace.

XIII. And Enoch went and said to Azazel,¹ You will not have peace. A severe sentence has come out against you that you should be bound. And you will have neither rest,² nor mercy,³ nor *the granting of any* petition, because of the wrong which you have taught, and because of all the works of blasphemy⁴ and wrong and sin which you have shown to the sons of men.⁵ Then I went and spoke to them all together,⁶ and they were all afraid; fear and trembling seized them. And they asked me to write out for them the record of a petition that they might receive forgiveness, and to take the record of their petition up⁷ to⁸ the Lord in heaven.⁹ For they *themselves* were not able from then on to speak, and they did not raise¹⁰ their eyes to heaven out of shame for the sins for which they had been condemned. And then I wrote out the record of their petition and their¹¹ supplication in regard to their spirits¹² and the deeds of each one of them,¹³ and in regard to what they asked, *namely* that they should obtain absolution and forbearance. And I went and sat down by the waters of Dan in Dan¹⁴ which is southwest of Hermon; and I read out the record of their petition until I fell asleep. And behold a dream¹⁵ came to me, and visions fell upon

²⁰ on earth: GMTUD'N Gk.^a om.

²¹ of sin: Gk.^a om.

²² for they will . . . slaughter: so T Eth.II; GMQUD' corrupt; Gk.^a 'And concerning their sons in whom they rejoice, the slaughter'.

¹ Gk.^a (corrupt) 'And Enoch said to Azael, Go'.

² Gk.^a 'clemency'; GMQD' corrupt.

³ nor mercy: Eth.I Gk.^a om.

⁴ Gk.^a 'impiety'.

⁵ GMQT'UD'P' Gk.^a 'to men'.

⁶ together: Gk.^a om.

⁷ Gk.^a 'and to read the record of the petition out'.

⁸ Eth.I AKP' Gk.^a 'before'.

⁹ GMTUD' Gk.^a 'of heaven'.

¹⁰ Gk.^a 'or to raise'.

¹¹ GMT'UD' Gk.^a 'the', but Aram. apparently read 'their'.

¹² in regard to their spirits: so Eth. Gk.^a, but possibly a mistranslation of 'in regard to themselves'.

¹³ and the deeds of each one of them: Gk.^a om., but Aram. supports Eth.

¹⁴ in Dan: Gk.^a 'in the land of Dan'.

¹⁵ Gk.^a 'dreams'.

me, and I saw a vision¹⁶ of wrath, *namely* that I should speak to the
 9 sons of heaven and reprove them.¹⁷ And I woke up and went to
 them, and they were all sitting gathered together as they mourned
 in Ubelseyael,¹⁸ which is between Lebanon and Senir, with their
 10 faces covered. And I spoke before them¹⁹ all the visions which I
 had seen in my²⁰ sleep, and I began to speak these²¹ words of
 righteousness and to reprove²² the Watchers of heaven.

XIV. This book *is* the word¹ of righteousness and of reproof for the
 Watchers who *are* from eternity, as the Holy and² Great One
 2 commanded in that vision. I saw in my sleep what I will now tell
 with the tongue of flesh and with my breath which the Great One
 has given to men in the mouth,³ that they might speak with it and
 3 understand with the heart.⁴ As he has created and appointed men
 to understand the word of knowledge, so he created and appointed
 4 me⁵ to reprove the Watchers, the sons of heaven. And I wrote out
 your petition,⁶ but in my vision thus it appeared, that your petition
 will not be *granted* to you⁷ for all the days of eternity; and complete
 judgement *has been decreed* against you,⁸ and you will not have

¹⁶ U Gk.^a Aram. 'visions'.

¹⁷ *namely* that I . . . reprove them: Gk.^a 'and a voice came, saying, Speak to the sons of heaven to reprove them'.

¹⁸ Gk.^a 'Ebelsata'. The forms in Eth. and Gk.^a are possibly corruptions of 'Abilene'.

¹⁹ And I spoke before them: so Eth. Aram.; Gk.^a (corrupt) 'Before them and I reported to them'.

²⁰ GMT¹UD'KP¹ Gk.^a om.

²¹ Gk.^a 'the'.

²² and to reprove: Gk.^a 'reproving'.

¹ QD' 'This is the book of the words'; Gk.^a Aram. 'The book of the words'.

² Gk.^a om.

³ and with my breath . . . in the mouth: so Eth. II; GMQTU corrupt; D' Gk.^a 'with (D' 'and with') the breath of my (D' 'the') mouth which the Great One has given to men'.

⁴ Gk.^a 'with them and *with* understanding of heart'.

⁵ men to understand . . . appointed me: Gk.^a om. (hmt.).

⁶ Gk.^a 'the petition of you angels'.

⁷ Gk.^a 'but in my vision this appeared; and your petition has not been accepted'.

⁸ for all the days . . . against you: Gk.^a om., but Aram. supports Eth.

5 peace.⁹ And from now on you will not ascend¹⁰ into heaven for all
 eternity, and it has been decreed that you are to be bound in the
 6 earth¹¹ for all the days¹² of eternity. And before this you will have
 seen¹³ the destruction of your beloved sons, and you will not be
 7 able to enjoy them,¹⁴ but they will fall before you by the sword. And
 your petition will not be *granted* in respect of them, nor in respect of
 yourselves. And while you weep and supplicate, you do not speak a
 8 single word from the writing which I have written. And the vision
 appeared to me as follows:¹⁵ Behold clouds called me¹⁶ in the
 vision, and mist called me, and the path of the stars and flashes of
 lightning hastened me and drove me,¹⁷ and in the¹⁸ vision winds
 caused me to fly and hastened me and lifted me up into heaven.¹⁹
 9 And I proceeded until I came near to a wall which was built of hail
 stones, and a tongue of fire surrounded it, and it began to make me
 10 afraid.²⁰ And I went into the tongue²¹ of fire and came near to a
 large house which was built of hail stones, and the wall of that
 house *was* like a mosaic *made* of hail stones,²² and its floor *was*
 11 snow.²³ Its roof *was*²⁴ like the path of the stars and flashes of
 lightning, and among them *were* fiery Cherubim, and their heaven
 12 *was like* water. *And there was* a fire burning around its wall,²⁵ and its
 13 door was ablaze²⁶ with fire. And I went into that house, and *it was*

⁹ and you will not have peace: so NP²; all other Eth. MSS 'and you will have nothing'; Gk.^a om., and so probably Aram.

¹⁰ Gk.^a 'that you should no longer ascend'.

¹¹ Gk.^a 'in the bonds of the earth'.

¹² days: so Eth. Aram.; Gk.^a 'generations'.

¹³ Gk.^a 'and that before these things you should see'.

¹⁴ and you . . . enjoy them: Gk.^a 'and that you will have no enjoyment in them'.

¹⁵ Gk.^a 'And in the vision thus it appeared to me'.

¹⁶ me: Gk.^a om.

¹⁷ Gk.^a 'and confused me'.

¹⁸ Gk.^a 'my'.

¹⁹ and hastened me . . . into heaven: Gk.^a 'and lifted me up and brought me into heaven'.

²⁰ which was built . . . me afraid: so Eth., but D' reads 'tongues' instead of 'a tongue'; Gk.^a 'of a building *built* of hail stones and tongues of fire around them, and they began to make me afraid'.

²¹ D' Gk.^a 'tongues'.

²² and the wall . . . of hail stones: Gk.^a 'and the walls of the house *were* like slabs of stone, and *all the slabs were* of snow'.

²³ Gk.^a 'and the foundations *were* of snow'.

²⁴ Gk.^a 'And the roofs *were*'.

²⁵ Eth. I N 'around the wall'; Gk.^a 'around the walls'.

²⁶ Gk.^a 'and the doors were ablaze'.

hot as fire and cold as snow, and there was neither pleasure nor
 14 life²⁷ in it. Fear covered me and trembling took hold of me. And as I
 was shaking and trembling, I fell on my face.²⁸ And I saw in the¹⁸
 15 vision, and behold, another house, which was larger than the
 former, and all its doors *were* open before me, and *it was* built²⁹ of a
 16 tongue³⁰ of fire. And in everything it so excelled³¹ in glory and
 splendour and size that I am unable to describe to you its glory and
 17 its size. And its floor *was* fire, and above *were* lightning³² and the
 18 path of the stars, and its roof also *was* a burning fire. And I looked
 and I saw in it³³ a high throne, and its appearance *was* like ice and
 its surrounds like the shining sun³⁴ and the sound of Cherubim.³⁵
 19 And from underneath the high³⁶ throne there flowed out rivers of
 20 burning fire³⁷ so that it was impossible to look³⁸ at it.³⁹ And He who
 is great in glory⁴⁰ sat on it, and his raiment was brighter than the
 21 sun, and whiter than any snow.⁴¹ And no angel could enter,⁴² and
 at the appearance of the face of him who is honoured and praised
 22 no *creature of flesh* could look.⁴³ A sea of fire⁴⁴ burnt around him,
 and a great fire stood before him, and none of those around him
 came near to him. Ten thousand times ten thousand stood before

²⁷ GMQU 'no pleasure of life'; D' 'nothing'; Gk.^a 'no food of life'.

²⁸ on my face: Gk.^a om.

²⁹ another house . . . and *it was* built: D' 'a door before me, (and) another house, which was larger than the former, and all of it *was* built'; Gk.^a 'another door open before me, and a house larger than the former, and all of it *was* built'. Aram probably had the same order as D' Gk.^a.

³⁰ GMUD' Gk.^a 'of tongues'.

³¹ Gk.^a 'and all of it *so* excelling'.

³² GMTUD' Gk.^a 'flashes of lightning'.

³³ in it: Gk.^a om.

³⁴ and its surrounds . . . sun: Gk.^a 'and a wheel as of the shining sun'.

³⁵ and the sound of Cherubim: so Eth. The text does not inspire confidence, but Gk.^a is corrupt.

³⁶ high: Eth. I Gk.^a om.

³⁷ Gk.^a 'burning rivers of fire'.

³⁸ T² Gk.^a 'so that I could not look'.

³⁹ at it: GMTUAKP'C' Gk.^a om.

⁴⁰ GMQT'UD'Y Gk.^a 'And the Great Glory'.

⁴¹ and his raiment . . . snow: Gk.^a 'his raiment *was* like the appearance of the sun, brighter and whiter than any snow'.

⁴² Gk.^a adds 'into this house'.

⁴³ and at the appearance . . . look: GTUD' 'and look at the face of him who is honoured and praised, and no *creature of flesh* could look at him'; Gk.^a 'and look at his face because of the magnificence and glory, and no *creature of flesh* could look at him'.

⁴⁴ Eth. I some Eth. II MSS Gk.^a 'A fire'.

23 him,⁴⁵ but he needed no holy counsel. And the Holy Ones⁴⁶ who
 were near to him did not leave by night or day,⁴⁷ and did not depart
 24 from him. And until then I had a covering on my face,⁴⁸ as I
 trembled. And the Lord called me with his own mouth and said to
 me, Come hither, Enoch, to my holy word. And he lifted me up⁴⁹
 and brought me near to the door. And I looked,⁵⁰ with my face
 down.

XV. And he answered me and said to me with his voice, Hear!¹ Do
 not be afraid, Enoch, *you* righteous man and scribe of righteous-
 2 ness.² Come hither and hear my voice. And go, say to the Watchers
 of heaven who sent you³ to petition on their behalf,⁴ You ought to
 3 petition on behalf of men, not men on behalf of you. Why have you
 left the high, holy and eternal heaven, and lain with the women
 and become unclean with the daughters of men, and taken wives
 for yourselves, and done as the sons of the earth and begotten⁵
 4 giant sons? And you *were* spiritual, holy, living an eternal life, *but*
 you became unclean upon the women,⁶ and begat *children* through
 the blood of flesh, and lusted after the blood of men, and produced
 5 flesh and blood as they do⁷ who die and are destroyed. And for this

⁴⁵ and none . . . before him: Gk.^a 'and no one came near to him. In a circle ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him'.

⁴⁶ but he needed . . . Holy Ones: so T Eth. II; D' 'but he needed no counsel. And the holiness of the Holy Ones (i.e. 'And the most Holy Ones')'; GMQU corrupt; Gk.^a 'and his every word *was* deed. And the most holy angels'. No version inspires complete confidence.

⁴⁷ or day: GMQT'UD' Gk.^a om.

⁴⁸ Gk.^a 'I had been prostrate on my face'.

⁴⁹ to my holy word. And he lifted me up: Gk.^a 'and hear my word. And one of the Holy Ones came to me, and raised me, and stood me up'.

⁵⁰ Gk.^a 'And I bowed'.

¹ and said . . . Hear: GMQD' 'and said to me, (and) his voice I heard'; U defective; Gk.^a 'and said to me, O upright man! Man of uprightness! Scribe! And his voice I heard'.

² righteous . . . righteousness: Gk.^a 'upright . . . uprightness'.

³ Gk.^a 'to those who sent you'. ⁴ to petition on their behalf: Gk.^a om.

⁵ Gk.^a add 'children for yourselves'.

⁶ upon the women: so Eth., but corrupt for Gk.^a 'through the blood of the women'.

⁷ and produced . . . as they do: D' Gk.^a 'as they produce flesh and blood'.

reason I gave them wives, *namely* that they might sow seed in them and *that* children might be born by them,⁸ that thus deeds might be done on the earth.⁹ But you formerly¹⁰ were spiritual, living an eternal, immortal life for all the generations of the world. For this reason I did not arrange wives for you because¹¹ the dwelling of the spiritual ones¹² is in heaven. And now the giants who were born from body and flesh¹³ will be called evil spirits¹⁴ upon the earth, and on the earth will be their dwelling. And evil spirits came out¹⁵ from their flesh¹⁶ because from above¹⁷ they were created; from the holy Watchers was their origin and first foundation.¹⁸ Evil spirits they will be on the earth, and spirits of the evil ones¹⁹ they will be called.²⁰ And the dwelling of the spirits of heaven is in heaven, but the dwelling of the spirits of earth,²¹ who were born on the earth, is on earth. And the spirits of the giants † the clouds † which do wrong²² and are corrupt,²³ and attack and fight and break²⁴ on the earth,²⁵ and cause sorrow;²⁶ and they eat no food²⁷ and do not

⁸ Gk.^a 'and thus beget children by them'.

⁹ that thus . . . on the earth: so Eth. II; Eth. I defective and corrupt, but GTUD' are similar to Gk.^a 'that nothing might be lacking to them on the earth'.

¹⁰ formerly: Gk.^a om.

¹¹ because: Gk.^a om.

¹² Eth. I Gk.^a add 'of heaven'.

¹³ G 'from souls and flesh'; Q 'from the spirits of flesh'; D' Gk.^a 'from the spirits and flesh'.

¹⁴ will be called evil spirits: Gk.^a defective and reads 'strong' for 'evil'.

¹⁵ Gk.^s 'And evil spirits they will be, the spirits which have come out'.

¹⁶ Gk.^a 'from their bodies' (and so Eth. could also be translated); Gk.^s 'from the bodies of their flesh'.

¹⁷ Gk.^s 'from men'.

¹⁸ was their . . . foundation: Gk.^a 'was the beginning of their creation and the beginning of their foundation'.

¹⁹ they will be . . . the evil ones: Q Gk.^a om. (hmt.); some Eth. MSS read 'and evil spirits' for 'and spirits of the evil ones'.

²⁰ and spirits . . . will be called: Gk.^s om. together with verse 10.

²¹ of earth: Gk.^a om.

²² So Eth.: D' Gk.^a 'And the spirits of the giants wrong the clouds'; Gk.^s 'The spirits of the giants lay waste, do wrong'. No version is satisfactory, but it is possible that 'clouds' in Eth. Gk.^a ('lay waste' in Gk.^s) is a corruption of 'the Nephilim', viz. 'The spirits of the giants, the Nephilim, do wrong'.

²³ GQ Gk.^a 'and cause corruption' or 'and cause destruction'.

²⁴ Gk.^a 'and throw'(?). ²⁵ Gk.^a adds 'harsh spirits of giants'.

²⁶ Gk.^a 'and cause running'(?).

²⁷ Gk.^a 'and they do not eat, but fast'; Gk.^s adds 'and cause apparitions'.

12 thirst,²⁸ and are not observed.²⁹ And these spirits will rise³⁰ against the sons of men and against the³¹ women because they came out from them.³² In the days³³ of slaughter and destruction

XVI. and the death of the giants, wherever the spirits have gone out from *their* bodies,¹ their flesh shall be destroyed before the judgement;² thus they will be destroyed³ until the day of the great consummation is accomplished upon the great age,⁴ upon the Watchers and the impious ones.⁵ And now to the Watchers who sent you to petition on their behalf, who were formerly⁶ in heaven—and now⁷ say, You were in heaven, but *its* secrets had not yet been revealed to you and a worthless mystery you knew.⁸ This you made known to the women in the hardness of your hearts, and through this mystery the women and the men cause evil to increase on the earth. Say to them therefore, You will not have peace.

XVII. And they took¹ me to a place where they² were like burning fire, and, when they wished, they made themselves look like men.

²⁸ MXY Gk.^a 'and thirst'.

²⁹ D' 'and do not cause offence'; Gk.^a 'and cause offence'.

³⁰ So MT'UP' Gk.^a; all other Eth. MSS 'will not rise'.

³¹ against the: Gk.^a 'of'.

³² from them: so Gk.^a; Eth. om.

³³ QD' 'From the days'.

¹ ENY 'from *their* souls'; MQTUD' corrupt or defective.

² In the days . . . the judgement: Gk.^a corrupt, but perhaps translate 'From the day of the slaughter and destruction and death (of the giants) the spirits, having gone out from the souls of their flesh, will destroy without judgement'; Gk.^s 'And from the day of the time of the slaughter and destruction and death of the giant Nephilim, the mighty ones of the earth, the great famous ones, the spirits that have gone out from their souls as from the flesh, will destroy without judgement'.

³ Gk.^a 'they will destroy'.

⁴ Gk.^a 'until the day of the consummation, (Gk.^s adds 'until') the great judgement in which the great age will be brought to an end'.

⁵ upon the Watchers and the impious ones: Gk.^a om., but Gk.^s adds 'once for all at the same time it will be brought to an end'; GQTUD' add 'all will be accomplished', and GQT make further additions.

⁶ Gk.^a om.

⁷ and now: Gk.^a om.

⁸ Gk.^a (corrupt) 'but every mystery which had not been revealed to you and a mystery which was from God you knew'.

¹ Gk.^a adds 'and brought'.

² GMQ Gk.^a 'those who were there'.

2 And they³ led me to a place of storm,⁴ and to a mountain the tip of⁵
 3 whose summit reached to heaven. And I saw lighted places⁶ and
 thunder⁷ in the outermost ends, in its depths,⁸ a bow of fire and
 4 arrows and their quivers, and a sword of fire,⁹ and all the flashes of
 lightning. And they took me to the water of life,¹⁰ as it is called,¹¹
 and to the fire of the west which receives¹² every setting of the sun.
 5 And I¹³ came to a river of fire whose fire flows like water and pours
 6 out into the great sea which *is* towards the west.¹⁴ And I saw all¹⁵
 the great rivers, and I reached the great¹⁶ darkness and went where
 7 all¹⁷ flesh walks. And I saw the mountains¹⁸ of the darkness of
 winter and the place where the water of all the deep pours out.¹⁹
 8 And I saw the mouths of all the rivers of the earth and the mouth of
 the deep.

XVIII. And I saw the storehouses of all the winds, and I saw how
 with them he has adorned all creation, and *I saw* the foundations of
 2 the earth. And I saw the cornerstone of the earth, and I saw the
 four winds which support the earth and the firmament of heaven.
 3 And I saw how the winds stretch out the height of heaven¹ and *how*
 they position themselves between heaven and earth;² they are the
 4 pillars of heaven.³ And I saw the winds which turn heaven and
 5 cause the disk of the sun and all the stars to set. And I saw the
 winds on the earth which support the clouds, and I saw the paths of

³ So G Gk.^a: all other Eth. MSS 'he'.

⁴ Gk.^a 'to a dark place'.

⁵ the tip of: Gk.^a om.

⁶ MQD' 'the places of light'; G corrupt; Gk.^a 'the place of the lights'.

⁷ and thunder: Gk.^a 'and the storehouses of the stars and of the thunder'.

⁸ in the outermost . . . depths: Gk.^a 'and in the depths of air'; GMQT'UD'AK

Gk.^a add 'where were'.

⁹ and a sword of fire: Gk.^a om.

¹⁰ GQTUD' 'the waters of life'; M corrupt; Gk.^a 'the living waters'.

¹¹ as it is called: Gk.^a om.

¹² Gk.^a (corrupt) 'produces'.

¹³ Gk.^a 'we'.

¹⁴ which *is* towards the west: Gk.^a 'of the west'.

¹⁵ MQU Gk.^a om.

¹⁶ Gk.^a adds 'river and the great'.

¹⁷ Gk.^a 'no'.

¹⁸ Gk.^a 'the winds'.

¹⁹ Gk.^a 'all the waters of the deep pour out'.

¹ And I saw how . . . heaven: Gk.^a om. (hmt.).

² Gk.^a 'between earth and heaven'. ³ they are . . . heaven: Gk.^a om. (hmt.).

the angels. I saw⁴ at the end⁵ of the earth the firmament of heaven
 6 above. And I went towards the south – and it was burning day and
 night⁶ – where *there were* seven mountains of precious stones, three
 7 towards the east and three towards the south. And *those* towards
 the east *were* of coloured stone, and one *was* of pearl and one of
 8 healing stone;⁷ and those towards the south *were* of red stone. And
 the middle one reached to heaven, like the throne of the Lord,⁸ of
 9 stibium, and the top of the throne *was* of sapphire. And I saw a
 10 burning fire and what was in all the⁹ mountains. And I saw there a
 place beyond the great earth;¹⁰ there the waters were gathered
 11 together.¹¹ And I saw a deep chasm of the earth¹² with pillars of
 heavenly fire, and I saw among them fiery pillars of heaven,¹³
 which were falling,¹⁴ and as regards both height and depth they
 12 were immeasurable. And beyond this chasm I saw a place and *it*
had neither the firmament of heaven above it, nor the foundation of
 earth below it; there was no water on it,¹⁵ and no birds, but it was a
 13 desert place. And a terrible thing I saw there¹⁶ – seven stars like
 great burning mountains. And like a spirit questioning me¹⁷ the
 14 angel said, This is the place of the end of heaven and earth; this is
 15 the prison for the stars of heaven¹⁸ and the host of heaven. And the
 stars which roll over¹⁹ the fire, these are the ones which trans-
 16 rising²⁰ because they did not come out at their proper times. And

⁴ the paths . . . I saw: Gk.^a om. (hmt.).

⁵ Gk.^a '(at) the ends'.

⁶ Gk.^a 'And I proceeded and saw a place *which was* burning night and day'.

⁷ healing stone: so Eth., but the text is very doubtful; Gk.^a corrupt.

⁸ Gk.^a 'of God'.

⁹ all the: D' 'these'.

¹⁰ and what was . . . the great earth: Gk.^a 'And beyond these mountains there is a
 place *which is* the end of the great earth'.

¹¹ GMQT'U'D' 'the heavens were gathered together'; Gk.^a 'the heavens were
 finished'.

¹² of the earth: GMQT'UD' Gk.^a om.

¹³ of heaven: GT²D' om.

¹⁴ with pillars . . . falling: Gk.^a 'with pillars of fire which were falling'.

¹⁵ Gk.^a 'under it'.

¹⁶ QD' 'but it was a desert place, and terrible. I saw there'; Gk.^a 'but the place
 was desolate and terrible. There I saw'.

¹⁷ And like . . . me: Gk.^a 'concerning which to me, when I inquired'.

¹⁸ of heaven: GMTUD' Gk.^a om.

¹⁹ Gk.^a 'in'.

²⁰ Gk.^a adds 'because the place outside heaven is empty'.

he was angry with them and bound them until the time of the consummation of their sin in the year of mystery.²¹

XIX. And Uriel said to me, The spirits of the angels who were promiscuous with the women will stand here; and they, assuming many forms, made men unclean¹ and will lead men² astray so that they sacrifice to demons-as gods³—*that is*, until the great judgement day on⁴ which they will be judged so that an end will be made of them. And their wives, having led astray the angels of heaven,⁵ will become peaceful.⁶ And I, Enoch, alone saw the sight, the ends of everything; and no man has seen⁷ what I have seen.

XX. And these are the names of the holy angels who keep watch.¹ Uriel, one of the holy angels, namely *the angel* of thunder and of tremors.² Raphael, one of the holy angels, *the angel* of³ the spirits of men. Raguel, one of the holy angels, who takes vengeance on the world and on the lights.⁴ Michael, one of the holy angels, namely the one put in charge of the best part of mankind,⁵ in charge of the nation.⁶ Saraqael,⁷ one of the holy angels, who *is* in charge of the spirits of men who cause the spirits to sin.⁸ Gabriel, one of the holy

²¹ in the year of mystery: Gk.^a 'for ten thousand years'.

¹ made men unclean: Gk.^a 'harm men'.

² GMTUD' Gk.^a 'them'. ³ as gods: Gk.^a om.

⁴ So MTD' and some Eth. II MSS: other Eth. MSS corrupt; Gk.^a 'until the great judgement in'.

⁵ So Eth., but GMQT'UD' om. 'of heaven': Gk.^a 'And the wives of the angels who went astray'.

⁶ So Eth., but a mistake: Gk.^a 'sirens'.

⁷ GMQUD' 'will see'.

¹ And these . . . keep watch: Gk.^{a1} 'Angels of the powers'; Gk.^{a2} om. together with 'Uriel' in verse 2.

² GQD' 'namely the eternal one and *the angel* of tremors'; Gk.^{a1} ^{a2} 'the one in charge of the world and of Tartarus'.

³ of: Gk.^{a1} ^{a2} 'in charge of'.

⁴ Gk.^{a1} ^{a2} 'the world of the lights'.

⁵ Gk.^{a1} ^{a2} 'of the nation'.

⁶ D' 'and in charge of the nations'; Gk.^{a1} ^{a2} 'and in charge of chaos'.

⁷ Gk.^{a1} ^{a2} 'Sariel'.

⁸ who *is* in charge . . . sin: Gk.^{a1} ^{a2} 'the one in charge of the spirits who sin against the spirit'.

angels, who *is* in charge of the serpents and the Garden⁹ and the Cherubim.¹⁰

XXI. And I went round to a place¹ where there was nothing made.² And I saw there a terrible thing³—neither the high heaven,⁴ nor the *firmly* founded earth,⁵ but a desert place, prepared and terrible.⁶ And there I saw seven stars of heaven bound on it together,⁷ like great mountains, and burning like⁸ fire. Then I said, For what sin have they been bound, and why⁹ have they been thrown here? And¹⁰ Uriel, one of the holy angels who was with me and led me,¹¹ spoke to me and said,¹² Enoch, about whom do you ask? About whom do you inquire and ask¹³ and care?¹⁴ These are *some* of the stars¹⁵ which transgressed the command of the Lord Most High,¹⁶ and they have been bound here until ten thousand ages¹⁷ are completed, the number of the days of their sin.¹⁸ And from there I went to another place, more terrible than this, and I saw a terrible thing: *there was* a great fire there¹⁹ which burnt and blazed, and the place²⁰ had a cleft reaching to the abyss, full of great pillars of fire²¹ which were made to fall; neither its extent nor

⁹ Eth. I Gk.^{a1} ^{a2} 'the Garden and the serpents'.

¹⁰ Gk.^{a1} adds 'Seven names of archangels'; Gk.^{a2} adds 'Remiel, one of the holy angels, whom God put in charge of those who rise. Seven names of archangels'.

¹ a place: GMQT'UD' Gk.^{a1} ^{a2} om.

² i.e. a place of chaos.

³ GT Gk.^{a1} ^{a2} add 'I saw'; Q adds 'And I saw'.

⁴ GMQUD' Gk.^{a1} ^{a2} 'neither heaven above'.

⁵ Gk.^{a1} adds 'did I see'.

⁶ GMQT'U 'but a prepared and terrible place'; D' Gk.^{a1} ^{a2} 'but a chaotic and terrible place'.

⁷ Gk.^{a1} ^{a2} 'bound and thrown down on it'.

⁸ GMQUD' Gk.^{a1} ^{a2} 'with'.

⁹ Gk.^{a1} 'For what reason . . . and why'; Gk.^{a2} 'For what reason . . . and for what reason'.

¹⁰ Gk.^{a1} 'Then'.

¹¹ and led me: so Eth., but all MSS except G om. 'and'; Gk.^{a1} ^{a2} 'and was the leader of them'.

¹² D' Gk.^{a1} ^{a2} add 'to me'.

¹³ and ask: GMQD' om.

¹⁴ do you inquire . . . and care: Gk.^{a1} ^{a2} 'are you eager for the truth'.

¹⁵ D' Gk.^{a1} ^{a2} add 'of heaven'.

¹⁶ Most High: Eth. I Gk.^{a1} ^{a2} om.

¹⁷ D' Gk.^{a1} ^{a2} 'years'.

¹⁸ D' 'the number of their sins'; Gk.^{a1} ^{a2} 'the time of their sins'.

¹⁹ there: D' and some Eth. II MSS om.

²⁰ So GMQT'UD' Gk.^{a1} ^{a2}; T² Eth. II 'the boundary'.

²¹ Gk.^{a1} ^{a2} 'of pillars of a great fire'.

8 its size could I see, nor could I see its source.²² Then I said, How
9 terrible this place *is*, and *how* painful²³ to look at! Then Uriel,²⁴ one
of the holy angels who was with me, answered me. He answered
me²⁵ and said to me, Enoch, why do you have such fear and terror²⁶
10 because of this terrible place, and before this pain?²⁷ And he said to
me,²⁸ This place *is* the prison of the angels, and there²⁹ they will be
held for ever.

XXII. And from there I went to another place, and he showed me
in the west a large and high mountain, and a hard rock and four
2 beautiful¹ places, and inside it was deep and wide and very
smooth.² How smooth *is* that which rolls,³ and deep and dark to
3 look at! Then Raphael, one of the holy angels who was with me,
answered me⁴ and said to me, These beautiful⁵ places *are intended*
for this, that the spirits, the souls⁶ of the dead, might be gathered
into them; for them⁷ they were created,⁸ *that* here they might gather
4 all the souls of the sons of men.⁹ And these places they made where
they will keep them¹⁰ until the day of their judgement and until

²² nor could I see its source: so T² Eth. II; GQ corrupt; D' Gk.^{a1 a2} 'nor could I
(Gk.^{a1 a2} om. 'could I') guess *them*', and this text is supported by the otherwise
impossible MT¹U.

²³ G 'horrible'; Gk.^{a1 a2} 'fearful'.

²⁴ Uriel: Gk.^{a1 a2} om.

²⁵ He answered me: QAKX Gk.^a om.

²⁶ Gk.^a adds 'And (I) answered'.

²⁷ and before this pain: Gk.^a 'and because of the fearful spectacle'.

²⁸ to me: Gk.^a om.

²⁹ and there: D' Gk.^a 'here'.

¹ beautiful: so Eth., but a misreading of the Greek word for 'hollow'.

² a large . . . very smooth: Gk.^a 'another large and high mountain, of hard rock.
And *there were* four hollow places in it, deep and very smooth: three of them *were*
dark, and one bright, and *there was* a spring of water in the middle of it. And I said'.

³ *is* that which rolls: so Eth., but a mistranslation of the Greek; Gk.^a 'are these
hollow places'.

⁴ me: GMQ²T¹U Gk.^a om.

⁵ beautiful: so Eth., but a misreading; Gk.^a 'hollow'.

⁶ GT¹D¹H Gk.^a 'the spirits of the souls'; Q corrupt; OB' om. 'the souls'.

⁷ GQUD' Gk.^a 'for this'; MT corrupt. ⁸ Gk.^a (corrupt) 'judged'.

⁹ Gk.^a 'all the souls of men'; Aram. '[the soul]s of all the sons of men'.

¹⁰ where they will keep them: Gk.^a 'for their reception'; Aram. uncertain, but
probably 'And behold, these are the pits for their prison house [which] they have
thus made'.

their appointed time – and that appointed time *will be* long¹¹ – until
5 the great judgement *comes* upon them.¹² And I saw the spirits of the
sons of men who were dead,¹³ and their voice reached heaven and
6 complained.¹⁴ Then¹⁵ I asked Raphael, the angel¹⁶ who was with
me, and said to him, Whose is this spirit whose voice thus reaches
7 heaven¹⁷ and complains?¹⁸ And he answered me and said to me,¹⁹
saying, This spirit is the one which came out of Abel whom Cain,
his brother, killed. And he²⁰ will complain about him until his²¹
offspring is destroyed from the face of the earth, and from amongst
8 the offspring of men his offspring perishes. Then I asked about him
and²² about the judgement on all²³ and I said,²⁴ Why is one
9 separated from another? And he answered me and said to me,²⁵
These three²⁶ *places* were made in order that they might separate
the spirits of the dead. And thus the souls²⁷ of the righteous have
been separated;²⁸ this is the spring of water *and* on it *is* the light.²⁹

¹¹ and that appointed time *will be* long: so Eth., but probably an attempt to deal
with an impossible text; Gk.^a has a dittograph of the previous phrase.

¹² and until their appointed time . . . upon them: so Eth., but QD' have
abbreviated texts; Gk.^a 'and until the appointed time and the time appointed at
which the great judgement will be *executed* upon them'; Aram. 'and until the
appointed time of the day of the end of the great judgement which will be executed
upon them'.

¹³ And I saw . . . were dead: so Eth., but fairly clearly only one spirit was
mentioned originally (cp. verses 6ff.); Gk.^a corrupt, but perhaps read 'I saw (the
spirit) of a dead man complaining'; Aram. 'There I saw the spirit of a dead man
complaining'.

¹⁴ and their voice . . . complained: so Eth. Gk.^a, but Gk.^a reads 'his' for 'their';
Aram. 'and his lamentation going up to heaven and crying out and complaining'.

¹⁵ Gk.^a 'And'. ¹⁶ Aram. 'the Watcher and holy one'.

¹⁷ heaven: so C'; all other Eth. MSS om.

¹⁸ Gk.^a 'Whose is this spirit which is complaining? Therefore his voice thus
reaches and complains to heaven'.

¹⁹ and said to me: QD' AD Gk.^a om.; C' om. 'saying'. ²⁰ Gk.^a 'Abel'.

²¹ Eth. I 'all his'. ²² about him and: Gk.^a om.

²³ about the judgement on all: so Eth.; Gk.^a 'about all the circular places'; both
are perhaps corrupt for 'about all the hollow places'.

²⁴ and I said: GMQT¹UD' Gk.^a om. ²⁵ and said to me: Gk.^a 'saying'.

²⁶ three: so Eth. Gk.^a, but we expect 'four' because four places are mentioned in
verse 1 and four seem to be described in verses 9b–13. ²⁷ N 'the spirits'.

²⁸ C' Gk.^a 'And thus a *place* has been separated for the souls (Gk.^a 'the spirits') of
the righteous'.

²⁹ this is . . . the light: Gk.^a 'in which *there is* the bright spring of water'.

10 Likewise³⁰ a place has been created for sinners³¹ when they die and
 11 are buried in the earth and judgement has not come upon them
 during their life. And here their souls³² will be separated for this
 great torment, until the great day of judgement and punishment
 and torment for those who curse for ever, and of vengeance on their
 12 souls,³³ and there he will bind them for ever. Verily he is from the
 beginning of the world.³⁴ And thus a place has been separated for
 the souls³² of those who complain and give information about their
 13 destruction, when they were killed in the days of the sinners. Thus
 a place has been created for the souls³² of men who are not right-
 eous,³⁵ but sinners, accomplished in wrongdoing,³⁶ and with the
 14 wrongdoers will be their lot.³⁷ But their souls will not be killed on
 the day of judgement,³⁸ nor will they rise from here. Then I blessed
 the Lord of Glory and said, Blessed be my Lord, the Lord of Glory
 and Righteousness,³⁹ who rules everything for ever.⁴⁰

2 XXIII. And from there I went to another place towards the west, to
 the ends¹ of the earth. And I saw a fire which burnt and² ran
 without resting or ceasing from running³ by day or night, but
 3 continued in exactly the same way.⁴ And I asked saying, What is this
 4 which has no rest? Then Raguel, one of the holy angels who was

³⁰ D' Gk.^a 'And thus'.

³¹ D' 'And thus the sinners have been separated'.

³² Gk.^a 'spirits'.

³³ for those . . . their souls: Gk.^a in part corrupt, but perhaps read 'for those who
 are cursed for ever, that there may be vengeance on their spirits'.

³⁴ Verily . . . the world: an Eth. gloss; Gk.^a om.

³⁵ Gk.^a 'will not be holy'.

³⁶ accomplished in wrongdoing: Gk.^a 'who will be impious'.

³⁷ Lit. 'and with the wrongdoers they will be like them'; Gk.^a 'and of the lawless
 they will be companions'.

³⁸ Gk.^a 'But their spirits, because those who are afflicted here are punished less
 than them, will not be punished on the day of judgement'.

³⁹ GMTUD' 'Blessed by my Lord, the Lord of Righteousness'; Gk.^a 'Blessed are
 you, Lord of Righteousness'; Aram. 'Blessed be the Judge of Righteousness'.

⁴⁰ Eth. I and some Eth. II MSS 'who rules for ever'; Gk.^a 'who rules the world'.

¹ Gk.^a 'of the ends'.

² burnt and: Gk.^a om.

³ Lit. 'from its running' or 'from its course'; Gk.^a om. 'its'.

⁴ Gk.^a uncertain, but perhaps emend to read 'but remained constant'.

with me, answered me and said to me,⁵ This burning fire whose
 course you saw, towards the west, is the fire of all the lights of
 heaven.⁶

XXIV. And from there I went to another place of the earth,¹ and he
 2 showed me a mountain² of fire which blazed day and night.³ And I
 went towards it⁴ and saw seven magnificent mountains, and all
 were different from one another, and precious and beautiful stones,
 and all were precious and their appearance glorious and their form
 beautiful;⁵ three of the mountains towards⁶ the east, one fixed firmly
 on another, and three towards the south, one on another, and deep
 3 and rugged valleys, no one of which was near another. And there was
 a seventh mountain in the middle of these, and in their height they
 were all like the seat of a throne,⁷ and fragrant⁸ trees surrounded it.
 4 And there was among them a tree such as I have never smelt, and
 none of them nor any others were like it:⁹ it smells more fragrant
 than any fragrance, and its leaves and its flowers and its wood
 never wither; its fruit¹⁰ is good, and its fruit¹¹ is like the bunches of
 5 dates on a palm. And then I said, Behold,¹² this beautiful tree!
 Beautiful to look at and pleasant are its leaves, and its fruit very¹³
 6 delightful in appearance.¹⁴ And then Michael, one of the holy and

⁵ and said to me: Gk.^a om.

⁶ Gk.^a 'This course of fire is the fire towards the west which persecutes all the
 lights of heaven'. Neither version inspires complete confidence, but Gk.^a
 'persecutes' may be corrupt for 'takes vengeance', cp. xx. 4.

¹ And from . . . earth: Gk.^a om.

² Gk.^a 'mountains'.

³ day and night: HKOB' 'by day'; Gk.^a 'by night'.

⁴ Gk.^a 'beyond them'.

⁵ seven magnificent . . . form beautiful: Gk.^a 'seven mountains, all magnificent,
 each differing from the other, whose stones were precious in their beauty, and all were
 precious and glorious and beautiful'.

⁶ three . . . towards: Gk.^a om.

⁷ Gk.^a 'and it was superior in height, like the seat of a throne'.

⁸ Gk.^a (corrupt) 'beautiful'.

⁹ Gk.^a 'and no one else had enjoyed it, and no other one was like it'.

¹⁰ its fruit: Gk.^a corrupt. ¹¹ is good, and its fruit: Gk.^a om.

¹² Behold: Eth. I om. ¹³ and its fruit very: D' 'and its flowers'.

¹⁴ Behold . . . in appearance: Gk.^a 'How beautiful this tree is, and fragrant, and
 the leaves pleasant, and its flowers pleasant in appearance'.

honoured¹⁵ angels who was with me and *was* in charge of them,¹⁶ answered me

XXV. and said to me, Enoch, why do you ask me¹ about the fragrance of this tree, and *why* do you inquire to learn?² Then I, Enoch,³ answered him, saying,⁴ I wish to learn about everything, but especially about this tree. And he answered me,⁵ saying, This high mountain which you saw,⁶ whose summit is like the throne of the Lord,⁷ is the throne where the Holy and Great One, the Lord of Glory, the Eternal King,⁸ will sit when he comes down to visit the earth for good. And this beautiful⁹ fragrant tree – and no *creature of flesh* has authority to touch it until the great judgement when he will take vengeance on all and will bring *everything* to a consummation¹⁰ for ever¹¹ – this¹² will be given to the righteous and humble.¹³ From its fruit life will be given to the chosen; towards the north¹⁴ it will be planted, in¹⁵ a holy place, by the house of the Lord, the Eternal King.¹⁶ Then they will rejoice with joy and be glad in¹⁷ the holy *place*; they¹⁸ will each¹⁹ draw the fragrance of it into their

¹⁵ and honoured: Gk.^a om.

¹⁶ Gk.^a 'and was the leader of them'.

¹ me: D'AOXB' Gk.^a om.; Gk.^a adds 'and why did you wonder'.

² Gk.^a 'and why do you wish to learn the truth?'

³ Enoch: QD' Gk.^a om.

⁴ saying: Gk.^a om.

⁵ me: GD' Gk.^a om.

⁶ which you saw: Gk.^a om.

⁷ Gk.^a 'of God'.

⁸ the Holy . . . King: Gk.^a 'the Great Lord, the Holy One of Glory, the King of Eternity'.

⁹ beautiful: GMQT'UD' Gk.^a (below) om.

¹⁰ So GTD': other Eth. MSS 'and *everything* is brought to a consummation'.

¹¹ Gk.^a 'And as for this fragrant tree, no *creature of flesh* has authority to touch it until the great judgement when *there will be* vengeance on all and a consummation for ever'.

¹² this: so Eth. I (literally 'this therefore'); Eth. II 'that'.

¹³ Gk.^a 'Then it will be given to the righteous and holy'.

¹⁴ From its fruit . . . towards the north: Gk.^a 'Its fruit *will be* to the chosen as food for life'; D' is corrupt, but in part supports Gk.^a. The difference in Greek between 'towards the north' (all Eth. MSS) and 'as food' (Gk.^a) is only one letter.

¹⁵ Gk.^a 'and it will be transplanted to'.

¹⁶ Gk.^a 'of God, the King of Eternity'.

¹⁷ D' 'and in'.

¹⁸ GQOB'C' 'and they'.

¹⁹ each: GMQT'UD'K'N om.

bones,²⁰ and they will live a long life on earth, as your fathers lived, and in their days sorrow and pain and toil²¹ and punishment²² will not touch them. Then I blessed the Lord²³ of Glory, the Eternal King,²⁴ because he²⁵ has prepared such things for righteous men, and has created such things²⁶ and said that they are to be given to them.

XXVI. And from there I went to the middle of the earth and saw a blessed, *well-watered*,¹ place² which had branches which remained *alive* and sprouted from a tree which had been cut down. And there I saw a holy mountain, and under the mountain, to the east of it, *there was* water and it flowed towards the south. And I saw towards the east another mountain which was of the same height,³ and between them *there was* a deep and narrow valley; and in it a stream ran by⁴ the mountain. And to the west of this one *was* another mountain which was lower than it, and not high; and under it *there was* a valley between them, and *there were* other deep and dry valleys⁵ at the end of the three mountains.⁶ And all the valleys *were* deep and narrow,⁷ of hard rock, and trees were⁸ planted on them. And I was amazed at the rock and I was amazed⁹ at the valley; I was very much amazed.

²⁰ and be glad . . . their bones: Gk.^a 'and be glad and into the holy *place* they will enter; the fragrance of it *will be* in their bones'.

²¹ Eth. I 'and torment'.

²² sorrow . . . punishment: Gk.^a 'torment and plague and punishment'.

²³ MTUD' Gk.^a 'the God'; C' om. 'of glory'.

²⁴ Gk.^a 'the King of Eternity'.

²⁵ because he: Gk.^a 'who'.

²⁶ such things: Gk.^a 'them'.

¹ *well-watered*: Gk.^a om.; Q om. 'a blessed, *well-watered*, place'.

² Gk.^a adds 'where *there were* trees'.

³ Q Gk.^a 'which was higher than this'; D' is corrupt, but supports Q Gk.^a.

⁴ Gk.^a 'under'.

⁵ and under . . . dry valleys: Gk.^a 'and *there was* a deep and dry valley between them, and another deep and dry valley'; GMQUD' partially support the reading 'and another deep and dry valley'.

⁶ mountains: so Gk.^a; Eth. om.

⁷ and narrow: Gk.^a om.

⁸ Gk.^a 'were not'.

⁹ at the rock and I was amazed: Gk.^a om.

XXVII. Then¹ I said, What is the purpose of this blessed land which is completely full of trees and of this accursed valley² in the middle of them? Then Raphael,³ one of the holy angels who was with me, answered me and said to me, This⁴ accursed valley⁵ is for those who are cursed for ever; here will be gathered together all⁶ who speak with their mouths against the Lord words that are not fitting and say hard things about his glory. Here they will gather them together, and here *will be* their place of judgement.⁷ And in the last days there will be the spectacle of the righteous judgement upon them, before the righteous for ever, for evermore; here the merciful⁸ will bless the Lord of Glory, the Eternal King.⁹ And in the days of the judgement on them they will bless him¹⁰ on account of his mercy, according as he has assigned to them *their lot*. Then I myself¹¹ blessed the Lord of Glory and I addressed him,¹² and I remembered his majesty, as was fitting.¹³

XXVIII. And from there I went towards the east¹ to the middle of the mountain² of the wilderness, and I saw only desert. But *it was* full of trees³ from this seed, and⁴ water gushed out over it⁵ from

¹ Gk.^a 'And'.

² and of this accursed valley: Gk.^a 'and *why is this valley accursed?*'

³ Raphael: so OP²B'; all other Eth. MSS 'Uriel'.

⁴ in the middle . . . to me, This: Gk.^a om.

⁵ valley: Gk.^a 'land', but Gk.^a has probably transliterated the original Semitic word instead of translating it.

⁶ D' Gk.^a add 'the accursed'.

⁷ Gk.^a 'will be *their dwelling*'.

⁸ Gk.^a 'In the last ages, in the days of the true judgement before the righteous for ever, here the impious'.

⁹ Gk.^a 'the King of Eternity'.

¹⁰ him: Gk.^a om.

¹¹ myself: GMQT¹UD' Gk.^a om.

¹² and I addressed him: Gk.^a 'and I proclaimed his glory'.

¹³ and I remembered . . . fitting: so Eth., but probably corrupt; Gk.^a 'and I sang his praises in a way befitting his majesty'.

¹ towards the east: Gk.^a om.

² of the mountain: Gk.^a om.

³ and I saw . . . full of trees: so Eth.II, although the text is awkward (lit. 'and I saw it only desert etc.'): GMQT¹U Gk.^a 'and I saw it desert, and *it was* isolated, full of trees'; D' 'and I saw a desert, and *it was* isolated, full of trees'.

⁴ D' 'and from this seed'; Gk.^a 'and from the seeds'. But the text appears to be corrupt.

⁵ over it: Q om.

3 above. The torrent, which flowed towards the north-west, seemed copious, and from all sides there went up⁶ . . . water and dew.⁷

XXIX. And I went¹ to another place *away* from² the wilderness; I³ came near to the east of this mountain. And there⁴ I saw trees of judgement,⁵ especially vessels of the fragrance of incense and myrrh,⁶ and the⁷ trees were not alike.⁸

XXX. And above it, above these, above the mountains of the east, and not far away,¹ I saw another² place, valleys of water³ like that which does not fail.⁴ And I saw a beautiful tree and its fragrance was like that of the mastic.⁵ And by the banks of these valleys I saw fragrant cinnamon. And beyond those⁶ valleys I came near towards the east.

⁶ All Eth. MSS add 'and from there', but the words may have been misplaced from the beginning of xxix. 1.

⁷ water gushed . . . and dew: Gk.^a 'water gushed out from above; flowing like a copious watercourse towards the north-west from all sides it sent up water and dew'.

¹ Gk.^a 'From there I went yet'.

² *away* from: Gk.^a 'in'.

³ D' Gk.^a 'and I'.

⁴ there: Q Gk.^a om.

⁵ trees of judgement: so Eth. Gk.^a, but perhaps a corruption in the original Aramaic of 'fragrant trees'.

⁶ especially . . . myrrh: so Eth., but the text is corrupt; Gk.^a 'which smelt of the fragrance of incense and myrrh'.

⁷ D' Gk.^a 'their'.

⁸ GMQT¹UD' 'were alike'; Gk.^a 'were like the almond tree'.

¹ And above it . . . not far away: so Eth, but corrupt; Gk.^a 'And beyond these I went towards the east, far away, and'; Aram. (so far as it exists) supports Gk.^a. Eth.I and some Eth.II MSS read 'and' before 'I saw'.

² Gk.^a adds 'large'.

³ GMQT¹D' Gk.^a 'a valley of water'; U defective.

⁴ like that . . . not fail: Gk.^a om.

⁵ So Eth.II: QT 'And I saw a beautiful tree which was like a fragrant tree like the mastic'; other Eth.I MSS corrupt or defective; Gk.^a (?) 'where also *there was* a tree, the colour of fragrant plants like the mastic'. Underlying Eth. 'beautiful tree', 'fragrant tree' is the O.T. 'sweet cane' or 'aromatic cane' as the fragmentary Aram. makes clear.

⁶ Gk.^a 'these'.

XXXI. And I saw another mountain¹ on which there were trees,² and there flowed out water, and there flowed out³ from it⁴ as it were⁵ a nectar whose name is styrax and galbanum. And beyond this mountain⁶ I saw another mountain, and on it *there were* aloë trees,⁷ and those trees *were* full of a fruit which *is* like an almond and *is* hard.⁸ And when they take⁹ this fruit, it is better than any fragrance.¹⁰

XXXII. And after these fragrances, to the north,¹ as I looked over the mountains,² I saw seven mountains³ full of fine hard and fragrant trees⁴ and cinnamon⁵ and pepper. And from there I went over the summits of those mountains,⁶ far away to the east,⁷ and I

¹ Eth. I EKNP¹ Gk.^a Aram. 'other mountains'.

² Gk.^a 'and on them *there were* groves of trees'; Aram. 'and also on them I saw trees'.

³ water, and there flowed out: GT²UD' Gk.^a om.; AC' om. 'and there flowed out'; MQ defective.

⁴ from it (the mountain?): so Eth., but might perhaps also be translated 'from them'; Gk.^a 'from them'.

⁵ as it were: Gk.^a om.

⁶ D' Gk.^a Aram. 'these mountains'.

⁷ and on it . . . aloë trees: Gk.^a om., but has instead 'to the east of the ends of the earth'.

⁸ and those trees . . . hard: Gk.^a 'and all the trees *were* full immediately (?) in the likeness of almonds'. Only the latter part of Aram. can be clearly read, '. . . and it is like the husks of (or 'the bark of') . . .': in the Aramaic original underlying Gk.^a the word for 'fruit' may have been confused with the word for 'thereupon, immediately'.

⁹ So Eth., but corrupt for 'crush' (Gk.^a Aram.).

¹⁰ Gk.^a is partially corrupt, 'When they crush *it*; therefore *it* is more fragrant than any fragrance'.

¹ And after . . . the north: Gk.^a 'To the north-east'; Aram. 'And beyond these [. . .], to the north-east of them'.

² as I looked . . . mountains: Gk.^a Aram. om.

³ Aram. 'I was shown other mountains'.

⁴ fragrant trees: so Eth. (representing here the O.T. 'aromatic cane?'); Gk.^a 'mastic'; Aram. (?) 'pepperwort'.

⁵ Aram. 'cardamon'.

⁶ Gk.^a 'over the beginnings of all these mountains'; Aram. 'to the east of all these mountains'.

⁷ D' Gk.^a 'far away to the east of the earth'; Aram. 'far from them to the east of the earth'.

went over the Red Sea and I was far from it,⁸ and I went over the angel Zotiel.⁹ And I came to the Garden of Righteousness, and I saw beyond those trees many large trees¹⁰ growing¹¹ there, sweet-smelling, large, very beautiful and glorious,¹² and the tree of wisdom¹³ from which they¹⁴ eat and know great wisdom.¹⁵ And it is like the carob-tree,¹⁵ and its fruit *is* like the bunches of grapes on a vine, very beautiful, and the smell of this tree spreads and penetrates afar.¹⁶ And¹⁷ I said, This tree *is* beautiful! How beautiful!¹⁸ and pleasing *is* its appearance!¹⁹ And¹⁷ the holy angel Raphael, who was with me, answered me and said to me,²⁰ This is the tree of wisdom from which your old father and your aged mother, who were before you, ate²¹ and learnt wisdom; and their eyes were opened, and they knew that they were naked, and they were driven from the garden.

XXXIII. And from there I went to the ends of the earth and I saw there large animals, each different from the other, and also birds which differed in form, beauty and call – each different from the other. And to the east of these animals I saw the ends of the earth on which heaven rests, and the open gates of heaven. And I saw

⁸ and I was far from it: Gk.^a (?) 'and I went to the outermost ends', but probably corrupt for 'and I went far away'; Aram. 'and I went far from it'.

⁹ Gk.^a 'and from this I went over Zotiel'; Aram. 'and I went over the darkness, far from it'.

¹⁰ beyond those trees . . . trees: Gk.^a 'from far away more trees than these trees, and large'.

¹¹ growing: Gk.^a (corrupt) 'two'.

¹² sweet-smelling . . . glorious: Gk.^a 'very large, beautiful, and glorious, and magnificent'.

¹³ Gk.^a 'knowledge'.

¹⁴ from which they: Gk.^a 'whose fruit the holy ones'.

¹⁵ Gk.^a 'That tree *is* like the fir in height, but its leaves *are* like *those of* the carob-tree'.

¹⁶ Q 'and the smell of this tree spreads very far'; Gk.^a 'and its smell spreads far from the tree'.

¹⁷ Gk.^a 'Then'.

¹⁸ How beautiful: Q om.

¹⁹ This tree . . . its appearance: Gk.^a 'How beautiful the tree *is*, and how pleasing in appearance!'

²⁰ me and said to me: Gk.^a om.

²¹ Gk.^a 'This *is* the tree of knowledge from which your father ate' (Gk.^a ends here).

how the stars of heaven come out, and counted the gates out of which they come, and wrote down all their outlets, for each one individually according to their number and their names, according to their constellations, their positions, their times and their months, as the angel Uriel, who was with me,¹ showed me. And he showed me everything and wrote it down, and also their names he wrote down for me, and their laws and their functions.²

XXXIV. And from there I went towards the north to the ends of the earth, and there I saw a great and glorious wonder¹ at the ends of the whole earth. And there I saw three gates of heaven open in heaven; through each of them north winds go out; when they blow, *there is* cold, hail, hoar-frost, snow, dew and rain. And from one gate it blows for good; but when they blow through the other two gates, it is with force and it brings torment over the earth, and they blow with force.

XXXV. And from there I went towards the west to the ends of the earth, and I saw there, as I saw in the east, three open gates – as many gates and as many outlets.

XXXVI. And from there I went towards the south to the ends of the earth, and there I saw three gates of heaven open; and the south wind and dew and rain and wind come out from there. And from there I went towards the east of the ends of heaven, and there I saw the three eastern gates of heaven open, and above them *there were* smaller gates. Through each of those smaller gates the stars of heaven pass and go towards the west on the path which has been shown to them. And when I saw, I blessed, and I will always bless¹ the Lord of Glory who has made great and glorious wonders that he might show the greatness of his work to his angels and to the

¹ the angel . . . with me: Eth.I 'Uriel, the angel who *was* with me, the holy one'.

² Eth.I 'groups'.

¹ GQT¹U 'a great and glorious plan'; D' 'the throne of the Great and Glorious One'.

¹ GMQT¹UD'K 'And whenever I saw, I always blessed, and I will bless'.

souls of men,² that they might praise his work, and that all his creatures might see³ the work of his power and praise the great work of his hands and bless him for ever.

XXXVII. The second vision which he saw, the vision of wisdom which Enoch, the son of Jared, the son of Malalel, the son of Cainan, the son of Enosh, the son of Seth, the son of Adam, saw.
 2 And this *is* the beginning of the words of wisdom which I raised *my voice* to speak and say to those who dwell on the dry ground. Hear, you men of old, and see, you who come after, the words of the Holy
 3 One¹ which I will speak before the Lord of Spirits. It would have been better to have said these things before, but from those who
 4 come after we will not withhold the beginning of wisdom. Until now there has not been given by the Lord of Spirits such wisdom as I have received in accordance with my insight, in accordance with the wish of the Lord of Spirits by whom the lot of eternal life has
 5 been given to me. And three parables were imparted to me, and I raised *my voice* and said to those who dwell on the dry ground,

XXXVIII. The first parable. When the community of the righteous appears, and the sinners are judged for their sins and are driven
 2 from the face of the dry ground, and when the Righteous One¹ appears before the chosen righteous whose works are weighed by the Lord of Spirits, and *when* light appears to the righteous and chosen who dwell on the dry ground, where *will be* the dwelling of the sinners, and where the resting-place of those who have denied² the Lord of Spirits?³ It would have been better for them if they had
 3 not been born. And when the secrets of the righteous are revealed, the sinners will be judged and the impious driven from the presence of the righteous and the chosen. And from then on those who possess the earth will not be mighty and exalted, nor will they be

² U¹ 'and to souls and to men'; GMQD' corrupt.

³ and that all . . . see: GM 'and all his creation, that they might see'; QT¹UD' corrupt.

¹ the words of the Holy One: so GMTD'FPB'; other MSS 'the holy words'.

¹ the Righteous One: GQTUD'A 'righteousness'.

² D' adds 'the name of'.

able to look at the face of the holy ones for the light of the Lord of Spirits will have appeared on the face of the holy, the righteous and the chosen. And the mighty kings will at that time be destroyed and given into the hand of the righteous and the holy. And from then on no one will be able to seek mercy from the Lord of Spirits, for their life will be at an end.

XXXIX. And it will come to pass in these¹ days that the chosen and holy children² will come down from the high heavens, and their offspring will become one with the sons of men. In those days Enoch received books of indignation and anger, and books of tumult and confusion. And there will be no mercy for them, says the Lord of Spirits. And at that time clouds and³ a storm-wind carried me off from the face of the earth, and set me down at the end of heaven. And there I saw another vision, the dwelling of the righteous and the resting-places of the holy.⁴ There my eyes saw their dwelling with the angels⁵ and their resting-places with the holy ones, and they were petitioning and supplicating and praying on behalf of the sons of men; and righteousness like water flowed before them and mercy like dew upon the ground. Thus it is among them for ever and ever. And in those days my eyes saw the place of the chosen ones⁶ of righteousness and faith; and there will be righteousness in their days,⁷ and the righteous and chosen will be without number before him for ever and ever. And I saw their dwelling⁸ under the wings of the Lord of Spirits, and all the righteous and chosen shone⁹ before him like the light of fire; and their mouth was full of blessing, and their lips praised the name of the Lord of Spirits. And righteousness will not fail before him, and truth will not fail before him.¹⁰ There I wished to dwell, and my

¹ GQTUD' 'those'. ² GQT²U 'the children of the chosen and holy'.

³ clouds and: GMQT¹UD' om.

⁴ righteous . . . holy: Eth.I 'holy . . . righteous'.

⁵ GMQTU 'the angels of his righteousness'; D' 'the holy angels'.

⁶ GQT¹U 'And in that place my eyes saw the chosen one (Q 'chosen ones')'; MD' 'And in those days my eyes saw the chosen one'; T² 'And in those days my eyes saw the place of the chosen one'.

⁷ GMQT¹UD' 'his days'.

⁸ GM 'his dwelling'; D' 'the dwelling'.

⁹ GQT¹UD' 'were strong'.

¹⁰ and truth . . . before him: some Eth.II MSS om.

soul¹¹ longed for that dwelling; there had my lot been assigned before, for thus it was decided about me before the Lord of Spirits. And in those days I praised and exalted the name of the Lord of Spirits with blessing and praise, for he has destined me for blessing and praise, in accordance with the wish of the Lord of Spirits. And for a long time my eyes looked at that place, and I blessed him and praised him, saying, Blessed is he, and may he be blessed from the beginning and for ever! And in his presence there is no end. He knew before the world was created what the world would be,¹² even for all the generations which are to come. Those who do not sleep bless you, and they stand before your glory and bless and praise and exalt, saying, Holy, holy, holy, Lord of Spirits; he fills the earth with spirits. And there my eyes saw all those who do not sleep standing before him and blessing and saying, Blessed are you, and blessed is the name of the Lord for ever and ever! And my face was transformed until¹³ I was unable to see.

XL. And after this I saw a thousand thousands and ten thousand times ten thousand, a multitude beyond number or reckoning, who stood before the glory of¹ the Lord of Spirits. I looked, and on the four sides of the Lord of Spirits I saw four figures² different from those who were standing;³ and I learnt their names, because the angel who went with me made known to me their names, and showed me all the secret things. And I heard the voices of those four figures as they sang praises before the Lord of Glory.⁴ The first voice blesses⁵ the Lord of Spirits for ever and ever. And the second voice I heard blessing the Chosen One and the chosen who depend on the Lord of Spirits. And the third voice I heard as they petitioned and prayed⁶ on behalf of those who dwell on the dry ground and supplicate in the name of the Lord of Spirits. And the

¹¹ GMTU 'my spirit'.

¹² what the world would be (lit. 'is'): GMQT¹UD' 'what is for ever'.

¹³ GMQT¹UD' 'for'.

¹ the glory of: some MSS om.

² figures: lit. 'faces' (and so in verses 3, 8; lxiv. 1).

³ M 'who sleep'; GQT¹(?)UD' 'who do not sleep'.

⁴ DYB' 'of Spirits'.

⁵ D' adds 'the name of'.

⁶ as they . . . prayed: so Eth., but perhaps emend to 'petitioning and praying'.

fourth voice I heard driving away the satans, and not allowing
 8 them to come before the Lord of Spirits to accuse those who dwell
 on the dry ground. And after this I asked the angel of peace who
 went with me and showed me everything which is secret,⁷ Who are
 9 these four figures whom I have seen and whose words I have heard
 and written down? And he said to me, This first one is the holy⁸
 Michael, the merciful and long-suffering; and the second, who *is* in
 charge of all the diseases and in charge of all the wounds of the sons
 of men, is Raphael; and the third, who *is* in charge of all the powers,
 is the holy⁸ Gabriel; and the fourth, who *is* in charge of the
 10 repentance *leading to hope*⁹ of those who will inherit eternal life, is¹⁰
 Phanuel. And these *are* the four angels of the Lord Most High;¹¹
 and the four voices I heard in those days.

XLII. And after this I saw all the secrets of heaven, and how the
 kingdom is divided, and how the deeds of men are weighed in the
 2 balance. There I saw the dwelling of the chosen and the resting-
 places¹ of the holy; and my eyes saw there all the sinners who deny
 the name of² the Lord of Spirits being driven from there, and they
 dragged them off,³ and they were not able to remain because of the
 3 punishment which went out from the Lord of Spirits. And there my
 eyes saw the secrets of the flashes of lightning and of the thunder,
 and the secrets of the winds, how they are distributed in order to
 blow over the earth, and the secrets of the clouds and of the dew;
 and there I saw whence they go out in that place, and *how* from
 4 there the dust of the earth is saturated. And there I saw closed
 storehouses from which the winds are distributed, and the
 storehouse of the hail,⁴ and the storehouse of the mist, and the

⁷ Some Eth.II MSS add 'and I said to him'.

⁸ the holy: Eth.I om.

⁹ the repentance *leading to hope*: some Eth.II MSS 'the repentance and hope';
 Q corrupt.

¹⁰ GMQT'UD' 'is named'.

¹¹ Eth.I 'the Lord of Spirits'.

¹ of the chosen and the resting-places: some Eth: MSS 'of the chosen and the
 dwelling(s)'; UN 'of the chosen and'; QC' om.; D' 'of the sinners and the
 communities'.

² the name of: ADXY om.

³ GQD' 'and being dragged off'.

⁴ Eth.I HOB' add 'and of the winds'.

storehouse of the clouds;⁵ and its cloud remained over the earth
 5 from the beginning of the world. And I saw the chambers⁶ of the
 sun and the moon, whence they go out and whither they return,
 and their glorious return, and how one is more honoured than the
 other, and their magnificent course, and *how* they do not leave the
 course, neither adding *anything* to, nor omitting *anything* from their
 course, and *how* they keep faith with one another, observing *their*
 6 oath. And the sun goes out first and completes its journey at the
 command of the Lord of Spirits – and his name endures for ever
 7 and ever. And after this *begins* the hidden⁷ and visible journey of the
 moon, and it travels the course of its journey in that place by day
 and by night. One stands opposite the other before⁸ the Lord of
 Spirits, and they give thanks, and sing praises, and do not rest,
 8 because their thanksgiving is rest for them. For the shining⁹ sun
 makes many revolutions, for a blessing and for a curse, and the
 path of the journey of the moon *is* for the righteous light, but for the
 sinners darkness, in the name of the Lord¹⁰ who has created *a*
division between light and darkness, and has divided the spirits of
 men, and has established the spirits of the righteous in the name of
 9 his righteousness. For no angel hinders,¹¹ and no power¹² is able to
 hinder, because the Judge sees them all and judges them all before
 himself.

XLIII. Wisdom found no place where she could dwell, and her
 2 dwelling was in heaven. Wisdom went out in order to dwell among
 the sons of men, but did not find a dwelling; wisdom returned to
 3 her place and took her seat in the midst of the angels. And iniquity
 came out from her chambers; those whom she did not seek she
 found, and dwelt among them, like rain in the desert, and like dew
 on parched ground.

⁵ and the storehouse of the clouds: so APX; GU²D' om.; many MSS 'and of the
 clouds'.

⁶ Lit. 'storehouses'.

⁷ U 'And after this I saw the hidden'.

⁸ MT'UD' add 'the glory of'.

⁹ GQT'UD' om.

¹⁰ D' adds 'of Spirits'.

¹¹ GT'D'Y 'is able'.

¹² D' 'and no satan'.

XLIII. And again I saw flashes of lightning and the stars of heaven, and I saw how he called them all¹ by their names, and they obeyed him. And I saw the balance of righteousness, how they are weighed according to their light, according to the width of their areas and the day of their appearing, and *how* their revolutions produce lightning;² and I saw their revolutions according to the number of the angels, and *how* they keep faith with one another. And I asked the angel who went with me and showed me what was secret, What are these? And he said to me, Their likeness has the Lord of Spirits shown to you; these are the names of the righteous³ who dwell on the dry ground and believe in the name of⁴ the Lord of Spirits for ever and ever.

XLIV. And other things I saw in regard to lightning, how some of the stars rise and become lightning, but cannot loose their form.¹

XLV. And this *is* the second parable about those who deny the name of the dwelling of the holy ones and of the Lord of Spirits.¹ They will not ascend into heaven, nor will they come upon earth: such will be the lot of the sinners who deny² the name of the Lord of Spirits, who will thus be kept for the day of affliction and distress. On that day the³ Chosen One will sit on the throne of glory, and will choose⁴ their works, and their resting-places will be without

¹ GMQD' om.

² and *how* . . . lightning: so Eth.I; T² Eth.II 'and their revolution, and *how* lightning produces lightning'.

³ Eth.I 'the holy'.

⁴ and believe in the name of: D' 'and do not believe in'.

¹ loose their form: D' 'stay with them'.

¹ the name . . . Spirits: so T² Eth.II, but T²B' read 'community' for 'dwelling'; GMQT¹U 'the name of the dwelling of the holy ones and the Lord of Spirits' (M om. 'the name of'); D'N 'the name of the Lord of Spirits and of the community (N 'and the dwelling') of the holy ones'.

² GQTU 'have denied'.

³ GQT¹UD' 'my'.

⁴ So all Eth. MSS (perhaps a mistranslation of an Aramaic word which can mean both 'to choose' and 'to test').

number; and their spirits⁵ within them will grow strong when they see my Chosen One⁶ and those who appeal to my⁷ holy and⁸ glorious name. And on that day I will cause my Chosen One to dwell among them,⁹ and I will transform heaven and make it an eternal blessing and light. And I will transform the dry ground and make it a blessing, and I will cause my chosen ones to dwell upon it; but those who commit sin and evil will not tread upon it. For I have seen, and have satisfied with peace, my righteous ones, and have placed them before me; but for the sinners my judgement¹⁰ draws near before me,¹¹ that I may destroy them from the face of the earth.

XLVI. And there I saw one who had a head of days, and his head *was* white like wool; and with him *there was* another, whose face had the appearance of a man, and his face *was* full of grace, like one of the holy angels. And I asked one of the holy angels¹ who went with me, and showed me all the secrets, about that Son of Man,² who he was, and whence he was, and why he went with the Head³ of Days. And he answered me and said to me, This is the Son of Man who has righteousness, and with whom righteousness dwells; he will reveal all the treasures of that which is secret, for the Lord of Spirits has chosen him, and through uprightness his lot has surpassed all⁴ before the Lord of Spirits for ever. And this Son of Man whom you have seen will rouse the kings and the powerful from their resting-places, and the strong from their thrones, and will loose the reins of the strong, and will break the teeth of the sinners. And he will cast down the kings from their thrones and from their kingdoms, for

⁵ Eth.I 'souls'.

⁶ Some Eth. MSS 'my chosen ones'; D' corrupt.

⁷ C' 'his'.

⁸ holy and: GMQT¹UD' om.

⁹ C 'I will cause him to dwell among my chosen ones', and so in effect G; QUD¹Y¹ read 'my chosen ones', but in other respects are corrupt or defective.

¹⁰ T² and some Eth.II MSS 'but for the sinners judgement'; GMQT¹U 'but the judgement of the sinners'.

¹¹ D' (?) 'but the sinners draw near before me in judgement'.

¹ Eth.I and BCDP¹ 'one of the angels'; C' 'the angel of peace'.

² D' 'about the one who was born from men'.

³ P¹ 'the Ancient'.

⁴ Lit. 'his lot has conquered all'; GMT¹UD¹EFH¹K 'his lot has been victorious'; CDY 'he has surpassed all'; Q defective.

they do not exalt him, and do not praise him, and do not humbly
 6 acknowledge whence *their* kingdom was given to them. And he will
 cast down the faces of the strong, and shame will fill them, and
 darkness will be their dwelling, and worms will be their resting-
 7 places; and they will have no hope of rising from their resting-
 places, for they do not exalt the name of the Lord of Spirits. And
 these are they who judge the stars of heaven, and raise their hands
 against the Most High, and trample upon the dry ground, and
 dwell upon it; and all their deeds show iniquity,⁵ and their power
 rests on their riches, and their faith is in the gods which they have
 8 made with their hands, and they deny the name of the Lord of
 Spirits.⁶ And they will be driven from the houses of his con-
 gregation,⁷ and of the faithful who depend on the name of⁸ the Lord
 of Spirits.

XLVII. And in those days the prayer of the righteous and the blood
 of the righteous¹ will have ascended from the earth before the Lord
 2 of Spirits. In these days the holy ones who dwell in the heavens
 above will unite with one voice, and supplicate, and pray, and
 praise, and give thanks, and bless in the name of² the Lord of
 Spirits, because of the blood of the righteous which has been
 poured out, and *because of* the prayer of the righteous, that it may
 not cease³ before the Lord of Spirits, that justice may be done to
 3 them, and *that* their patience may not have to last for ever. And in
 those days I saw the Head⁴ of Days sit down on the throne of his

⁵ So UEN²: QB' 'and all their deeds *are* iniquity'; all other MSS, although differing in detail, have a double reading, e.g. GMD' 'and all their deeds show iniquity, and all their deeds *are* iniquity'.

⁶ and they deny . . . Spirits: C' om.; G om. 'the name of'.

⁷ GT' 'And they persecute the houses of his congregation'; MU have an impossi-
 ble combination of both readings; D' 'And they will desire the congregation of his
 houses'.⁸ the name of: D' om.

¹ and the blood of the righteous: here all MSS except MQ have 'the righteous' in the singular, but the form is to be understood as a collective (cp. verse 4); M does have 'the righteous' in the plural; Q om. 'the blood' and reads 'and of righteousness'. The preceding and following occurrences of 'the righteous' in verses 1f. are all in the plural.

² in the name of: U om.; GMQD'ABCE 'the name of'.

³ Or 'that it may not be in vain'.

⁴ C' 'the Ancient'.

glory, and the books of the living were opened before him, and all
 his host, which *dwells* in the heavens above, and his council were
 4 standing before him. And the hearts of the holy ones were full of joy
 that the number of righteousness⁵ had been reached,⁶ and the
 prayer of the righteous⁷ had been heard, and the blood of the
 righteous⁸ had been required before the Lord of Spirits.

XLVIII. And in that place I saw an inexhaustible spring of right-
 eousness, and many springs of wisdom surrounded it, and all the
 thirsty drank from them and were filled with wisdom, and their
 2 dwelling *was* with the righteous and the holy and the chosen. And
 at that hour that Son of Man was named in the presence of the
 Lord of Spirits, and his name *was named* before the Head of Days.
 3 Even before the sun and the constellations were created, before the
 stars of heaven were made, his name was named before the Lord of
 4 Spirits. He will be a staff to the righteous and the holy,¹ that they
 may lean on him and not fall, and he *will be* the light of the nations,
 5 and he will be the hope of those who grieve in their hearts. All those
 who dwell upon the dry ground will fall down and worship before
 him, and they will bless, and praise, and celebrate with psalms the
 6 name of² the Lord of Spirits. And because of this he was chosen and
 7 hidden before him before the world was created, and for ever. But
 the wisdom of the Lord of Spirits has revealed him to the holy and
 the righteous, for he has kept safe the lot of the righteous, for they
 have hated and rejected this world of iniquity, and all its works and
 its ways they have hated in the name of the Lord of Spirits; for in
 his name they are saved, and he is the one who will require their
 8 lives.³ And in those days the kings of the earth and the strong who
 possess the dry ground will have downcast faces because of the

⁵ MD' 'of the righteous' – the form is in the singular, but is to be understood as a collective (cp. below and verse 1).

⁶ Eth.I 'had drawn near'.

⁷ of the righteous: QC' 'of the holy' – in both cases the forms are plural.

⁸ of the righteous: the form is singular, but is to be understood as a collective (cp. above and verse 1).

¹ and the holy: GMQT'UD' om.

² the name of: GTU om.

³ and he . . . their lives: G(?) 'and according to his wish has it been in regard to their lives'; Q corrupt; D'OYB' 'and his wish has been for their lives'.

works of their hands, for on the day of their distress and trouble
 9 they will not save themselves. And I will give them into the hands
 of my chosen ones; like straw in the fire, and like lead in water, so
 they will burn before the righteous,⁴ and sink before the holy,⁵ and
 10 no trace will be found of them. And on the day of their trouble there
 will be rest⁶ on the earth, and they will fall down before him⁷ and
 will not rise; and there will be no one who will take them with his
 hands and raise them, for they denied the Lord of Spirits and his
 Messiah. May the name of the Lord of Spirits be blessed!

XLIX. For wisdom¹ has been poured out like water, and glory will
 2 not fail² before him for ever and ever. For he *is* powerful in all the
 secrets of righteousness, and iniquity will pass away like a shadow,
 and will have no existence,³ for the Chosen One stands before the
 Lord of Spirits, and his glory *is* for ever and ever, and his power for
 3 all generations. And in him dwells the spirit of wisdom, and the
 spirit which gives understanding,⁴ and the spirit of knowledge and
 4 of power, and the spirit of those who sleep in righteousness. And he
 will judge the things that are secret, and no one will be able to say
 an idle word before him, for he *has been* chosen⁵ before the Lord of
 Spirits, in accordance with his wish.

L. And in those days a change will occur for the holy and the
 2 chosen; the light¹ of days will rest upon them, and glory and
 honour will return to the holy. And on the day of trouble calamity
 will be heaped up² over the sinners, but the righteous will conquer

⁴ GQTUD' 'the holy'.

⁵ GMQTU 'the righteous'.

⁶ D' 'a stumbling block'.

⁷ Eth.I C' 'before them'.

¹ BCX 'the spirit of wisdom'.

² D' 'will be inexhaustible' (lit. 'will be uncountable' or 'will be immeasurable').

³ Lit. 'no place to stand'.

⁴ So GQUBPXC': other MSS 'and the spirit of the one who gives understanding'.

⁵ G 'dedicated' or 'devoted'.

¹ T 'the Ancient'.

² calamity will be heaped up: G 'on which calamity will have been heaped up'; MT¹U corrupt; Q 'calamity will have been heaped up'; D' 'he will have heaped up calamity'.

in the name of the Lord of Spirits; and he will show *this* to others
 3 that they may repent and abandon the works of their hands. And
 they will have no³ honour before⁴ the Lord of Spirits, but in his
 name they will be saved; and the Lord of Spirits will have mercy on
 4 them, for his mercy *is* great. And he *is* righteous in his judgement,
 and before his glory iniquity will not *be able to* stand at his judge-
 5 ment: he who does not repent before him will be destroyed. And
 from then on I will not have mercy on them, says the Lord of
 Spirits.

LI. And in those days the earth will return that which has been
 entrusted to it, and Sheol will return that which has been entrusted
 to it, that which it has received,¹ and destruction will return what it
 2 owes. And he will choose the righteous and holy from among them,
 3 for the day has come near that they must be saved. And in those
 days the Chosen One² will sit on his³ throne, and all the secrets of
 wisdom will flow out from the counsel of his mouth, for the Lord of
 4 Spirits has appointed him and glorified him. And in those days the
 mountains will leap like rams, and the hills will skip like lambs
 5 satisfied with milk, and all will become angels in heaven. Their
 faces will shine with joy, for in those days the Chosen One will have
 risen; and the earth will rejoice, and the righteous will dwell upon
 it, and the chosen will go and walk upon it.

LII. And after those days, in that place where I had seen all the
 visions of that which is secret – for I had been carried off by a
 2 whirlwind, and they had brought me to the west – there my eyes
 saw the secrets of heaven, everything that will occur on earth:¹ a
³ no: U and some Eth.II MSS om. ⁴ GMQT¹UD' 'in the name of.

¹ the earth . . . has received: so Eth.II, and Q is all but identical; G 'the earth will return those who are stored up in it, and Sheol will return that which it has received'; M 'the earth and Sheol will return that which has been entrusted to it, that which it has received'; TUD' 'Sheol will return that which has been entrusted to it, (T² adds 'and the earth') that which it has received'.

² QT¹ 'And in those days my Chosen One'; D' 'and chosen. In those days he'.

³ GMQT¹UD' 'my'.

¹ GMQTU 'all the secret *things* of heaven that will occur (QT² add 'on earth')'; D' 'all the secrets of heaven and what will occur'.

mountain of iron, and a mountain of copper, and a mountain of silver, and a mountain of gold, and a mountain of soft metal, and a mountain of lead. And I asked the angel who went with me, saying, What are these *things* which I have seen in secret? And he said to me, All these *things* which you have seen serve the authority of his Messiah, that he may be strong and powerful on the earth. And that angel of peace answered me, saying, Wait a little, and you will see,² and everything which is secret, which the Lord of Spirits has established,³ will be revealed to you. And these mountains which you have seen,⁴ the mountain of iron, and the mountain of copper, and the mountain of silver, and the mountain of gold, and the mountain of soft metal, and the mountain of lead – all these before the Chosen One will be like wax before fire, and like the water which comes down from above on⁵ these mountains, and they will become weak under⁶ his feet. And it will come to pass in those days that neither by gold, nor by silver, will men save themselves; they will be unable to save themselves or⁷ to flee. And there will be neither iron for war, nor material⁸ for a breast-plate;⁹ bronze will be of no use, and tin will be of no use and will count for nothing, and lead will not be wanted. All these will be wiped out and destroyed from the face of the earth, when the Chosen One appears before the Lord of Spirits.

LIII. And there my eyes saw a deep valley, and its mouth *was* open;¹ and all those who dwell upon the dry ground and the sea and the islands will bring gifts and presents and offerings to him,

² and you will see: Eth.I om.

³ GQT'UD' (?) 'which surrounds the Lord of Spirits'.

⁴ GMQTU 'your eyes have seen'; D' 'you have seen with your eyes'.

⁵ on: D' om. ⁶ Many MSS 'before'.

⁷ to save themselves or: GMQD' om.

⁸ material: lit. 'clothing, covering'; for the noun 'material' QD', although corrupt, have verbal forms which may point to an original text 'nor will men put on a breast-plate'. After 'material' (or its equivalent) GMQT add by dittography 'for war, nor material'.

⁹ nor material for a breast-plate: U 'nor a coat of mail for the breast'.

¹ So Eth.II: D' is partially corrupt, but reads 'deep valleys, and their mouth(s) were open'; GMQTU also read 'their mouths' (QT 'their mouth'), but otherwise have an awkward or corrupt text.

2 but that deep valley will not become full. And their hands commit evil, and everything at which *the righteous* toil, the sinners evilly devour;² and *so* the sinners will be destroyed from before the Lord of Spirits, and will be banished from the face of his earth, unceasingly,³ for ever and ever. For I saw⁴ the angels of punishment going⁵ and preparing all the instruments of Satan. And I asked the angel of peace who went with me, and I said to him,⁶ These instruments – for whom are they preparing them? And he said to me,⁷ They are preparing these⁸ for the kings and the powerful of this earth, that by means of them they may be destroyed. And after this the Righteous and Chosen One will cause the house of his congregation to appear; from then on, in the name of the Lord of Spirits, they will not be hindered. And before him⁹ these mountains will not¹⁰ be *firm* like the earth, and the hills will be like a spring of water; and the righteous will have rest from the ill-treatment of the sinners.

LIV. And I looked and turned to another part of the earth, and I saw there a deep valley with burning fire. And they brought the kings and the powerful and threw them into that¹ valley. And there my eyes saw how they made instruments for them – iron chains of immeasurable weight. And I asked the angel of peace who went with me, saying, These chain-instruments – for whom are they being prepared? And he said to me, These are being prepared for the hosts of Azazel, that they may take them and throw them into

² and everything . . . devour: so Eth.II, but the text is difficult and possibly corrupt; the Eth.I MSS do not provide a better text.

³ Lit. 'and they will not cease'; T'D' 'and they will cease' (i.e. 'and they will perish').

⁴ Eth.I N add 'all'.

⁵ Eth.I and some Eth.II MSS 'remaining'.

⁶ and I said to him: so NP²; all other MSS om.

⁷ D' 'And he answered me'; GMTD' add 'saying'.

⁸ They are preparing these: QU om.; GMT om. 'They are preparing', but read 'these' in the accusative.

⁹ before him (lit. 'before his face'): GT'UD' 'before his righteousness'; M. corrupt.

¹⁰ D'BCXC' om.

¹ Q and some Eth.II MSS 'the'; many MSS add 'deep'.

the lowest part of Hell; and they will cover their jaws with rough
 6 stones, as the Lord of Spirits commanded. And Michael and
 Gabriel, Raphael² and Phanuel – these will take hold of them on
 that great day, and throw them³ on that day into the furnace of
 burning fire,⁴ that the Lord of Spirits may⁵ take vengeance on
 7 them⁶ for their iniquity, in that they became servants of Satan and
 led astray those who dwell upon the dry ground. And in those days
 the punishment of the Lord of Spirits will go out, and all the
 8 storehouses of the waters which *are* above the heavens⁷ . . . and
 under the earth⁸ will be opened,⁹ and all the waters will be joined
 with the waters¹⁰ which *are* above the heavens.¹¹ The water¹² which
 9 is above heaven is male, and the water¹³ which is under the earth is
 female: And all those who dwell upon the dry ground and those
 10 who dwell under the ends of heaven will be wiped out. And because
 of this¹⁴ they will acknowledge¹⁵ their iniquity which they have
 committed on the earth, and through this¹⁶ they will be destroyed.

LV. And after this the Head of Days repented and said, I have
 destroyed to no purpose¹ all those who dwell upon the dry ground.
 2 And he swore by his great Name, From now on I will not act like
 this¹ towards all those who dwell upon the dry ground; and I will

² Gabriel, Raphael: MTUD' 'Raphael, Gabriel'.

³ and throw them: QD' om.; GM om. 'throw them'.

⁴ GMT'UD' 'into the burning furnace'; QY 'into the burning fire'.

⁵ D' 'for the Lord of Spirits will'. ⁶ on them: G om.

⁷ All MSS except B' add 'and in addition to the springs which are under the heavens' or similar.

⁸ and under the earth: QU 'and the springs which *are* under the earth'; GM corrupt; D' om.

⁹ and all the storehouses . . . will be opened: GT'U 'and will open all the storehouses . . .'; M 'and all the storehouses . . . will have been opened'; D' 'and he will open all the storehouses . . .'

¹⁰ with the waters: T'UN om.; Q corrupt.

¹¹ which *are* above the heavens: Eth.I N om.

¹² The water: GMT'UN 'That'. ¹³ and the water: D' 'and that'.

¹⁴ Q 'Because of this'; TUE 'And because'; D' 'because'.

¹⁵ D' 'they have not acknowledged'.

¹⁶ and through this: so MT'U; Q Eth.II 'and because of this'; T² 'and because of this through this'; G 'and this'; D' 'and through it'; C' om.

¹ like this: GMT'UD'X om.

put a sign in heaven, and it will be a pledge of faith between me and
 3 them for ever, so long as heaven *is* above the earth. And this will be
 in accordance with my command;² when I want to take hold of
 them by the hand of the angels on the day of distress and pain in the
 face of this my anger and my wrath,³ my wrath and my anger will
 4 remain upon them,⁴ says the Lord,⁵ the Lord of Spirits. You
 powerful kings, who dwell upon the dry ground, will be obliged to
 watch my Chosen One⁶ sit down on the throne of my glory,⁷ and
 judge, in the name of the Lord of Spirits, Azazel and all his
 associates and all his hosts.

LVI. And I saw there the hosts of the angels of punishment as they
 2 went, and they were holding¹ chains of iron and bronze. And I
 asked the angel of peace who went with me, saying, To whom are
 3 those who are holding *the chains* going? And he said to me, Each to
 his own chosen ones and to his own beloved ones,² that they may be
 4 thrown into the chasm in the depths of the valley. And then that
 valley will be filled with their chosen and beloved ones, and the
 days of their life will be at an end, and the days of their leading
 5 astray will no longer be counted. And in those days the angels will
 gather together,³ and will throw themselves towards the east upon
 the Parthians and Medes; they will stir up the kings, so that a
 disturbing spirit will come upon them, and they⁴ will drive them
 from their thrones; and they will come out like lions from their
 6 lairs, and like hungry wolves in the middle of their flocks. And they

² So GT¹: M 'And this is my command'; Q corrupt; D' 'And it will be in accordance with my command'; T²U Eth.II 'And after this it will be in accordance with my command'.

³ Eth.I 'my wrath and my anger'.

⁴ my wrath . . . upon them: some Eth.II MSS 'my anger and my wrath will remain upon them'; UD om. (hmt.); Q 'will remain upon them'; GMT'D' 'I will cause my wrath and my anger to remain upon them'.

⁵ the Lord: GMD'BCXB' om.

⁶ D' 'my chosen ones'.

⁷ GMT'UD' 'on the throne of glory'; CH'OB' 'at the right hand of the throne of my glory'.

¹ and they were holding: T¹ om.; Q om. 'and'; MUD' om. 'they were holding'.

² GMQT'UD' 'To their chosen and their beloved ones'.

³ GQ 'will return'. ⁴ DY 'it'.

will go up and trample upon⁵ the land of my⁶ chosen ones, and the land of my⁷ chosen ones will become before them a tramping-ground and a beaten track. But the city of my righteous ones will be a hindrance to their horses, and they will stir up slaughter amongst themselves, and their *own* right hand will be strong against them; and a man will not admit to knowing his neighbour or⁸ his brother, nor a son his father or⁹ his mother, until through their death¹⁰ there are corpses enough, and their punishment – it will not be in vain.¹¹

8 And in those days Sheol will open its mouth, and they will sink into it; and their destruction¹² – Sheol will swallow up the sinners before the face of the chosen.

LVII. And it came to pass after this that I saw another host of chariots, with men riding on them, and they came upon the wind¹ from the east and from the west to the south. And the sound of the noise of their chariots was heard,² and when this commotion occurred, the holy ones observed *it* from heaven, and the pillars of the earth were shaken from their foundations, and *the sound* was heard from the ends of earth to the ends of heaven³ throughout one day.⁴ And all will fall down and worship the Lord of Spirits. And this is the end of the second parable.

LVIII. And I began to speak the third¹ parable about the righteous and about the chosen. Blessed *are* you, the righteous and chosen,

⁵ T¹U 'and cover'. ⁶ my: so D'; GQT¹ 'his'; MT²U Eth.II 'their'.

⁷ my: so D'; GMQT¹U and most Eth.II MSS 'his'; T²CX 'their'.

⁸ his neighbour or: GMQT¹UD' om.

⁹ his father or: MT¹UD' om.

¹⁰ through their death: G om.; M corrupt; D' (?) 'among them'; Q corrupt in entire passage 'until . . . in vain'.

¹¹ GMUD' 'and their punishment shall not be in vain' (D' om. 'and').

¹² G adds 'will cease', and MQT²U make similar additions. But in no case do the additions provide an entirely satisfactory text.

¹ MQTUD' 'winds'; G corrupt.

² BCX om. 'the sound of'; MT¹UD' om. 'was heard'.

³ D' from the ends of heaven to the ends of earth'; GMTU 'from end to end of heaven'; Q 'from the ends of heaven'. ⁴ D' 'hour'.

¹ the third: D' 'another' or 'the second'.

3 for your lot *will be* glorious! And the righteous will be in the light of the sun, and the chosen in the light of eternal life; and there will be no end to the days of their life, and the days of the holy will be without number. And they will seek the light, and will find righteousness with the Lord of Spirits. Peace *be* to the righteous with² the Lord of the world!³ And after this it will be said to the holy that they should seek in heaven⁴ the secrets of righteousness, the lot of faith; for it has become bright as the sun⁵ upon the dry ground, and darkness has passed away. And there will be ceaseless light, and to a limit of days they will not come, for darkness will have been destroyed previously; and the light will endure before the Lord of Spirits, and the light of uprightness will endure before the Lord of Spirits for ever.

LIX. And in those days my eyes saw the secrets of the flashes of lightning, and the lights,¹ and the regulations governing them;² and they flash for a blessing or for a curse, as the Lord of Spirits wishes. And there I saw the secrets of the thunder, and *how* when it crashes in heaven above, the sound of it is heard; and they³ showed me the dwellings of the dry ground,⁴ and the sound of the thunder for peace and for blessing, or for a curse, according to the word of⁵ the Lord of Spirits. And after this all the secrets of the lights and of the flashes of lightning were shown to me; they flash to bring blessing and satisfaction.

LX. In the five hundredth year, in the seventh month, on the fourteenth *day* of the month in the life of Enoch. In that parable I

² GQT¹U 'in the name of'; D' 'in the peace of'.

³ B 'the Lord of Spirits'; D' 'the Lord for ever'.

⁴ GMTUD' 'to the holy in heaven that they should seek'.

⁵ MD'B 'for the sun has become bright'.

¹ GMTUE 'and of the lights'; Q 'of the lights'.

² Lit. 'and their regulation', but could also be translated 'and their judgement'.

³ So some Eth.II MSS: U corrupt; all other MSS 'he'.

⁴ and they . . . ground: the text makes no sense and is probably an interpolation (although it is just possible that an original Aramaic 'and they showed me the dwellings of the lightning' was misread by the translator).

⁵ according to the word of: G 'before'.

saw how the heaven of heavens was shaken violently, and the host of the Most High and the angels, a thousand thousands and ten thousand times ten thousand, were extremely disturbed. And then I saw the Head of Days sitting¹ on the throne of his glory, and the angels and the righteous were standing around him. And a great trembling seized me, and fear took hold of me,² and my loins collapsed and gave way, and my whole being³ melted,⁴ and I fell upon my face. And the holy Michael sent another holy angel, one of the holy angels,⁵ and he raised me; and when he raised me,⁶ my spirit⁷ returned, for I had been unable to endure the sight of that host, and the disturbance, and the shaking of heaven. And the holy⁸ Michael said to me, What sight has disturbed you like this? Until today has the day of his mercy lasted, and he has been merciful and long suffering towards those who dwell upon the dry ground. And when the day, and the power, and the punishment and the judgement come, which the Lord of Spirits has prepared for those who worship⁹ the righteous judgement,¹⁰ and for those who deny the righteous judgement,¹¹ and for those who take his name in vain – and that day has been prepared, for the chosen a covenant, but for the sinners a visitation. And on that day two monsters¹² will be separated¹³ from one another; a female monster,

¹ GMT'UD' 'And the Head of Days was sitting' (M om. 'And'); Q 'Then I saw the Head of Days sit'.

² MT'UD' om. 'took hold of me'; Q 'And trembling seized me, and great fear seized me and took hold of me'.

³ and my whole being: DY om. 'and'; FNX 'and my mind'.

⁴ and my loins . . . melted: G 'and my loins gave way, and my whole being fell'; MQD' 'and my loins gave way, and my (M om. 'my') mind'; T 'and my loins collapsed and gave way, and my whole being'; U 'and my loins collapsed, and my whole being gave way'.

⁵ GMTUD' 'And Michael sent another angel from among the holy ones'; Q 'And the holy angel Michael, one of the holy ones, was sent'. Some Eth.II MSS read 'one of the holy ones' for 'one of the holy angels'.

⁶ and when he raised me: GMQT'U om. (hmt.).

⁷ Q 'soul'. ⁸ the holy: Eth.I om.

⁹ U 'who do not worship'.

¹⁰ judgement: so all Eth. MSS, but possibly a mistranslation of an original 'judge'.

¹¹ and for those . . . judgement: UDE om. (hmt.); Q 'and for those who deny it (? 'him')'.

¹² DOY 'two lions'; D' 'two tigers'; G 'two large monsters'.

¹³ M 'were separated'.

whose name is Leviathan, to dwell in the depths of the sea above the springs of the waters; and the name of the male is Behemoth, who occupies with his breast an immense desert¹⁴ named Dendayn,¹⁵ on the east of the garden where the chosen and righteous dwell,¹⁶ where my great-grandfather¹⁷ was received,¹⁸ who was¹⁹ the seventh from Adam, the first man whom the Lord of Spirits made. And I asked that²⁰ other angel to show me the power of those monsters, how they were separated on one²¹ day and thrown, one into the depths of the sea, and the other onto the dry ground of the desert. And he said to me, Son of Man, you here wish to know what is secret. And the other angel spoke to me,²² *the one* who went with me and showed me what is secret, what is first and last in heaven, in the heights, and under²³ the dry ground, in the depths, and at the ends of heaven, and at the foundations of heaven, and in²⁴ the storehouses of the winds;²⁵ and how the spirits²⁶ are distributed, and how they are weighed, and how the springs and the winds²⁷ are counted according to the power of *their* spirit;²⁸ and the power of the light of the moon²⁹ . . . and the divisions of the stars according to their names, and *how* all the divisions are made; and the thunder³⁰ according to the places where it falls; and all the divisions that are made in lightning that it may flash, and its hosts, how they quickly obey; for the thunder has fixed intervals *which* have been given to

¹⁴ an immense desert: lit. 'a desert that cannot be seen'. In the light of the LXX of Gen. i.2 perhaps to be translated 'a waste desert'.

¹⁵ GTUD' 'Dundayn' or similar; Q 'Yendayn'.

¹⁶ MT'UD' 'where the chosen and righteous are'.

¹⁷ B 'your great-grandfather'; C' 'my great-grandfather Enoch'.

¹⁸ where my . . . received: D' 'where the man was transformed'.

¹⁹ who was: GMT'UD' om. ²⁰ GMT'UD'N 'the'; DHOB' 'this'.

²¹ D' 'that'. ²² to me: D' om.; GQT'U 'to him'.

²³ So GMD': all other MSS 'on'. ²⁴ in: G om.

²⁵ GQT 'of the spirits' (but here and in the next verse it is possible that the common word 'spirit' has the meaning 'wind'); D' 'of the Lord of Spirits'.

²⁶ Or 'the winds'; U om.

²⁷ the springs and the winds: so Eth.II; Eth.I (U corruptly) 'the springs of the spirits (or 'winds')', but possibly a mistake for 'the gates of the winds'.

²⁸ Or 'according to the power of the wind'.

²⁹ All MSS add 'and how *there is* a power of righteousness' (or 'and according to the power of righteousness'). The words are unintelligible, but are possibly a gloss on 'according to the power of *their* spirit'.

³⁰ D' 'and *how* all the divisions are made in the thunder'.

its sound for waiting; and the thunder and the lightning are not separate, and *although* not one, through a spirit the two of them
 15 move inseparably; for when the lightning flashes, the thunder utters its voice, and the spirit at the proper time³¹ causes *it* to rest, and divides equally between them; for the storehouse of the times for their occurrence is *like* that of the sand, and each of them at the proper time³² is held by a rein, and turned back by the power of the spirit, and likewise driven forward, according to the number of the
 16 regions of the earth. And the spirit of the sea is male and strong, and according to the power of its strength *the spirit* turns it back with a rein, and likewise it is driven forward and scattered amongst
 17 all the mountains of the earth. And the spirit of the hoar-frost is its
 18 *own* angel; and the spirit of the hail is a good angel. And the spirit of the snow has withdrawn because of its power, and it has a special spirit; and that which rises from it is like smoke, and its name *is*
 19 frost. And the spirit of the mist is not associated with them³³ in their storehouses, but has a special storehouse; for its course *is* glorious³⁴ both in light and in darkness, and in winter and in
 20 summer, and in its storehouse is an angel.³⁵ The spirit of the dew has its dwelling at the ends of heaven, and it is connected with the storehouses of the rain; and its course *is* in winter and in summer, and its clouds and the clouds of the mist are associated, and one
 21 gives to the other. And when the spirit of the rain moves from its storehouse, the angels come and open the storehouse, and bring it out; and when it is scattered over all the dry ground, it joins with all the water that *is* on the dry ground; and whenever it joins with the
 22 water that *is* on the dry ground,³⁶ . . . for the waters are for those who dwell upon the dry ground, for *they are* nourishment for the dry ground from the Most High who is in³⁷ heaven; therefore there is a

³¹ at the proper time: or 'immediately'.

³² at the proper time: GMTUD' om.

³³ is not . . . them: Q 'joins with it'; D' 'does not dwell with them'.

³⁴ Lit. 'in glory' or 'possesses glory', but the meaning is obscure.

³⁵ and in its storehouse . . . angel: so T'U; T² 'and in its storehouse is light'; GMQD' 'and its storehouse is an angel'; Eth. II 'and its storehouse *is* light, and it is its angel'.

³⁶ and whenever . . . dry ground: QADOYB'C' om. (probably a dittograph). If not, the apodosis of the sentence has been lost.

³⁷ Some Eth. MSS 'from'.

23 fixed measure for the rain, and the angels comprehend it. All these
 24 things I saw towards the Garden of Righteousness. And the angel of peace who was with me said to me, These two monsters, prepared in accordance with the greatness of the Lord,³⁸ will be fed³⁹ that the punishment of the Lord⁴⁰ . . . in vain. And children will be
 25 killed⁴¹ with their mothers, and sons⁴² with their fathers. When the punishment of the Lord of Spirits rests upon them, it will remain resting that the punishment of the Lord of Spirits may not come in vain⁴³ upon these. Afterwards the judgement will be according to his mercy and his patience.

LXI. And in those days I saw long cords given to those¹ angels, and they acquired wings for themselves, and flew, and went towards the north. And I asked the angel, saying² Why did these take the long³ cords and go?² And he said to me, They went that they
 3 may measure.⁴ And the angel who went with me said to me, These will bring the measurements of the righteous and the ropes of the righteous to the righteous,⁵ that they may rely on the name of the
 4 Lord of Spirits for ever and ever. The chosen will begin to dwell

³⁸ D' 'prepared for the great day of the Lord'.

³⁹ G(?)D' 'will provide food' (but could be impersonal with a passive sense 'will be fed'); Q corrupt, but perhaps 'will feed them'.

⁴⁰ Eth. I 'the Lord of Spirits'. BCXC' add 'may not be'; E adds 'may not come'. D' (probably correctly) continues for the remainder of the chapter, 'may rest upon them that the punishment of the Lord of Spirits may not come in vain. And it will kill children with their mothers and children with their fathers, when the punishment of the Lord of Spirits rests upon all. Afterwards the judgement etc.' In the other MSS the words 'may rest upon them that the punishment of the Lord of Spirits may not come' seem to have been omitted by mistake. The correction of the mistake led to the text printed above, but the overfull text of GMQ (cp. note 43) supports D'.

⁴¹ GQTU 'And it will kill children'.

⁴² GMTU 'children'.

⁴³ As part of their correction GMQ repeat here 'And it will kill children with their mothers and children with their fathers when the punishment of the Lord of Spirits rests' (cp. D', note 40).

¹ those: Q 'the two'.

² GTUD' 'saying to him'; M 'who was with me'.

³ GMQT'UD' om.

⁴ And he said . . . may measure: QEH om.; MUD om. 'they went'.

⁵ to the righteous: M Eth. II (except N) om.

with the chosen, and these measurements will be given to faith,
 5 and will strengthen righteousness.⁶ And these measurements will
 reveal all the secrets of the depths of the earth, and those who were
 destroyed by the desert, and those who were devoured by the fish of
 the sea and by animals,⁷ that they may⁸ return and rely on the day
 of the⁹ Chosen One; for no one will be destroyed before the Lord of
 6 Spirits, and no one can be destroyed. And all those in the heavens
 above received a command, and power¹⁰ and one voice and one
 7 light like fire were given to them.¹¹ And him, before everything,¹²
 they blessed and exalted and praised in wisdom; and they showed
 8 themselves wise in speech and in the spirit of life. And the Lord of
 Spirits set the Chosen One on the throne of his¹³ glory, and he will
 judge all the works of the holy ones¹⁴ in heaven above, and in the
 9 balance he will weigh their deeds.¹⁵ And when he lifts his face to
 judge their secret ways according to the word of the name of the
 Lord of Spirits, and their path according to the way of the righteous
 judgement of the Lord Most High,¹⁶ they will all speak with one
 voice, and bless, and praise, and exalt and glorify¹⁷ the name of the
 10 Lord of Spirits. And he¹⁸ will call all the host of the heavens, and all
 the holy ones above, and the host of the Lord, the Cherubim, and
 the Seraphim and the Ophanim, and all the angels of power, and
 all the angels of the principalities, and the Chosen One, and the
 other host which is upon the dry ground and¹⁹ over the water, on
 11 that day, and they will raise one voice, and will bless, and praise,

⁶ So Eth.I: Eth.II (by a mistake) 'the word of righteousness'.

⁷ by the fish... by animals; TU 'by animals and those who were devoured by the fish of the sea'; GMD' 'by storehouses and those who were devoured by the fish of the sea'; Q 'by the fish of the sea'.

⁸ D' adds 'all'. ⁹ T 'my'.

¹⁰ BCX 'and one power'; C om. 'and one voice'.

¹¹ were given to them: so BCXC'; all other MSS om. For the whole verse U D' have 'And those in the heavens above (D' add. 'and all the hosts') received a command and one voice and one light like fire'.

¹² Lit. 'before a word' (i.e. before uttering any other word).

¹³ Eth.I om. ¹⁴ Q 'the righteous'.

¹⁵ G 'they will weigh their deeds'; MQUD'B' 'will their deeds be weighed'.

¹⁶ Eth.I 'of the Lord of Spirits' (but U om. by hmt. 'and their path... judgement of the Lord of Spirits').

¹⁷ Eth.I N 'hallow'. ¹⁸ MD' 'they'.

¹⁹ So some Eth.II MSS: all other MSS om.

and glorify²⁰ and exalt²¹ him, in the spirit of faith, and in the spirit of
 wisdom and of patience,²² and in the spirit of mercy, and in the
 spirit of justice and of peace, and in the spirit of goodness; and they
 will all say with one voice, Blessed is he, and blessed be²³ the name
 12 of the Lord of Spirits for ever and ever. All those who do not sleep in
 heaven above will bless him; all his²⁴ holy ones who are in heaven
 will bless him, and all the chosen ones who dwell in the Garden of
 Life, and every spirit of light which is able to bless, and praise, and
 exalt and hallow your holy²⁵ name, and all flesh which beyond its
 13 power will praise and bless your name for ever and ever. For great
 is the mercy of the Lord of Spirits, and he is long-suffering; and all
 his works and all his forces, as many as he has made,²⁶ he has
 revealed to the righteous and the chosen in the name of the Lord of
 Spirits.

LXII. And thus¹ the Lord commanded the kings and the mighty
 and the exalted, and those who dwell upon the earth,² and said,
 Open your eyes, and raise your horns,³ if you are able to acknow-
 2 ledge the Chosen One. And the Lord of Spirits sat⁴ on the throne of
 his glory, and the spirit of righteousness was poured out on him,
 and the word of his mouth kills all the sinners and all the lawless,
 3 and they are destroyed⁵ before him. And on that day all the kings
 and the mighty and the exalted, and those who possess the earth,⁶
 will stand up; and they will see and recognise how he sits on the

²⁰ and glorify: Eth.I om.

²¹ and exalt: G om.

²² and of patience: so some Eth.II MSS; JLA' 'and in the spirit of patience'; other MSS 'and in patience'.

²³ and blessed be: D'P' 'and they will bless'.

²⁴ Eth.I BXYC' 'the'. ²⁵ Eth.I 'blessed'.

²⁶ and all his forces... made: so Eth.II; M 'and the whole extent of his works'; T' 'and everything that he has made'; T² 'and all his forces and everything that he has made'; GQD' corrupt; U defective.

¹ D' 'And after this'.

² Q 'who dwell upon the dry ground'; D' 'who possess the earth'.

³ and raise your horns: U om.; D' 'and raise your eyelids'.

⁴ So all MSS, but often emended to 'set him'.

⁵ GQTU 'and all the lawless are destroyed' (U om. 'all'); MDY 'and all the lawless; they are destroyed'.

⁶ Some Eth.II MSS 'dry ground'.

throne of his glory, and the righteous are judged in righteousness⁷
 4 before him, and no idle word is spoken before him. And pain will
 come upon them as *upon* a woman in labour for whom giving birth
 is difficult, when her child enters the mouth of the womb, and she
 5 has difficulty in giving birth. And one half of them will look at the
 other, and they will be terrified, and will cast down their faces, and
 pain will take hold of them, when they see that Son of a Woman⁸
 6 sitting on the throne of his glory. And the mighty kings,⁹ and all
 those who possess the earth, will praise and bless and exalt him
 7 who rules everything which is hidden.¹⁰ For from the beginning the
 Son of Man was hidden, and the Most High kept him in the
 8 presence of his power, and revealed him *only* to the chosen; and the
 community of the holy and the chosen will be sown, and all the
 9 chosen will stand before him on that day. And all the mighty
 kings,¹¹ and the exalted, and those who rule the dry ground, will
 fall down before him on their faces and worship; and they will set
 10 their hope upon that Son of Man, and will entreat him, and will
 petition for mercy from him. But that Lord of Spirits will then¹² so
 press them that they will hasten to go out from before him, and
 their faces will be filled with shame, and the darkness will grow
 11 deeper on their faces. And the angels of punishment will take
 them,¹³ that they may repay them for the wrong which they did to
 12 his children¹⁴ and to his chosen ones.¹⁵ And they¹⁶ will become a
 spectacle to the righteous¹⁷ and to his¹⁸ chosen ones; they will

⁷ and the righteous . . . righteousness: NOB' om. 'in righteousness'; GMQD' 'and righteousness is judged'; T' 'and righteousness does not fail'; U defective.

⁸ GQTUD' 'Son of Man'.

⁹ GMQU 'And the kings and the mighty'.

¹⁰ Or (less plausibly) 'who rules everything, who was hidden'.

¹¹ GMQTD'KN 'And all the kings and the mighty'; EH 'And all the mighty'; BX 'And all the kings'.

¹² GMTUD' om.

¹³ M 'And the angels will take them for punishment' (and so probably intended by T²); T' 'And they will hand them over to the angels for punishment'; GQD' make no sense; U defective throughout verses 11f.

¹⁴ to his children: QOB' om.

¹⁵ and to his chosen ones: OB' om.; Q 'to his Chosen One'.

¹⁶ QD'OB' 'it'.

¹⁷ and to his chosen ones . . . to the righteous: some Eth. II MSS om.

¹⁸ D' 'my'.

rejoice over them, for the anger of the Lord of Spirits will rest upon
 them, and the sword of the Lord of Spirits will be drunk with them.
 13 And the righteous and the chosen will be saved on that day, and
 they will never see the face of the sinners and the lawless from then
 14 on. And the Lord of Spirits will remain over them, and with that
 Son of Man they will dwell, and¹⁹ eat, and lie down, and rise up for
 15 ever and ever. And the righteous and chosen will have risen from
 the earth, and will have ceased to cast down their faces, and will
 16 have put on the garment of life.²⁰ And this will be a garment of life²¹
 from the Lord of Spirits; and your garments will not wear out, and
 your glory will not fail before the Lord of Spirits.

LXIII. In those days the mighty kings¹ who possess the dry
 ground² will entreat the angels of his punishment³ to whom they
 have been handed over that they⁴ might give them a little respite,
 and⁵ that they might fall down and worship before the Lord of
 2 Spirits, and confess their sin before him. And they will bless and
 praise the Lord of Spirits, and say, Blessed be the Lord of Spirits
 and the Lord of kings, the Lord of the mighty and the Lord of the
 3 rich,⁶ and the Lord of glory and the Lord of wisdom! And every-
 thing secret is clear before you,⁷ and your power is for all
 generations,⁸ and your glory for ever and ever; deep, and without
 4 number, are all your secrets, and your righteousness is beyond
 reckoning.⁹ Now we realise that we ought to praise and bless the
 5 Lord of kings and the one who is king over all kings. And they will
 say, Would that we might be given a respite, that we might praise
 and thank and bless him,¹⁰ and make our confession before his¹¹

¹⁹ dwell and: GMQTUN¹ om.; D' '... Son of Man, and they will eat'.

²⁰ Eth. I and JNP¹(?)C' 'glory'.

²¹ GMTUD' 'And this shall be your garment, the garment of life'.

¹ Eth. I 'the kings and the mighty'; AEHKNC' 'the kings'.

² QDY 'the earth'.

³ QT 'of punishment'; U 'of his anger'.

⁴ So H²C': all other MSS 'he'.

⁵ Eth. I om.

⁶ U 'exalted'.

⁷ before you: so C'; all other MSS om.

⁸ GQTD' 'And in everything secret your power shines for all generations'; M corrupt; U defective.

⁹ C' 'deep are all your secrets, and your righteousness is beyond measure'.

¹⁰ praise . . . him: GMTUD' 'sing praises and give thanks'; Q 'praise and thank him'.

¹¹ GQTUD' 'your'.

6 glory. And now we long for a little respite, but do not find *it*; we are
 7 driven off, and do not obtain *it*; and the light has passed away from
 before us, and darkness *will be* our dwelling for ever and ever. For
 we have not made our confession before him, and we have not
 praised the name of the Lord of kings,¹² and we have not praised
 the Lord¹³ for all his works,¹⁴ but our hope has been on the sceptre
 8 of¹⁵ our kingdom and of our glory.¹⁶ And on the day of our affliction
 and distress he does not save us, and we find no respite to make our
 confession that our Lord is faithful in all his doings, and in all¹⁷ his
 judgements and his justice, and *that* his judgements show no
 9 respect for persons. And we pass away from before him because of
 our works, and all our sins have been counted exactly. Then they
 10 will say to them, Our souls are sated with possessions gained
 through iniquity, but they do not prevent our going down into the
 11 flames¹⁸ of the torment of Sheol. And after this their faces will be
 filled with darkness and shame before that Son of Man, and they
 will be driven from before him, and the sword will dwell¹⁹ among
 12 them before him. And thus says the Lord of Spirits, This is the law
 and the judgement for the mighty and the kings and the exalted,
 and for those who possess the dry ground, before the Lord of
 Spirits.

1,2 LXIV. And I saw other figures hidden in that place. I heard the
 voice of the angel saying, These are the angels who came down
 from heaven¹ onto the earth, and revealed what is secret to the sons
 of men, and led astray the sons of men so that they committed sin.

¹² GD'EFC' 'the name of the Lord of Spirits (D' adds 'and of kings'); Q 'the
 Lord of spirits and his name'; M 'the name of the Lord of lords'.

¹³ GMQTD' 'our Lord'; U defective.

¹⁴ for all his works: GMQT'UD' om.

¹⁵ the sceptre of: so some MSS; other MSS 'the throne of', or 'the sceptre of the
 throne of', or 'the throne of the sceptre of'; BCX om.

¹⁶ and of our glory: UD' om.; GM 'and on our glory'; Q 'and of our glory and of
 our riches'.

¹⁷ in all: GMTUD' om.; Q corrupt.

¹⁸ the flames: D' om.; GQU 'the heart'.

¹⁹ D' 'may the sword dwell'.

¹ from heaven: GMQUD' om.

LXV. And in those days Noah¹ saw that the earth had tilted, and
 2 that its destruction was near. And he² set off from there, and went
 to the ends of the earth, and cried out to his³ great-grandfather
 Enoch; and Noah said⁴ three times in a bitter voice, Hear me, hear
 3 me, hear me! And he⁵ said to him, Tell me what it is that is being
 done on the earth that the earth is so afflicted and shaken, lest I be
 4 destroyed with it. And immediately there was a great disturbance
 on the earth, and a voice was heard from heaven, and I fell upon
 5 my face. And my great-grandfather Enoch came and stood by me,
 and said to me, Why did you cry out to me with such bitter crying
 6 and weeping? And a command has gone out from before the Lord
 against those who dwell upon the dry ground that this must be
 their end, for they have learnt all the secrets of the angels, and all
 the wrongdoing of the satans, and all their secret power, and all
 the power⁶ of those who practise magic arts, and the power of
 enchantments, and the power⁷ of those who cast molten images for
 7 all the earth; and further⁸ how silver is produced from the dust of
 the earth, and how soft metal occurs on the earth; for lead and tin
 8 are not⁹ produced from the earth like the former; there is a spring
 which produces them, and an angel who stands in it, and that
 9 angel distributes *them*. And after this my great-grandfather Enoch
 took hold of me with his hand,¹⁰ and raised me, and said to me, Go,
 for I have asked the Lord of Spirits about this disturbance on the
 10 earth. And he said to me, Because of their iniquity their judgement
 has been completed, and they¹¹ will no longer be counted before

¹ T 'I Noah'.

² T 'I'.

³ T 'my'.

⁴ T 'and I said'; QD' 'and Noah said to him'.

⁵ GMQT'UD' 'I'.

⁶ and all their secret power, and all the power: GTD' 'and all their power, the
 most secret secrets, and all the power'; M(?) 'and all the power of the most secret
 secrets, and all the power'; QUAHN' 'and all the secret power' (QAN' om.
 'secret').

⁷ of enchantments and the power: BX om.; Q 'of those who practise enchant-
 ments and the power'.

⁸ GTUD' om.

⁹ D' om.

¹⁰ GQD' 'by my hand'.

¹¹ So M: all other MSS have verb in singular. But the text appears to be corrupt
 and may represent a mistranslation of an original Aramaic 'their judgement has
 been completed and will not be withheld before me'.

me; because of the sorceries¹² which they have searched out and learnt, the earth¹³ and those who dwell upon it will be destroyed.
 11 And for these there will be no place of refuge for ever, for they showed to them what is secret, and they have been condemned;¹⁴ but not so for you,¹⁵ my son; the Lord of Spirits knows that you are
 12 pure and innocent of this reproach concerning the secrets. And he has established your name among the holy, and will keep you from amongst those who dwell upon the dry ground; and he has destined your offspring in righteousness¹⁶ to be kings¹⁷ and for great honours; and from your offspring will flow out a spring of the righteous and holy without number for ever.

LXVI. And after this he showed me the angels of punishment who were ready to come and release all the forces of the water which is under the earth in order to bring judgement and destruction on all
 2 those who reside and dwell¹ upon the dry ground. And the Lord of Spirits commanded the angels who were *then* coming out not to raise *their* hands, but to keep watch; for those angels were in charge
 3 of the forces of the waters. And I came out from before Enoch.

LXVII. And in those days the word of the Lord came to me, and he said to me, Noah, behold¹ your lot has come up before me, a lot
 2 without reproach, a lot of love and of uprightness. And now the angels are making² a wooden *structure*, and when the angels come out³ for that *task*, I will put my hand on it, and keep it safe, and from it will come the seed of life, and a change shall take place that

¹² sorceries: all MSS 'months'. But the text makes little sense, and 'months' has commonly been taken as a mistranslation of the Hebrew and Aramaic word for 'sorceries'.

¹³ and learnt, the earth; so GTU; MQ Eth.II 'they have learnt that the earth'; D' corrupt.

¹⁴ D' 'for they showed what is secret to those who have been condemned'.

¹⁵ GQTUD' 'but as for you'. ¹⁶ Eth.I 'your righteous offspring'.

¹⁷ Q (and so probably T) 'both for kingship'; GMUD' corrupt.

¹ who reside and dwell: Q 'who dwell'; UBX 'who reside'.

¹ GMQT'UD' om. ² Eth.I X 'have made'.

³ come out: so T Eth.II; GMQUOD' have a different verb (in various forms), but their text does not make sense.

3 the dry ground may not remain empty.⁴ And I will establish your offspring before me for ever and ever, and I will scatter those who dwell with you over the face of the dry ground;⁵ I will not *again* put *them* to the test on the face of the earth,⁶ but they will be blessed and
 4 will increase on the dry ground in the name of the Lord. And they⁷ will shut up those angels who showed iniquity in that burning valley which my great-grandfather Enoch had shown to me previously, in the west, near the mountains of gold and silver and iron
 5 and soft-metal and tin. And I saw that valley in which *there was* a
 6 great disturbance, and a heaving of the waters. And when all this happened, from that fiery molten metal and the disturbance which disturbed *the waters* in that place a smell of sulphur was produced, and it was associated with those waters. And that valley of the
 7 angels who led *men* astray burns under the ground; and through the valleys of that same *area* flow out rivers of fire where those angels will be punished who led astray those who dwell upon the dry
 8 ground. And in those days those waters will serve the kings and the mighty and the exalted, and those who dwell upon the dry ground, for the healing of soul and body,⁸ but *also* for the punishment of the spirit. And their spirits⁹ are *so* full of lust¹⁰ that they will be punished in their bodies, for they denied the Lord of Spirits. And they see their punishment every day, yet they do not believe in his
 9 name. And the more their bodies are burnt, the more a change will come over their spirits for ever and ever; for no one can speak an
 10 idle word before the Lord of Spirits. For judgement will come upon them, for they believe in the lust¹¹ of their bodies, but deny the
 11 spirit of the Lord. And those same waters will undergo a change in those days; for when those angels are punished in those days,¹² the temperature of those springs of water will change, and when the angels come up *from the water*, that water of the springs will change
 12 and will become cold. And I heard the holy¹³ Michael answering

⁴ and a change . . . empty: so QEC'; other MSS probably to be translated 'and the dry ground shall undergo a change that it may not remain empty'.

⁵ over the face of the dry ground: so CFP²BDOXYB'; other MSS om.

⁶ So EFHP²: other MSS 'dry ground'. BDOXYB' om. by hmt. 'I will not again . . . face of the earth (dry ground)'.

⁸ of soul and body: GQUD' 'of the body'.

¹⁰ GQU 'desire'.

¹² Eth.I 'waters'.

⁷ Eth.I F 'he'.

⁹ D' 'souls'.

¹¹ GQUD' 'desire'.

¹³ the holy: Eth.I om.

and saying, This judgement with which the angels are judged is a testimony for the kings and the mighty who possess the dry ground. For these waters of judgement *serve* for the healing of the bodies of the kings,¹⁴ and for the lust¹⁵ of their bodies; but they do not see and do not believe that these waters will change, and will become a fire which burns for ever.

LXVIII. And after this my great-grandfather Enoch gave me the explanation¹ of all the secrets in a book and the parables which had been given to him; and he put them together for me in the words of the Book² of the Parables. And on that day the holy³ Michael answered Raphael, saying,⁴ The power of the spirit seizes me and makes me tremble⁵ because of⁶ the harshness of the judgement of the secrets, the judgement of the angels.⁷ Who can endure the harshness of the judgement which has been executed,⁸ and before which they melt *with fear*? And the holy³ Michael answered Raphael again, and said to him,⁹ Who would not soften his heart¹⁰ over it, and whose mind would not be disturbed by this word? Judgement has gone out¹¹ against them, upon¹² those whom they have led out like this. But it came to pass, when he¹³ stood before the Lord of Spirits, that the holy³ Michael spoke as follows to Raphael, I will not take their part under the eye of the Lord, for the Lord of Spirits is angry with them, for they act as if they were the Lord. Because of

¹⁴ for the healing . . . of the kings: so all MSS except BCXY, although the MSS have 'angels' instead of 'kings'. But it seems likely that 'angels' is a mistranslation. BX 'for their healing'; C 'for the healing of the angels'; Y defective.

¹⁵ So M: GQTUD' 'desire'; Eth. II 'death'.

¹ D' 'teaching'.

² G 'in the book of the words'.

³ the holy: Eth. I om.

⁴ GQUD' 'answered me, saying to Raphael'.

⁵ and makes me tremble: all MSS (except D') 'and makes me angry', but it seems likely that the wrong meaning of the underlying Aramaic word was followed. D' 'and makes me go up'.

⁶ Q Eth. II (except Y) 'and because of'.

⁷ of the angels: GMTUD' om.

⁸ Eth. II adds 'and remains'.

⁹ GQU 'answered me again, and said to Raphael'.

¹⁰ T² 'Whose heart would not be softened'; GMQT¹U 'Whose heart would not feel convicted'; D' 'Whose heart has not felt convicted'.

¹¹ GQD' 'by this word of judgement which has gone out' (GQ om. 'which').

¹² Or 'from', or 'because of'.

¹³ D' 'they'.

this the hidden judgement¹⁴ will come upon them for ever and ever; for neither any *other* angel, nor any man, will receive their lot, but they alone have received their judgement for ever and ever.

LXIX. And after this judgement they will terrify them and make them tremble, for they have shown this¹ to those who dwell upon the dry ground. And behold² the names of those angels. And these are their names: the first of them is Semyaza, and the second Artaqifa, and the third Armen, and the fourth Kokabiel, and the fifth Turiel, and the sixth Ramiel, and the seventh Daniel, and the eighth Nuqaël, and the ninth Baraquel, and the tenth Azazel, the eleventh Armaros, the twelfth Batriel, the thirteenth Basasael, the fourteenth Ananel, the fifteenth Turiel, the sixteenth Samsiel, the seventeenth Yetarel, the eighteenth Tumiel, the nineteenth Turiel, the twentieth Rumiel, the twenty-first Azazel. And these are the chiefs of their angels, and the names of their³ leaders of hundreds, and their leaders of fifties and their leaders of tens. The name of the first is Yequn, and this is the one who led astray all the children of the holy⁴ angels; and he brought them down onto the dry ground, and led them astray through the daughters of men. And the name of the second is Asbeel: this one suggested⁵ an evil plan to the children of the holy angels,⁶ and led them astray, so that they corrupted their bodies with the daughters of men. And the name of the third is Gadreel: this is the one who showed all the deadly blows to the sons of men; and he led astray Eve, and he showed the weapons of death to the children of men, the shield and the breastplate and the sword for slaughter, and all the weapons of death to the sons of men. And from his⁷ hand they have gone out

¹⁴ the hidden judgement: Eth. I 'everything which is hidden'.

¹ T om.; Q 'this judgement'.

² behold: D' adds 'I will name'; GM apparently add corruptions of 'I will name'.

³ and the names of their: Eth. I EH 'and their names, and their'.

⁴ holy: GMQUD' and some Eth. II MSS om.: it is possible that the text derives from a false translation of 'all the (holy) children of God' (i.e. 'all the (holy) angels'). N 'all the children of the angels of the Lord'.

⁵ QD' 'recommended'.

⁶ Possibly a false translation of 'to the holy children of God' (cp. note 4).

⁷ QD' 'their'.

against those who dwell upon the dry ground, from that time⁸ and
 8 for ever and ever. And the name of the fourth is Penemue: this one
 showed the sons of men the bitter and the sweet, and showed them
 9 all the secrets of their wisdom. He taught men the art of writing
 with ink and paper, and through this many have gone astray from
 10 eternity to eternity, and to this day. For men were not created for
 this, that they should confirm their faith like this with pen and ink.
 11 For men were created no differently from the angels, that they
 might remain righteous and pure,⁹ and death, which destroys
 everything, would not have touched them; but through this
 knowledge of theirs they are being destroyed, and through this
 12 power it¹⁰ is consuming me.¹¹ And the name of the fifth is
 Kasdeyae: this one showed the sons of men all the evil blows of the
 spirits and of the demons, and the blows *which attack* the embryo in
 the womb so that it miscarries, and the blows *which attack* the soul,
 the bite of the serpent and the blows which occur at midday, the
 13 son of the serpent who is . . . strong.¹² And this is the *task*¹³ of
 Kesbeel, the chief of the oath, who showed *the oath* to the holy ones
 14 when he dwelt on high in glory, and its¹⁴ name is Beqa. And this
 one told the holy¹⁵ Michael that he should show¹⁶ the¹⁷ secret
 name, that they might mention it in the oath,¹⁸ so that those who
 showed the sons of men everything which is secret trembled before
 15 that name and oath. And this *is* the power of this oath, for it is

⁸ GMTUD' 'day'.

⁹ GMTUD' 'pure and righteous'; Q 'pure and holy'.

¹⁰ i.e. death.

¹¹ D' 'us'.

¹² The text is awkward; in full it reads 'whose name is Tabaet'. I have omitted 'name' (which could easily have come in by mistake) and take 'Tabaet' as the word meaning 'male' or 'strong'. But the passage remains obscure.

¹³ Eth. 'number', but Charles's suggestion that the translation is based on a misreading of an original 'task' is very plausible.

¹⁴ Or 'his'.

¹⁵ the holy: Eth. I om.

¹⁶ So GMTUD': Q om.; Eth. II 'them'.

¹⁷ MTD'ENC' 'his'.

¹⁸ that they . . . the oath: so GQ; T 'that they might mention that secret name'; MUD' 'that they might mention that (M 'evil and') secret name, that they might mention it in the oath'; Eth. II 'that they might see that secret name, that they might mention it in the oath'.

powerful and strong; and he placed this oath Akae¹⁹ in the charge
 16 of the holy¹⁵ Michael. And these are the secrets of this oath . . . and
 they are strong²⁰ through his oath, and heaven was suspended²¹
 17 before the world was created and for ever. And through it the
 earth²² was founded upon the water, and from the hidden *recesses* of
 the mountains²³ come beautiful waters²⁴ from the creation of the
 18 world and for ever. And through that oath the sea was created, and
 as its foundation, for the time of anger, he placed for it the sand,
 and it does not go beyond *it* from the creation of the world and for
 19 ever. And through that oath the deeps were made firm, and they
 stand and do not move from their place from *the creation* of the world
 20 and for ever. And through that oath the sun and the moon complete
 their course and do not transgress their command from *the creation*
 21 of the world and for ever.²⁵ And through that oath the stars
 complete their course, and he calls their names,²⁶ and they answer
 22 him²⁷ from *the creation* of the world and for ever; and likewise the
 spirits of the water, of the winds, and of all the breezes, and their
 23 paths, according to all the groups of the spirits. And there are kept
 the storehouses of the sound of the thunder and of the light of the
 lightning;²⁸ and there are kept the storehouses of the hail and the
 hoar-frost,²⁹ and the storehouses of the mist, and the storehouses of

¹⁹ Since verses 13f. and verses 15–25 appear to deal with two different oaths, it is possible that the obscure name 'Akae' (so all MSS except QD') is a corruption of the word 'other', viz. 'and he placed this other oath . . . Q(?) 'this engraved oath'; D' 'this evil oath'.

²⁰ and they are strong (or 'and they were made firm'): so MT Eth. II; but the text is not entirely intelligible as it stands and it is possible that something like 'All things were created' has dropped out from before 'and they are strong' (but see note 21). GQU 'and it is strong'; D' 'and its strength'.

²¹ QH 'And these are the secrets of this oath, and they are (Q 'it is') strong: through his oath heaven was suspended', and other MSS perhaps to be translated similarly.

²² GMTU 'through it, and the earth'.

²³ Some Eth. MSS 'the hidden mountains'.

²⁴ beautiful waters: ULYA' 'waters for the living'; BCX 'beautiful waters for the living'.

²⁵ from the creation . . . for ever: M om.; GTU om. 'and for ever'.

²⁶ D' 'and they call their names'; Q 'they are called'.

²⁷ D' 'them'.

²⁸ the storehouses . . . lightning: Eth. I 'the sound of the thunder and the light of the lightning'.

²⁹ Eth. I 'and the storehouses of the hoar-frost'.

24 the rain and dew. And all these make their confession and give
 thanks before the Lord of Spirits and sing praises with all their
 power; and their food consists of all their thanksgiving, and they
 give thanks and praise and exalt in the name of³⁰ the Lord of Spirits
 25 for ever and ever. And this oath is strong over them, and through it
 they are kept safe, and their paths are kept safe, and their courses
 26 are not disturbed. And they had great joy, and they blessed and
 praised and exalted because the name of that Son of³¹ Man had
 27 been revealed to them. And he sat on the throne of his glory, and
 the whole judgement³² was given to the Son of Man,³³ and he will
 cause the sinners to pass away and be destroyed from the face of the
 28 earth.³⁴ And those who led astray the world will be bound in
 chains, and will be shut up in the assembly-place of their destruc-
 tion, and all their works will pass away from the face of the earth.
 29 And from then on there will be nothing corruptible,³⁵ for that Son
 of Man has appeared and has sat on the throne of his glory, and
 everything evil will pass away and go from before him; and the
 word of that Son of³⁶ Man³⁷ will be strong³⁸ before the Lord of
 Spirits. This is the third³⁹ parable of Enoch.

LXX. And it came to pass after this *that*, while he was living, his
 name was lifted from those who dwell upon the dry ground to the
 presence of that Son of Man and¹ to the presence of the Lord of
 2 Spirits. And he² was lifted on the chariots of the spirit, and his³

³⁰ in the name of: D' om.; QN om. 'in'.

³¹ Son of: MTUD' om.

³² Lit. 'and the sum of the judgement'.

³³ And he sat . . . Son of Man: D' om.

³⁴ and he will cause . . . the earth: D' 'and he will not pass away nor be destroyed
 from the face of the earth'; GMTU 'and he (? 'it') will pass away and be destroyed
 from the face of the earth'; Q 'and the sinners of the earth have passed away from
 before his face'.

³⁵ D' 'there will not be this corruption'.

³⁶ Son of: B om.

³⁷ Man: GN 'a woman'.

³⁸ and the word . . . be strong: so T and some Eth.II MSS; other MSS 'and they
 (AD' 'he') will speak to that Son of Man, and he will be strong'.

³⁹ EFHNP² om.

¹ So GQTD': other MSS om.

² T 'his name'.

³ So MQD'YC': other MSS 'the'.

3 name vanished among them. And from that day I was not counted⁴
 among them, and he placed me between two winds,⁵ between the
 north and the west, where the angels took the cords to measure for
 4 me the place for the chosen and the righteous. And there I saw the
 first fathers and the righteous who from *the beginning* of the world
 dwelt in that place.

LXXI. And it came to pass after this that my spirit was carried
 off, and it went up into the heavens. I saw the sons of the holy
 angels' treading upon flames of fire, and their garments *were* white,
 2 and their clothing, and the light of their face *was* like snow. And I
 saw two rivers of fire, and the light of that fire shone like hyacinth,
 3 and I fell upon my face before the Lord of Spirits. And the angel
 Michael, one of the archangels, took hold of me by my right hand,
 and raised me, and led me out to all the secrets of mercy and the
 4 secrets of righteousness.² And he showed me all the secrets of the
 ends of heaven and all the storehouses of all the stars and the lights,
 5 from where they come out before the holy ones. And the spirit
 carried Enoch off to the highest heaven,³ and I saw there in the
 middle of that light something built of crystal stones, and in the
 6 middle of those stones tongues of living fire. And my spirit saw a
 circle of fire which surrounded that house; from its four sides *came*
 7 rivers full of living fire, and they surrounded that house. And
 round about *were* the Seraphim, and the Cherubim and the
 Ophanim; these are they who do not sleep, but keep watch over
 8 the throne of his glory. And I saw angels who could not be counted,
 a thousand thousands and ten thousand times ten thousand, sur-
 9 rounding that house; and Michael and Raphael⁴ and Gabriel and

⁴ So G QTD'J'; M Eth.II 'included'; U 'praised'.

⁵ Or 'quarters', 'regions'.

¹ Possibly a false translation of 'the holy sons of God' (cp. chap. lxix, n. 4). Some
 Eth.II MSS om. 'holy'.

² to all . . . righteousness: D' 'to all the secrets of mercy, and he showed me all the
 secrets of righteousness'; GMQTU 'to all the secrets, and he showed me all the
 secrets of mercy, and he showed me all the secrets of righteousness'.

³ GQU 'And he carried off my spirit, and Enoch *was* in the highest heaven'; TD'
 'And he carried off my spirit, and I, Enoch, *was* in the highest heaven'; M 'And he
 carried off my spirit, says Enoch, in heaven was I'. In all Eth.I mss. 'he carried off
 my spirit' is grammatically anomalous. ⁴ and Raphael: QU om.

Phanuel, and the holy angels who *are* in the heavens above, went in and out of that house. And Michael and Raphael and Gabriel⁵ and Phanuel,⁶ and many holy angels without number, came out from that house; and with them the Head of Days,⁷ his head white and pure like wool, and his garments indescribable. And I fell upon my face, and my whole body melted, and my spirit was transformed; and I cried out in a loud voice in the spirit of power, and I blessed⁸ and praised⁹ and exalted. And these¹⁰ blessings which came out¹¹ from my mouth were pleasing before that Head of Days. And that Head of Days came with Michael and Gabriel, Raphael¹² and Phanuel,¹³ and thousands and tens of thousands of angels without number. And that angel¹⁴ came to me, and greeted me with his voice, and said to me, You are the Son of Man who was born to¹⁵ righteousness, and righteousness remains over you, and the righteousness of the Head of Days will not leave you. And he said to me, He proclaims peace to you in the name of the world which is to come, for from there peace has come out from the creation of the world; and so you will have it for ever and for ever and ever. And all¹⁶ will walk¹⁷ according to your way, inasmuch as righteousness will never leave you; with you will be their dwelling, and with you their lot, and they will not be separated from you, for ever and ever and ever. And so there will be length of days with that Son of Man, and the righteous will have peace, and the righteous will have an upright way¹⁸ in the name of the Lord of Spirits for ever and ever.

⁵ MQUEHN 'and Gabriel and Raphael'; BCOXA' 'and Gabriel, Raphael'.

⁶ and Phanuel: GMQTUA om.

⁷ EHP² 'of the oath'. ⁸ Q adds 'him'.

⁹ QFP² add 'him'. ¹⁰ Eth.I 'those'.

¹¹ came out: D' jumps from this word to lxxviii.8b, but begins again with lxxii.1 after reaching lxxxii.20.

¹² QTUX 'and Gabriel and Raphael'; GM 'and Raphael and Gabriel'.

¹³ After 'Phanuel' GMQT go back by mistake to 'Phanuel' in verse 8 and repeat all (so G) or parts of the intervening text.

¹⁴ that angel: U om.; GMT 'that one' or 'he'.

¹⁵ Some MSS 'in'.

¹⁶ Eth.II adds 'will be and' (ALB' 'who will be and').

¹⁷ Q 'dwell'.

¹⁸ and the righteous will have an upright way: so C'; QC om. (hmt.); all other MSS om. 'will have'. Eth.II (except C') 'his upright way' instead of 'an upright way'.

LXXII. The book of the revolutions of the lights of heaven, each as it is, according to their classes, according to their *period of* rule and their times, according to their names and their places of origin, and according to their months, which Uriel, the holy angel who was with me and is their leader, showed to me; and he showed me all their regulations exactly as they are, for each year of the world and for ever, until the new creation shall be made which will last for ever. And this is the first law of the lights. The light the sun, its rising *is* in the gates of heaven which *are* towards the east, and its setting *is* in the western gates of heaven. And I saw six gates from which the sun rises, and six gates in which the sun sets, and the moon *also* rises and sets in those gates, and the leaders of the stars together with those whom they lead; *there are* six in the east and six in the west, all exactly in place, one next to the other; and *there are* many windows to the south and north¹ of those gates. And first there rises the greater light, named the sun, and its disk *is* like the disk of heaven, and the whole of it *is* full of a fire which gives light and warmth. The wind blows the chariots on which it ascends, and the sun goes down from heaven and returns through the north in order to reach the east and is led so that it comes to the appropriate gate, and shines *again* in heaven. In this way it rises in the first month in the large gate, namely it rises through the fourth of those six gates which *are* towards the east. And in that fourth gate, from which the sun rises in the first month, there are twelve window-openings² from which, whenever they are opened, flames come out. When the sun-rises in heaven, it goes out through that fourth gate for thirty days, and exactly in the fourth gate in the west of heaven it goes down. And in those days the day grows daily longer, and the night grows nightly shorter, until the thirtieth morning. And on that day the day becomes longer than the night by a double part,³ and the day amounts to exactly ten parts, and the night amounts to eight parts. And the sun rises from that fourth gate, and sets in the fourth gate, and returns to the fifth gate in the east for thirty mornings; and it rises from it, and sets in the fifth gate.

¹ Lit. 'to the right and left'.

² Lit. 'open windows'.

³ by a double part: i.e. by two parts. GQUD' add 'by nine parts' (QUD' possibly 'by a ninth part').

12 And then the day becomes longer by two parts, and the day
 13 amounts to eleven parts, and the night becomes shorter and
 14 amounts to seven parts. And the sun returns to the east, and comes
 15 to the sixth gate, and rises and sets in the sixth gate for thirty one
 16 mornings⁴ because of its sign. And on that day the day becomes
 17 longer than the night, and the day becomes double the night; and
 18 the day amounts to twelve parts, and the night becomes shorter
 19 and amounts to six parts. And the sun rises up that the day may
 20 grow shorter, and the night longer; and the sun returns to the east,
 21 and comes to the sixth gate, and rises from it and sets for thirty
 22 mornings. And when thirty mornings have been completed, the
 23 day becomes shorter by exactly one part; and the day amounts to
 24 eleven parts, and the night to seven parts. And the sun goes out
 from the west through that sixth gate, and goes to the east, and
 rises in the fifth gate for thirty mornings; and it sets in the west
 again⁵ in the fifth gate in the west. On that day the day becomes
 shorter by two parts, and the day amounts to ten parts, and the
 night to eight parts. And the sun rises from that fifth gate, and sets
 in the fifth gate in the west, and rises in the fourth gate for thirty
 one mornings because of its sign,⁵ and sets in the west. On that day
 the day becomes equal with the night, and is of equal length; and the
 night amounts to nine parts, and the day to nine parts. And the sun
 rises from that gate, and sets in the west, and returns to the east,
 and rises in the third gate for thirty mornings, and sets in the west
 in the third gate. And on that day the night becomes longer than
 the day, and the night grows nightly longer,⁶ and the day grows
 daily shorter until the thirtieth morning;⁷ and the night amounts to
 exactly ten parts, and the day to eight parts. And the sun rises from
 that third gate, and sets in the third gate in the west, and returns to
 the east; and the sun rises in the second gate in the east for thirty
 mornings, and likewise it sets in the second gate in the west of
 heaven. And on that day the night amounts to eleven parts, and the

⁴ GTUD' 'thirty mornings'; Q corrupt; M defective.

⁵ GMQT add 'in the fourth gate in the east'; U adds 'in the east'; D' adds 'in the fourth gate'.

⁶ and the night grows nightly longer: so GQTUD'; M 'and on that day the night grows longer'; Eth.II 'until the thirtieth morning'.

⁷ morning: Q om.; Eth.II (except EFLN) 'day'.

25 day to seven parts. And the sun rises on that day from that second
 gate, and sets in the west in the second gate, and returns to the east,
 to the first gate,⁸ for thirty one mornings,⁹ and sets in the west in
 26 the first gate.¹⁰ And on that day the night becomes longer, and
 becomes double the day; and the night amounts to exactly twelve
 27 parts, and the day to six parts. And *with this* the sun has completed
 the divisions of its journey,¹¹ and it turns back again along these¹²
 divisions of its journey;¹³ and it comes through that *first gate*¹⁴ for
 28 thirty mornings, and sets in the west opposite it. And on that day¹⁵
 the night becomes shorter in length by one part¹⁶. . . , and amounts
 29 to eleven parts, and the day to seven parts. And the sun returns,
 and comes to the second gate in the east, and it returns along those
 divisions of its journey¹⁷ for thirty mornings, rising and setting.
 30 And on that day the night becomes shorter in length, and the night
 31 amounts to ten parts, and the day to eight parts. And on that day
 the sun rises from that second¹⁸ gate, and sets in the west, and
 returns to the east, and rises in the third gate for thirty one
 32 mornings, and sets in the west of heaven. And on that day the night
 becomes shorter, and amounts to nine parts, and the day amounts
 to nine parts, and the night becomes equal with the day. And the
 33 year amounts to exactly three hundred and sixty four days. And
 the length of the day and the night, and the shortness of the day
 and the night – they are different because of the journey of that sun.
 34 Because of it,¹⁹ its journey becomes daily longer, and nightly

⁸ to the first gate: D' 'and rises in the first gate'.

⁹ B²X add 'because of its sign'.

¹⁰ in the west in the first gate: M 'in the west in the sixth gate'; GQ 'in it on the first day in the west of heaven'; TUD' 'on that day in the west of heaven'.

¹¹ the divisions of its journey: D' (?) 'its appearances'.

¹² Eth.I JP¹ 'those'.

¹³ divisions of its journey: D' (?) 'appearances'.

¹⁴ M 'those gates'; QTUD' 'all the gates'; G 'all its gates'.

¹⁵ day: U om.; GQD'F 'night'.

¹⁶ by one part: M om.; GQUD' 'by nine parts' (UD' possibly 'by a ninth part'). All MSS add 'that is one part', a gloss apparently intended to explain that the word *'ad*, used here with the meaning 'part', is the equivalent of the word *kašal*.

¹⁷ divisions of its journey: D' (?) 'appearances'.

¹⁸ GMQUD' om.

¹⁹ i.e. to this end, to bring about the difference in the length of day and night.

35 shorter. And this is the law and the journey of the sun, and its
return, as often as it returns; sixty times it returns and rises, that is
the great eternal light²⁰ which for ever and ever is named the sun.
36 And this which rises is the great light, which is *so* named after its
37 appearance,²¹ as the Lord commanded. And thus it rises and
sets;²² it neither decreases, nor rests, but runs day and night in *its*
chariot.²³ And its light is seven times brighter than that of the
moon, but in size the two are equal.

LXXIII. And after this law I saw another law, for the smaller light
2 named the moon. And its disk *is* like the disk of the sun,¹ and the
wind blows its chariot on which it rides, and in fixed measure light
3 is given to it. And every month its rising and its setting change, and
its days *are* as the days of the sun, and when its light is uniformly
4 *full*, it is a seventh part of the light of the sun. And thus it rises, and
its first phase² *is* towards the east; it rises on the thirtieth morning,
and on that day it appears and becomes for you the first phase² of
the moon, on the thirtieth morning,³ together with the sun in the
5 gate through which the sun rises. And a half⁴ . . . with a seventh
part, and its entire disk *is* empty, without light, except for a seventh
6 part, a fourteenth part⁵ of its *total* light. And on the day it receives a
seventh part and a half⁶ of its light, its light amounts to a seventh-

²⁰ as often as . . . eternal light: GQTUD' 'as often as - sixty times - that great light returns and rises' (QTUD' om. 'sixty times'); M 'as often as it returns; it returns and rises, that is the great light'.

²¹ D' 'And this is the one which rises according to its appearance'.

²² GD' 'As it rises, so it sets'; M 'Thus it rises and sets'; QT 'Thus it rises and thus it sets'; U 'And thus it sets'; ANX 'And thus it sets and rises'.

²³ in *its* chariot: GMQT'UD' om.

¹ So M and some Eth.II MSS: other MSS 'heaven'.

² first phase: lit. 'beginning'.

³ Eth.I 'day'.

⁴ All MSS except D'C'F add 'is distant', but this makes no sense. We expect a verb meaning 'to rise', 'to appear'.

⁵ a fourteenth part: so QUD', but D' adds 'of its light, a seventh part'; G corrupt; MT Eth.II 'from the fourteen parts'.

⁶ GQD'OA'B' (with several ungrammatical variations) 'a seventh part of a half'.

7 and-seventh part and a half.⁷ It sets with the sun,⁸ and when the
sun rises, the moon⁹ rises with it, and receives a half of one part of
light; and on that night at the beginning of its morning, at the
beginning of the moon's day, the moon sets with the sun, and is
8 dark on that night in six and seven¹⁰ parts and a half. And it rises
on that day with exactly a seventh part, and goes out, and recedes
from the rising of the sun, and becomes bright on the remainder of
its days in *the other* six and seven¹¹ parts.

LXXIV. And another journey and *another* law I saw for it, in that
2 according to this law it makes its monthly journey. And Uriel, the
holy angel who is the leader of them all, showed me everything,¹
and I wrote down their positions as he showed *them* to me; and I
wrote down their months, as they are, and the appearance of their
3 light until fifteen days have been completed. In seventh parts it
makes all its darkness full,² and in seventh parts it makes all its
4 light full, in the east and in the west.³ And in certain months it
changes *its* setting, and in certain months it follows its own indi-
5 vidual course. In two months it sets with the sun in those two gates
6 which *are* in the middle, in the third and in the fourth gate. It goes
out for seven days, and turns back, and returns again to the gate
from which the sun rises; and in that *gate*⁴ it makes all its light full,

⁷ GMQUD'D 'a seventh part and a half' (but QD' om. 'and'); T(?) 'a seven-and-sixth part and a half'. The numbers are hard to interpret and no MS provides a text that makes much sense. In the Aramaic fragments a much fuller table of the phases of the moon has survived, and the Ethiopic appears to be a rather garbled summary of this.

⁸ GMQUD' 'And the sun sets'.

⁹ the moon: GQUD' 'it'.

¹⁰ six and seven: so MQTD'JLB'C'; other MSS 'seven and seven'.

¹¹ six and seven: so Eth.I NC'; other MSS 'seven and seven'.

¹ Eth.I 'And all this Uriel, the holy angel who is the leader of them all, showed me'; GMQD' add 'and their positions'.

² D' 'makes its darkness full to the fifteenth day'.

³ it makes all its darkness full . . . west: so some Eth.II MSS and (basically) D'; GMQT'UA 'it makes all its light full, in the east and in the west'; T² and other Eth.II MSS 'it makes all its light full in the east, and in seventh parts it makes all its darkness full in the west'.

⁴ in that *gate*: GMQT'UD' om.

and it recedes from the sun, and comes in eight days to the sixth
 7 gate from which the sun rises. And when the sun rises from the
 fourth gate, *the moon* goes out for seven days until it rises from the
 fifth gate; and again it returns in seven days to the fourth gate, and
 8 makes all its light full, and recedes, and comes to the first gate in
 eight days. And again it returns in seven days to the fourth gate
 9 from which the sun rises. Thus I saw their positions, how the
 10 moons rose and the sun set in those days. And *if*⁵ five years are
 added together, the sun has an excess of thirty days; but all the
 days *which* accrue to it for one year of those five years, when they
 11 are complete, amount to three hundred and sixty four days. And
 the excess of the sun and the stars comes to six days; in five years,
 six *days* each year, they have an excess of thirty days, and the moon
 12 falls behind⁶ the sun and the stars by thirty days.⁷ And the moon
 conducts⁸ the years exactly, all of them according to their eternal
 positions; they are neither early nor late even by one day, but
 change the year⁹ . . . in exactly three hundred and sixty four days.
 13 In three years *there are* one thousand and ninety two days, and in
 five years one thousand eight hundred and twenty days, so that in
 eight years there are two thousand nine hundred and twelve days.
 14 For the moon alone the days in three years come to one thousand
 and sixty two days,¹⁰ and in five years it is fifty days behind¹¹ . . .
 15 And there are one thousand seven hundred and seventy days in

⁵ how the moons . . . And *if*: so GMT'D'; U defective; QT² 'according to the law of their months the sun rising and setting in those days. And *if*'; Eth. II 'according to the law of their months the sun rising and setting. And in those days *if*'.

⁶ GMQT'U 'and they fall behind'; D' 'and it falls behind'.

⁷ by thirty days: QU om.; GM add 'behind the sun and behind the stars'; T' adds 'behind the sun and the stars'; D' adds 'behind the sun and the moon and the stars'.

⁸ D' 'And they conduct'.

⁹ All Eth. MSS add 'precisely' which looks like an alternative rendering of 'exactly'.

¹⁰ GQUD' (by mistake) 'one thousand and thirty days'; D' adds 'and in three years it is sixty two (a mistake for 'thirty') days behind'. D' continues 'In five years *there are* one thousand seven hundred and seventy days, and in five years it is fifty days behind, so that for the moon . . .'

¹¹ All MSS except D' add here 'for to its sum is to be added sixty two days (C margin 'one thousand and sixty two days')'. This appears to be a corrupt gloss whose insertion has seriously disrupted the text; D' (see note 10) seems to preserve the text in a better state.

five years, so that for the moon the days in eight years amount to
 16 two thousand eight hundred and thirty two days. For the differ-
 ence in eight years *is* eighty days, and all the days which *the moon* is
 17 behind in eight years *are* eighty days. And the year is completed
 exactly in accordance with their positions¹² and the positions of the
 sun, in that *sun and moon* rise from the gates from which *the sun* rises
 and sets for thirty days.

LXXV. And the leaders of the heads of thousands who *are* in charge
 of the whole creation and in charge of all the stars *have to do* also
 with the four *days* which are added, and are not separated from
 their position,¹ according to the whole² reckoning of the year. And
 these serve on the four days which are not counted in the reckoning
 2 of the year. And because of them men go wrong in them, for these
 lights really serve in the stations of the world, one in the first gate,
 and one in the third gate,³ and one in the fourth gate, and one in the
 sixth gate; and the exact harmony of the *course of the world* is
 completed⁴ in the separate three hundred and sixty four stations of
 3 the world. For the signs and the times and the years and the days
 the angel Uriel showed to me, whom the Lord of eternal glory has
 placed⁵ in charge of all the lights of heaven, in heaven and in the
 world, that they might rule on the face of heaven, and appear over
 the earth, and be the leaders of day and night, *namely* the sun, and
 the moon, and the stars, and all the serving creatures who revolve
 4 in all the chariots of heaven.⁶ Likewise Uriel showed to me twelve
 gate-openings⁷ in the disk of the chariot of the sun in heaven from
 which the rays of the sun come out; and from them heat⁸ comes out
 over the earth, when they are opened at the times which are

¹² GQTUD' 'their world-positions'.

¹ GMT'U 'from their office'.

² Eth. I om.

³ Eth. I adds 'of heaven'.

⁴ G 'and with exactness the *course of the world* is completed'; D' 'the year is completed exactly'; Q 'and the exactness of the year he completes' (TU also have the active 'he completes').

⁵ GMTUL 'whom the Lord of Glory has for ever placed'; Q 'whom the Lord of Spirits has for ever placed'; D' defective.

⁶ in . . . heaven: Q 'with all the armies of heaven'.

⁷ Lit. 'open gates'.

⁸ MQB' 'death'.

5 appointed for them. And *there are such* for the winds and for the
 spirit of the dew, when they are opened⁹ at the *appointed* times,¹⁰
 6 open in heaven at the ends.¹¹ I saw twelve gates in heaven,¹² at the
 ends of the earth, from which the sun, and the moon, and the stars
 7 and all the works of heaven go out in the east and in the west. And
there are many window-openings¹³ to the north and to the south¹⁴ –
 and each window at its *appointed* time sends out heat¹⁵ – corres-
 ponding to those gates from which the stars go out in accordance
 with his command to them, and in which they set according to
 8 their number. And I saw chariots in heaven, running through the
 world above and below¹⁶ those gates, in which the stars which
 9 never set rotate. And one is bigger than all *the others*, and it goes
 round through the whole world.

LXXVI. And at the ends of the earth I saw twelve gates open to all
 the winds,¹ from which the winds come out and blow over the
 2 earth. Three of them *are* open in the front of heaven, and three in
 the west, and three on the right of heaven, and three on the left.
 3 And the three first *are* those which *are* towards the east, and three
are towards the north, and the three after these² on the left *are*
 4 towards the south, and three *are* in the west. Through four of them
 come winds of blessing and peace, and from those eight come
 winds of punishment; when they are sent, they bring devastation to
 the whole earth, and to the water which *is* on it, and to all those

⁹ And *there are such* . . . opened: translation and meaning uncertain.

¹⁰ at the *appointed* times: GMQT'UD' om.

¹¹ open in heaven at the ends: D' om. and probably copied by mistake from verse 6 (for 'open' cp. D' in note 12).

¹² I saw twelve gates in heaven: GMQT'U 'When they are opened, *there are* twelve gates in heaven' ('When they are opened' repeated by mistake from verse 5); D' ungrammatical, but probably 'There are twelve gates open in heaven'.

¹³ Lit. 'open windows'.

¹⁴ Lit. 'to the left and to the right'.

¹⁵ QA' 'death'.

¹⁶ and below: Eth.I and some Eth.II MSS om.

¹ Or 'to all directions' (in both Ethiopic and Aramaic the word for 'wind' can also have the meaning 'quarter, direction').

² after these: so GM; T Eth.II 'opposite (lit. 'at the back of') those'; QUD' differ slightly.

who dwell upon it, and to everything which is in³ the water and on
 5 the dry ground. And the first wind from those gates, called the east
wind, comes out through the first gate which *is* towards the east, *the*
one which inclines to the south; from it comes devastation, drought,
 6 and heat,⁴ and destruction.⁵ And through the second gate in the
 middle comes what is right, and from it come rain,⁶ and fruitfulness,
 and prosperity and dew; and through the third gate, which *is*
 7 towards the north, come cold and drought. And after these the
 winds towards the south come out through three gates. First,⁷
 through the first of the gates, *the one* which inclines towards the
 8 east, comes a hot wind.⁸ And through the middle gate, which *is*
 next to it, come pleasant fragrances, and dew, and rain, and
 9 prosperity and life. And through the third gate, which *is* towards
 10 the west, come dew, and rain, and locusts and devastation. And
 after these the winds towards the north⁹ . . . From the seventh
 gate,¹⁰ which *is* towards the east,¹¹ . . . come dew and rain, locusts
 11 and devastation. And through the middle gate exactly come rain,
 and dew, and life¹² and prosperity.¹³ And through the third gate,
 which *is* towards the west,¹⁴ . . . come mist, and hoar-frost, and
 12 snow, and rain, and dew and locusts. And after these¹⁵ . . . the

³ EFHP² 'on'.

⁴ QFJNA' 'death'; D' 'punishment'.

⁵ U 'force'.

⁶ And through . . . rain: so all MSS (with minor variations) except GUD'J; GJ 'And through the second gate in the middle, from it come rain' (omission by hmt.); D' 'And through the second gate exactly in the middle, from it come rain'; U corrupt. 'What is right' is awkward, and D', although itself possibly defective, gives better sense.

⁷ So GMT Eth.II and Aram.: QUD' om.

⁸ MTU 'hot winds'; A'B' 'a wind of death'; GD' corrupt.

⁹ All Eth. MSS add a gloss 'named the sea' (for a Palestinian the sea is the west, not the north).

¹⁰ From the seventh gate: so I correct Eth. which in all its various forms appears corrupt. GQTUD' 'and which came out (D' 'come out') from the seventh gate'; M 'and which came out from the great seventh gate'; Eth.II 'From three, the seventh gate' or 'From, thirdly, the seventh gate'.

¹¹ All Eth. MSS add here a gloss – thus Q adds 'the south', GTUD' add 'towards the south', M Eth.II add 'which inclines towards the south'.

¹² rain . . . life: Eth.I 'life, and rain, and dew'.

¹³ and prosperity: GD' om.

¹⁴ All Eth. MSS add here by mistake 'which inclines towards the north'.

¹⁵ All Eth. MSS add here a gloss 'fourthly'.

winds towards the west. Through the first gate, which inclines towards the north, come dew, and rain,¹⁶ and hoar-frost, and cold, and snow and frost. And from the middle gate come dew and rain, prosperity and blessing. And through the last gate, which is towards the south, come drought and devastation, burning and destruction. And *thus* the twelve gates of the four quarters¹⁷ of heaven are complete. And all their laws, and all¹⁸ their punishments and all their benefits¹⁹ I have shown to you, my son Methuselah.

LXXVII. They call the first quarter eastern, because it is the first; and they call the second the south, because there the Most High descends,¹ and there especially² the one who is blessed for ever descends. And the western quarter is called waning, because there all the lights of heaven wane and go down. And the fourth quarter, named the north, is divided into three parts.³ And the first of them is the dwelling-place for men; and the second *contains* seas of water, and the deeps, and forests, and rivers, and darkness and mist; and the third⁴ part *contains* the Garden of Righteousness. I saw seven high mountains which were higher than all the mountains which are on the earth, and from them snow comes. And days and times and years pass away and go by.⁵ I saw seven⁶ rivers on the earth larger than all the *other* rivers; one of them comes from the east and pours out its water into the Great Sea. And two of them come from the north to the sea and pour out their water into the Erythraean sea in the east. And the remaining four flow out on the side of the north to their sea, (two to)⁷ the Erythraean sea, and two into the

¹⁶ and rain: Eth.I om.

¹⁷ So Aram.: Eth. by mistake repeats 'gates'.

¹⁸ QU om.

¹⁹ and all their benefits: Q and many Eth.II MSS om. 'all'; D' 'and their benefits and everything'.

¹ So Eth., but often thought to be corrupt for 'dwell' which Aram. now attests.

² D' 'and especially because there'.

³ Aram. has a much fuller text than Eth. in verses 2-3a. Apart from other differences Aram. explains the name of the northern quarter and provides a second explanation of the name of the eastern quarter.

⁴ GQTUD' 'second'.

⁵ and go by: GMTUD' om.

⁶ Eth.I om.

⁷ two to: required for the sense, although omitted by all MSS (D' alone has 'to').

Great Sea, and⁸ they discharge themselves there, but some say: into the wilderness. And I saw seven large islands in the sea and on the land: two on the land, and five in the Great Sea.⁹

LXXVIII. The names of the sun are as follows: the first Oryares, and the second Tomases. The moon has four names: the first name is Asonya, and the second Ebla, and the third Banase, and the fourth Era'e. These are the two great lights; their disk is like the disk of heaven, and in size the two are equal.¹ In the disk of the sun are seven parts of light which are added to it more than to the moon, and in fixed measure light is transferred to the moon until a seventh part of the sun is exhausted. And they set, and go into the gates of the west, and go round through the north, and rise through the gates of the east on the face of heaven. And when the moon rises, it appears in heaven and has a half of a seventh part of light; and on the fourteenth day it makes all its light full.² And fifteen parts of light are transferred to it, until on the fifteenth day its light is full, according to the sign of the year, and amounts to fifteen parts. And the moon comes into being by halves of a seventh part. And in its waning on the first day it decreases to fourteen parts of its light, and on the second to thirteen parts, and on the third to twelve parts, and on the fourth to eleven parts, and on the fifth to ten parts, and on the sixth to nine parts, and on the seventh to eight parts, and on the eighth to seven parts, and on the ninth to six parts, and on the tenth to five parts, and on the eleventh to four parts, and on the twelfth to three, and on the thirteenth to two,³ and on the fourteenth to half of a seventh part, and all the light that remains

⁸ Eth.II om.

⁹ two . . . Sea: some Eth.II MSS 'two and five in the Great Sea'; M 'two on the land and five in the Erythraean sea'; GQTUD' 'seven and two in the Erythraean sea'.

¹ U 'and the size of the disk of both is equal'; GMQTD' 'and the size of the disk of both - like the disk of heaven - is equal'.

² GMQTD' text uncertain, perhaps 'it appears in heaven with a half of a seventh part; the light becomes whole in it; on the fourteenth day it makes its light full'; U corrupt.

³ GMQUD'D'a 'to a half'.

9 from the total disappears on the fifteenth day.⁴ And in certain
 10 months the moon has twenty nine days in each *month*, and once
 11 twenty eight. And Uriel showed me another law, *namely* when light
 12 is transferred to the moon, and on which side it is transferred from
 13 the sun. All the time that the moon is increasing in its light, it
 14 transfers *light to itself* opposite the sun until, in fourteen days, its
 15 light is full in heaven;⁵ and when it is all ablaze, its light is full in
 16 heaven. And on the first day it is called the new moon, for on that
 day light rises on it. And *its light* becomes full exactly on the day the
 sun goes down into the west, and it rises from the east at night. And
 the moon shines through the whole night until the sun rises oppo-
 site it, and the moon is seen⁶ opposite the sun. And on the side on
 which the light of the moon appears, there again it wanes until all
 its light disappears, and the days of the moon come to an end, and
 its disk remains empty, without light. And for three months, at its
 proper time, it achieves thirty days, and for three months⁷ it
 achieves in each *month* twenty nine days, during which it completes
 its waning, in the first *period of* time and in the first gate, in one
 hundred and seventy seven days. And in the time of its rising for
 three months it appears in each *month* for thirty days, and for three
 months it appears in each *month* for twenty nine days. By night, for
 twenty days each time,⁸ it looks like a man, and by day like heaven,
 for there is nothing else in it except its light.

LXXIX. And now, my son Methuselah,¹ I have shown you every-
 2 thing, and the whole law of² the stars of heaven is complete. And he

⁴ GMUD'a (with some corruptions and variations) 'and on the fourteenth to a
 half and a seventh part of all its light, and on the fifteenth day what remains from the
 total disappears'; QD' 'and on the fourteenth to a half, and with a seventh part all
 its light decreases, and on the fifteenth day what remains from the total disappears';
 T partially corresponds to Eth.II and partially to GMUD'a.

⁵ in heaven: Eth.I om.

⁶ GQUD'aA 'is equal'.

⁷ And for three months . . . three months: GMTD'D'a (with some corruptions
 and variations) 'And for three months it achieves . . . days (numeral is missing, and
 text corrupt; only T² has 'thirty'), and at its proper time, when it completes its
 waning, for three months'; QU unintelligible, but similar to GM etc.

⁸ for twenty days each time: D' om.

¹ GMQUD'D'a om.

² U 'all the laws of'; GMQTD'a 'the law of all'; D' 'the law and all'.

showed me the whole law for these, for every day, and for every
 time, and for every *period of* rule,³ and for every year, and for the
 end thereof, according to its command for every month and every
 3 week; and the waning of the moon which occurs in the sixth gate,
 4 for in that sixth gate its light becomes full, and after that it is the
 5 beginning of the month; and⁴ the waning which occurs in the first
 6 gate, at its proper time, until one hundred and seventy seven days
 are complete (reckoned according to weeks: twenty five *weeks* and
 two days); and how⁵ it falls behind the sun, according to the law of
 the stars, by exactly five days in one *period of* time, and when this
 place which you see has been traversed. Such *is* the appearance
 and the likeness of⁶ every light which Uriel, the great angel who is
 their leader, showed to me.

LXXX. And in those days Uriel¹ answered me and said to me,
 Behold I have shown you² everything, O Enoch, and have revealed
 everything to you, that you may see this sun, and this moon, and
 those who lead the stars of heaven, and all those who turn them,
 2 their tasks, and their times³ and their rising. But in the days of the
 sinners the years will become shorter, and their seed will be late on
 their land and on their fields, and all things on the earth will
 change, and will not appear at their proper time. And the rain will
 3 be withheld, and heaven will retain *it*.⁴ And in those times the fruits
 4 of the earth will be late and will not grow at their proper time, and
 5 the fruits of the trees will be withheld at their proper time. And the
 moon will change its customary practice, and will not appear at its
 proper time. But in those days it will appear in heaven,⁵ and come
 . . . ⁶ on top⁷ of a large chariot in the west, and shine with more than

³ and for every *period of* rule: D' om.; GMQT(U)D'a 'which *is* for ruling'.

⁴ the month; and: so Eth.II, but possibly corrupt for 'the waning; and'; Eth.I om.

⁵ and how: GMQUD'D'a om.; C' om. 'how'. ⁶ Lit. 'from'.

¹ Uriel: Q om.; GMTD' 'the angel Uriel'; D'a defective.

² GTUD' 'I will show you'. ³ GMTD'D'a add 'and they turn them'.

⁴ GQT'UD'D'a 'will stand still'.

⁵ it will appear in heaven: so GTUD'D'a; all other MSS 'heaven will appear (or
 'will be seen')'.

⁶ Text unintelligible; I have omitted the word 'drought' which all MSS read here
 ('and drought will come'). ⁷ on top: possible meaning, but text obscure.

6 normal brightness. And many heads of the stars in command will go astray,⁸ and these will change their courses and their activities, and will not appear at the times which have been prescribed for
7 them. And the entire law of the stars will be closed to the sinners, and the thoughts of those who dwell upon the earth⁹ will go astray over them, and they will turn from all their ways, and will go
8 astray, and will think them gods. And many evils will overtake them,¹⁰ and punishment will come upon them to destroy them all.

LXXXI. And he said to me, O Enoch, look at the book of the¹ tablets of heaven, and read what is written upon them, and note
2 every individual fact. And I looked at everything in² the tablets of heaven, and I read everything which was written, and I noted everything. And I read the book and everything which was written
3 in it, all the deeds of men, and all³ who will be born of flesh on the earth⁴ for the generations of eternity. And then⁵ I immediately blessed the Lord,⁶ the eternal king of glory,⁷ in that he has made all the works of the world, and I praised the Lord because of his
4 patience, and I blessed *him* on account of⁸ the sons of Adam.⁹ And at that time¹⁰ I said, Blessed is the man who dies righteous and good, concerning whom no book of iniquity has been written,
5 and against whom no guilt has been found.¹¹ And these three¹²

⁸ in command (lit. 'of command') will go astray: Q² 'will go astray in regard to the command'; GQ'D'OB' corrupt. ⁹ GMQT¹UD'D'a 'of those on the earth'.

¹⁰ Lit. 'And evil will increase over them'.

¹ O Enoch . . . the book of the: Eth.I 'Look, O Enoch, at these (D' 'the')'.

² everything in: MQTUD'D'a om.

³ GD'a 'the book, all the deeds of men, and all'; MT 'the book of all the deeds of men, and of all'; D' 'that book, and all the deeds of men, and all'; U defective.

⁴ who will . . . earth: lit. 'the children of flesh who will be on the earth'.

⁵ GMTUD'D'a om. ⁶ Eth.I 'the great Lord'.

⁷ BCX 'the king of glory'; GMTUD'D'a 'the king of glory for ever'; Q 'the king, the Lord of glory for ever'.

⁸ blessed *him* on account of: D' 'wept on earth because of'.

⁹ Some Eth.II MSS 'the children of the world'.

¹⁰ GMQT¹UD'D'a 'And after this'; D' 'After this'.

¹¹ Q 'and against whom no guilt will be found'; GT¹UD'D'a 'nor will be found on the day of judgement'; M 'nor has been found on the day of judgement'; T² 'and against whom no guilt has been found on the day of judgement'; D' (?) 'and against whom judgement has not been found on that day'. ¹² Eth.I 'seven'.

holy ones brought me and set me on the earth before the door of my house, and said to me, Tell everything to your son Methuselah, and show all your children that no flesh is righteous before the
6 Lord, for he created them. For one year we will leave you with your children,¹³ until you have regained your strength,¹⁴ that you may teach your children, and write *these things* down for them, and testify to all your children. And in the second year they will take
7 you from among them. Let your heart be strong, for the good will proclaim righteousness to the good, the righteous will rejoice with
8 the righteous, and they will wish each other well. But the sinner will die with the sinner, and the apostate will sink with the
9 apostate. And those who practise righteousness will die¹⁵ because of the deeds of men, and will be gathered in¹⁶ because of the deeds
10 of the impious. And in those days they finished speaking to me, and I went to my family, as I blessed the Lord of the ages.¹⁷

LXXXII. And now, my son Methuselah, all these things I recount to you and write down for you;¹ I have revealed everything to you² and have given you books about all these things. Keep, my son Methuselah,³ the books from the hand of your father, that you may
2 pass *them* on to the generations⁴ of eternity. I have given wisdom to you and to your children,⁵ and to those who will be your children, that they may give *it* to their children for all the generations for
3 ever⁶ – this wisdom *which is* beyond their thoughts.⁷ And those who

¹³ GMQTUD' 'son'.

¹⁴ until . . . strength: so MT Eth.II (possibly to be translated 'until you have given your last commands again', but in this case 'again' is a little strange); U om.; GD'D'a corrupt; Q 'until you have again comforted him'.

¹⁵ D'D'a² 'will not die'.

¹⁶ and . . . in: D' 'they will be gathered in'; D'a(?) 'but they will be hidden'.

¹⁷ GMTUD'D'a 'of the world'.

¹ for you: GMTD'a om.

² I have . . . to you: some Eth.II MSS om.; D' om. 'everything'; U om. 'everything to you'; D'a 'I will reveal everything to you'.

³ GMQD'D'a om. ⁴ G 'children'.

⁵ T 'and to your son'; G corrupt; M adds a second 'and to your children'.

⁶ C' 'for eternal generations'; Q and some Eth.II MSS 'for the generations for ever'; GMTUD'D'a 'for generations'; D' 'and for generations'.

⁷ that they may give . . . their thoughts: D'D'a (with some corruptions and

understand it will not sleep, but will incline their ears that they may learn this wisdom, and it will be better for those who eat *from it* than good food. Blessed are all the righteous, blessed are all those⁸ who walk in the way of righteousness, and do not sin like the sinners in the numbering of all their days in which the sun journeys in heaven, coming in and out through the gates for thirty days with the heads over thousands of this⁹ order of stars, and with the four which are added and divide¹⁰ between the four parts of the year, which lead them and appear with them on four days. Because of them men go wrong, and they do not¹¹ reckon them in the reckoning of the whole *course of the world*;¹² for men go wrong in respect of them, and do not know them exactly. For they belong in the reckoning of the year,¹³ and are truly recorded *therein* for ever, one in the first gate, and one in the third, and one in the fourth and one in the sixth. And the year is completed in three hundred and sixty four days.¹⁴ And the account of it is true, and the recorded reckoning of it is exact, for the lights, and the months, and the feasts, and the years, and the days Uriel showed me, and he inspired me – he to whom the Lord of the whole created world gave commands about the host of heaven for me. And he has power in heaven over night and day to cause light to shine on men: the sun, and the moon, and the stars, and all the powers of heaven which rotate in their orbits. And this is the law of the stars which set in their places, at their times, and at their feasts, and in their months. And these *are* the names of those who lead them, who keep watch that they appear¹⁵ at their times,¹⁶ and in their orders, and at their proper

variations) 'that they may give this wisdom to their children for generations, and all the wise will sing praises, and wisdom will lie upon your thoughts'.

⁸ blessed are all those: GY om.; M 'blessed are all the righteous'; Q 'blessed then are all those'; D'D'a 'blessed are those'; U defective.

⁹ GTD'D'a 'the'; MQU corrupt.

¹⁰ GMUD'aNOB' 'are divided'.

¹¹ do not: D'B om.

¹² 'the whole *course of the world*: U 'the *course of the world*'; D' 'the year'; B 'all men'.

¹³ P² 'the world'; U 'the world and the year'.

¹⁴ Eth. I 'And the year of three hundred and sixty four days is completed'.

¹⁵ Lit. 'who keep watch and they appear'; U 'who appear'; D' 'who appear and they set'.

¹⁶ GMQTD'D'a add 'who lead them in their places'; U adds 'who lead them'.

times, and in their months, and in their periods of rule, and in their positions. Their four leaders who divide the four parts of the year appear first; and after them the twelve leaders of the orders who divide the months and the years into three hundred and sixty four *days*, with the heads¹⁷ over thousands who separate the days; and for the four *days* which are added to them there are the leaders who separate the four parts of the year. And as for these heads over thousands, one is added between the leader and the led¹⁸ behind a position, but their leaders make the separation. And these *are* the names of the leaders who separate the four appointed parts of the year: Melkiel, Helemmek, Meleyal and Narel. And the names of those whom they lead *are* Adnarel, Iyasusael and Iylumiel; these three follow behind the leaders of the orders, and *each* one follows behind the three leaders of the orders who follow behind those leaders of positions who separate the four parts of the year. In the beginning of the year¹⁹ Melkiel rises first and rules, *the one* who is called **the southern sun**,²⁰ and all the days of his period of rule during which he rules *are* ninety one. And these *are* the signs of the days which are to be seen on earth in the days of his period of rule: sweat, and heat,²¹ and calm;²² and all the trees bear fruit, and leaves appear on all the trees, and the wheat harvest, and rose flowers, and all the flowers bloom²³ in the field, but the trees of winter²⁴ are withered. And these *are* the names of the leaders who *are* under them:²⁵ Berkeel, Zelebsael, and another one who is added, a head over a thousand named Heloyaseph. And the days of the period of

¹⁷ and the years . . . with the heads: GMQUD'D'a (with some corruptions and variations) 'and for the three hundred and sixty *days* there are the heads'; T 'and the three hundred and sixty four *days*, with the heads'.

¹⁸ between . . . the led: GMUD'D'a 'between leader and leader'; QT'D defective. The meaning of this verse is rather obscure.

¹⁹ of the year: GQTUD'D'a om.

²⁰ Eth. has 'Tama'ayni and sun' (the word for 'southern' was transliterated, not translated, and 'and' was introduced by mistake).

²¹ B' 'death'.

²² and calm: so U, but with a small correction; all other MSS 'and sorrow'.

²³ and all . . . bloom: GQTD'D'a 'and all the flowers which come out'; MU defective.

²⁴ D'a 'of the field'.

²⁵ So all MSS except U (but we expect 'him'): U om. 'who are under them'.

18 rule of this one are complete. The second leader after him²⁶ is
 19 Helemmelek whom they call the shining sun; and all the days of
 his light *are* ninety one. And these are the signs of the days²⁷ on
 earth: heat, and drought; and the trees bring their fruit to ripeness
 and maturity, and make their fruit dry;²⁸ and the sheep mate, and
 become pregnant; and men gather all the fruits of the earth, and
 everything which is in the fields, and the vats of wine. And *these*
 20 *things* occur in the days of his period of rule. And these are the
 names and the orders and the leaders²⁹ . . . of these heads over
 thousands: Gedaeal, Keel and Heel;³⁰ and the name of the head
 over a thousand who is added to them *is* Asfael. And the days of his
 period of rule are complete.

LXXXIII. And now, my son Methuselah, I will show you all the¹
 2 visions which I saw, recounting *them* before you. Two visions I saw
 before I took a wife, and neither one was like the other. For the first
 time when I learnt the art of writing, and for the second time before
 I took your mother, I saw a terrible vision; and concerning them I
 3 made supplication to the Lord. I had lain down in the house of my
 grandfather Malalel, *when* I saw in a vision *how* heaven was thrown
 4 down and removed, and it fell upon the earth. And when it fell
 upon the earth, I saw how the earth was swallowed up in a great
 abyss, and mountains were suspended on mountains, and hills
 sank down upon hills, and tall trees were torn up by their roots,²
 5 and were thrown down, and sank into the abyss. And then speech

²⁶ So GTUD'D'a: other MSS 'them'.

²⁷ the signs of the days: MT 'the days of his sign'; GQUD'D'a corrupt or defective.

²⁸ and maturity . . . dry: GMQTD'D'a (with some corruptions and omissions) 'and produce all their fruit ripe and mature'; U defective.

²⁹ All MSS except GQUD'a add 'who *are* under them', but the text is awkward, and I omit with GQ. 'Who *are* under him' would be easier, but the text is still confusing. D'a 'and the leaders of those who *are* under these heads'; U defective.

³⁰ Keel and Heel: GMQUD'a om. 'and Heel'; D' 'Helyael and Kiel'.

¹ GMQ 'my'. From the beginning of chapter lxxxiii onwards there are so many omissions and corruptions in U that it has not been thought worth recording them except in a few special cases.

² Lit. 'from their roots' or 'from their trunks'.

fell into my mouth, and I raised *my voice*³ to cry out and said, The
 6 earth is destroyed! And my grandfather Malalel roused me, while I
 lay near him, and said to me, Why do you cry out so, my son, and
 7 why do you moan so? And I recounted to him the whole vision
 which I had seen, and he said to me, A terrible thing you have seen,
 my son! Your dream-vision concerns⁴ the secrets of all the sin of the
 earth;⁵ it is about to sink into the abyss, and be utterly destroyed.
 8 And now, my son, rise, and make supplication to the Lord of Glory
 – for you are faithful – that a remnant may be left on the earth, and
 9 that he may not wipe out the whole earth.⁶ My son, from heaven all
 this will come upon the earth, and upon the earth there will be
 10 great destruction. And then I rose, and prayed, and made suppli-
 cation,⁷ and wrote my prayer down for the generations of eternity,
 11 and I will show everything to you, my son Methuselah. And when
 I went out below, and saw heaven, and the sun rising in the east,⁸
 and the moon setting in the west, and some stars, and the whole
 earth,⁹ and everything as he knew it at the beginning, then I
 blessed the Lord of Judgement, and ascribed majesty to him, for he
 makes the sun come out from the windows of the east so that it
 ascends and rises¹⁰ on the face of heaven, and sets out and goes in
 the path which has been shown to it.

LXXXIV. And I raised my hands in righteousness, and I blessed
 the Holy and Great One, and I spoke with the breath of my mouth,
 and with the tongue of flesh which God has made for men born of
 flesh,¹ that they might speak with it; and he has given them breath,

³ G 'and I rose'; TN 'and I began'.

⁴ Your dream-vision concerns (lit. 'is heavy with'): D' 'A hard vision you have dreamed with regard to'; GMQT unintelligible.

⁵ the secrets . . . earth: C' 'the secrets of all the sin; the earth'; G 'the sin of all the sin; the earth'; M (corrupt?) 'the sin of all the sin of the earth'; QD' 'the sin of all the earth'.

⁶ and that . . . earth: GMQ om.

⁷ GMTD' add 'and petitioned'.

⁸ GMQ add 'and the sun'.

⁹ and the whole earth: T and some Eth.II MSS om.

¹⁰ Lit. 'and it ascends and rises'.

¹ Lit. 'for the children of the flesh of men'; some Eth.II MSS 'for the children of men'; Q 'for the children of men of flesh'.

and a tongue and a mouth, that they might speak with them.
 2 Blessed *are* you, O Lord King, and great and powerful in your
 majesty, Lord of the whole creation of heaven, King of Kings, and
 God of the whole world! And your kingly authority, and your
 sovereignty and your majesty will last for ever, and for ever and
 ever, and your power for all generations. And all the heavens *are*
 3 your throne for ever, and the whole earth your footstool for ever,
 and for ever and ever. For you made, and you rule² everything, and
 nothing is too hard for you, and no wisdom escapes you; it does not
 turn away from your throne,³ nor from your presence. And you
 know and see and hear everything, and nothing is hidden from
 4 you, for you see everything. And now the angels of your heaven are
 doing wrong, and your anger rests upon the flesh of men until the
 5 day of the great judgement. And now, O God and Lord and Great
 King, I entreat and ask that you will fulfil my prayer to leave me a
 posterity on earth, and not to wipe out all the flesh of men and
 6 make the earth empty, so that there is destruction for ever. And
 now, my Lord, wipe out from the earth the flesh which has pro-
 voked you to anger, but the flesh of righteousness and uprightness
 establish as a seed-bearing plant for ever. And do not hide your
 face from the prayer of your servant, O Lord.

LXXXV. And after this I saw another dream, and I will show it all¹
 2 to you, my son. And Enoch raised *his voice*² and said to his son
 Methuselah, To you I speak, my son. Hear my words, and incline
 3 your ear to the dream-vision of your father. Before I took your
 mother Edna, I saw in a vision on³ my bed, and behold a bull came
 out of the earth, and that bull was white; and after it a heifer came
 out, and with the heifer⁴ came two bullocks,⁵ and one of them was

² Some Eth.II MSS 'fill'.

³ So Q; all other MSS except U have a corrupt dittograph 'from her life, your throne'; U defective.

¹ it all: G 'the whole dream'.

² Q 'rose'; TD'NC' 'answered'.

³ GMTD' 'of'.

⁴ Lit. 'and with it (fem.)'; MTD'EFHP' 'and with it (masc.)'; Q 'with it (masc.)'.

⁵ two bullocks: so GNC'; other MSS have an ambiguous phrase perhaps to be translated 'other bullocks'.

4 black, and the other red. And that black bullock struck the red one,
 and pursued it over the earth, and from then on I could not see that
 5 red bullock. But that black bullock grew, and a heifer went with it;
 and I saw that many bulls came out from it which were like it and
 6 followed behind it.⁶ And that cow, that first one, came from the
 presence of that first bull, seeking that red bullock, but did not find
 7 it; and thereupon it moaned bitterly,⁷ and continued to seek it. And
 I looked until that first bull came to it and calmed it, and from that
 8 time it did not cry out. And after this she bore another white bull,⁸
 9 and after it she bore many black bulls and cows. And I saw in my
 sleep that white bull, how it likewise grew and became a large
 white bull, and from it came many white bulls, and they were like
 10 it. And they began to beget many white bulls which were like them,
 one following another.⁹

LXXXVI. And again I looked with my eyes as I was sleeping, and I
 saw heaven above, and behold a star fell from heaven, and it arose
 2 and ate and pastured amongst those bulls. And after this I saw the
 large and the black bulls, and behold all of them changed their
 pens and their pastures and their heifers, and they began to moan,¹
 3 one after another.² And again I saw in the vision and looked at
 heaven, and behold I saw many stars, how they came down and
 were thrown down³ from heaven to that first star, and amongst
 those heifers and bulls; they were with them, pasturing⁴ amongst
 4 them. And I looked at them and saw, and behold all of them let out
 their private parts like horses and began to mount the cows of the
 bulls, and they all became pregnant and bore elephants and
 5 camels and asses. And all the bulls were afraid of them and were
 terrified before them, and they began to bite with their teeth, and

⁶ GMTD' 'them'.

⁷ GQD' 'and it moaned bitterly over it (G 'in respect of it')'.

⁸ GQD' 'two white bulls'.

⁹ GMQTD' 'many following, one after another'.

¹ G 'to live'.

² Eth.II 'one with another'.

³ Or 'and threw themselves down'.

⁴ and amongst . . . pasturing: GMQD' 'and amongst those heifers they became bulls, and with them they pastured'; T unintelligible.

6 to devour, and to gore with their horns. And so they began to devour those bulls, and behold all the children of the earth began to tremble and shake before them, and to flee.⁵

LXXXVII. And again I saw them, how they began to gore one another and to devour one another, and the earth began to cry out.
2 And I raised my eyes again to heaven and saw in the vision, and behold there came from heaven beings who were like white men;
3 and four¹ came from that place, and three *others* with them.² And those three who came out last took hold of me by my hand, and raised me from the generations of the earth, and lifted me onto a high place, and showed me a tower high above the earth, and all
4 the hills were lower.³ And one⁴ said to me, Remain here until you have seen everything which is coming upon these⁵ elephants and camels and asses, and upon the stars, and upon all the bulls.⁶

LXXXVIII. And I saw one of those four who had come out first, how he took hold of that first star which had fallen from heaven, and bound it by its hands and its feet, and threw it into an abyss; and
2 that abyss was narrow, and deep, and horrible¹ and dark. And one of them drew his² sword and gave *it* to those elephants and camels³ and asses, and they began to strike one another, and the whole
3 earth shook because of them. And as I looked in the vision, behold one of those four who had come out cast from heaven and gathered and took⁴ all the large stars whose private parts *were* like the private parts of horses, and bound them all by their hands and their feet, and threw them into a chasm of the earth.

⁵ GMD' add 'from them'.

¹ So Eth.I: Eth.II 'one'. ² So M: other MSS 'him'.

³ So T Eth.II: GMQ 'built'(?); D' 'firmly fixed'(?).

⁴ Q and many Eth.II MSS 'they'.

⁵ Eth.I 'those'.

⁶ GMQTD' 'and upon the bulls and all of them'.

¹ D' 'and enclosed'; GMT(?) 'and desolate'; Q(?) 'and worm-infested'.

² Eth.I 'a'. ³ and camels: GMQD' om.

⁴ cast . . . and took: so T Eth.II, but N reads 'cast a sword from heaven' etc., and T reads 'and he cast from heaven' etc. The text is awkward, but the Eth.I variants (some or all – so D' – of the verbs in the plural) do not give better sense.

LXXXIX. And one of those four went to a white bull¹ and taught him² a mystery, trembling as he was.³ He was born a bull, but became a man, and built for himself a large vessel and dwelt on it, and three bulls dwelt with him in that vessel, and they were
2 covered over.⁴ And I again raised my eyes to heaven and saw a high roof, with seven water-channels on it, and those channels
3 discharged much water into an enclosure. And I looked again, and behold springs⁵ opened on the floor of that large enclosure, and water began to bubble up and to rise above the floor; and I looked
4 at that enclosure until⁶ its whole floor was covered by water. And water and darkness and mist increased on it; and I looked at the height of that water, and that water had risen above that enclosure and was pouring out over the enclosure, and it remained on the
5 earth. And all the bulls of that enclosure were gathered together until I saw how they sank and were swallowed up and destroyed in
6 that water. And that vessel floated on the water, but all the bulls and elephants and camels and asses sank to the bottom, together with all the animals, so that I could not see them. And they were unable to get out, but were destroyed and sank into the depths.
7 And again I looked in the vision until those water-channels were removed from that high roof, and the chasms of the earth were
8 made level,⁷ and other abysses were opened. And the water began to run down into them until the earth became visible, and that vessel settled on the earth; and the darkness departed, and light
9 appeared. And that white bull who became a man went out from that vessel, and the three bulls with him. And one of the three bulls was white, like that bull, and one of them *was* red as blood, and one

¹ a white bull (or 'that white bull'): so M; Aram. 'one of the bulls'; other Eth. MSS 'those white bulls'.

² B²NXC' 'them'.

³ B²NX 'trembling as they were'; GQ 'without him trembling'.

⁴ and they were covered over: GMQ om. 'and'; D' (but with a minor mistake) 'and this vessel was closed over them'; Aram. 'and the vessel was closed and covered [over them]'.

⁵ Aram. 'chambers'; D' 'chasms' (cp. verse 7).

⁶ and I looked . . . until: so GT(U); Eth.II 'and made that enclosure invisible until'; MQD' corrupt; Aram. '[and] I looked until'.

⁷ and the chasms . . . level: Aram. 'the chambers were stopped'.

10 was black;⁸ and that white bull passed away from them. And they began to beget wild-animals and birds, so that there arose from them every kind of species: lions, tigers, wolves, dogs, hyenas, wild-boars, foxes, badgers, pigs, falcons, vultures, kites, eagles and
 11 ravens. But amongst them was born a white bull. And they began to bite one another; but that white bull which was born amongst them begat a wild ass and a white bull with it, and the wild asses⁹
 12 increased. But that bull which was born from it begat a black wild-boar and a white sheep; and that wild-boar¹⁰ begat many
 13 boars, and that sheep begat twelve sheep. And when those twelve sheep had grown, they handed one of their number over to the asses, and those asses in turn handed that sheep over to the wolves; and that sheep grew up amongst the wolves. And the Lord brought the eleven sheep to dwell with it and to pasture with it amongst the
 14 wolves, and they increased and became many flocks of sheep. And the wolves began to make them afraid,¹¹ and they oppressed them until they made away with their young, and they threw their young into a river with much water; but those sheep began to cry out because of their young, and to complain to their Lord. But a sheep which had been saved from the wolves fled and escaped to the wild asses. And I saw the sheep moaning and crying out, and petitioning their Lord with all their power, until that Lord of the sheep came down at the call of the sheep from a high room,¹² and came to them, and looked at them.¹³ And he called that sheep which had fled from the wolves, and spoke to it about the wolves that it should warn them that they should not touch the sheep. And the sheep went to the wolves in accordance with the word of the Lord, and another sheep met that sheep¹⁴ and went with it; and the two of them together¹⁵ entered the assembly of those wolves, and spoke to them, and warned them that from then on they should not touch the sheep. And after this I saw the wolves, how they acted even more harshly towards the sheep with all their power, and the sheep

⁸ and one was black: Eth.I om.

⁹ Some Eth.II MSS 'and the wild ass'.

¹⁰ and that wild-boar: MQTD' 'and the former' (lit. 'and that one'); G defective.

¹¹ Some Eth. MSS 'to fear them'.

¹² TD'B 'from the room of the Most High'.

¹³ Or 'and pastured them'.

¹⁴ GMQD' 'met it'.

¹⁵ GMQD' add 'went and'.

20 cried out. And their Lord came to the sheep, and began¹⁶ to beat those wolves; and the wolves began to moan, but the sheep became
 21 silent, and from then on they did not cry out. And I looked at the sheep until they escaped from the wolves; but the eyes of the wolves were blinded, and those wolves went out in pursuit of the sheep
 22 with all their forces. And the Lord of the sheep went with them as he led them, and all his sheep followed him; and his face was
 23 glorious, and his appearance terrible and magnificent.¹⁷ But the wolves began to pursue those sheep until they met them by a stretch of water. And that stretch of water was divided, and the water stood on one side and on the other before them; and their
 24 Lord, as he led them, stood between them and the wolves. And while those wolves had not yet seen the sheep, they went¹⁸ into the middle of that stretch of water; but the wolves pursued the sheep,
 25 and those wolves ran after them into that stretch of water. But when they saw the Lord of the sheep, they turned to flee before him; but that stretch of water flowed together again and suddenly resumed its natural form, and the water swelled up and rose until it
 26 covered those wolves. And I looked until all the wolves which had pursued those sheep were destroyed and drowned. But the sheep escaped from that water and went to a desert where there was neither water nor grass; and they began to open their eyes and to see; and I saw the Lord of the sheep pasturing them and giving
 27 them water and grass, and that sheep going and leading them. And that sheep went up to the summit of a high rock, and the Lord of the sheep sent it to them. And after this I saw the Lord of the sheep standing before them, and his appearance was terrible and majestic,¹⁹ and all those sheep saw him and were afraid of him. And all of them were afraid and trembled before him; and they cried out after that sheep with them²⁰ which was in their midst,²¹ We cannot

¹⁶ GQTD' 'and they began'; M corrupt.

¹⁷ and his appearance . . . magnificent: GMTD' 'and magnificent and terrible to see'; Q 'and terrible to see'.

¹⁸ D' (in part corruptly) 'had not yet seen him, the sheep went'.

¹⁹ terrible and majestic: so Eth.II; Eth.I 'great and terrible and majestic'; Aram. 'strong and great and']'.

²⁰ with them: so G; MQ 'with them to the other sheep'; D' 'which led them and the other sheep'; T Eth.II 'which was with him to the other sheep'.

²¹ D' adds 'and said'.

32 stand before our Lord, nor look at him. And that sheep which led them again went up to the summit of that rock; and the sheep began to be blinded and to go astray from the path which it had shown to them, but that sheep did not know. And the Lord of the sheep was extremely angry with them, and that sheep knew, and went down from the summit of the rock, and came to the sheep, and found the majority of them with their eyes blinded and going astray from his path.²² And when they saw it, they were afraid and trembled before it, and wished that they could return to their enclosure. And that sheep took some other sheep with it, and went to those sheep which had gone astray, and then began to kill them;²³ and the sheep were afraid of it. And that sheep brought back those sheep which had gone astray, and they returned to their enclosures. And I looked there at the vision²⁴ until that sheep became a man, and built a house for the Lord of the sheep, and made all the sheep stand in that house. And I looked until that sheep which had met that sheep which led the sheep²⁵ fell asleep; and I looked until all the large sheep were destroyed and small ones rose up in their place, and they came to a pasture, and drew near to a river of water. And that sheep which led them, which had become a man, separated from them and fell asleep; and all the sheep sought it and cried out very bitterly over it. And I looked until they left off crying for that sheep and crossed that river of water; and there arose all the sheep which led them in place of those which had fallen asleep, and they led them. And I looked until the sheep came to a good place and a pleasant and glorious land, and I looked until those sheep were satisfied; and that house was in the middle of them in the pleasant land. And sometimes their eyes were opened, and sometimes blinded, until another sheep rose up and led them, and brought them all back,²⁶ and their eyes were opened. And the dogs and the foxes and the wild-boars began to devour those sheep²⁷ until the Lord of the sheep raised up

²² from his path; GMQTD' om.

²³ and then . . . kill them; GMQD' 'killing them'.

²⁴ there at the vision: GMTD' 'in this vision'; Q 'in that vision'.

²⁵ GMQD' 'which led them'.

²⁶ D' 'and they all came back'.

²⁷ Gk.' 'And the dogs began to devour the sheep, and the wild-boars and the foxes devoured them'.

43 a ram²⁸ from among them²⁹ which led them. And that ram began to butt those dogs and foxes and wild-boars, on one side and on the other, until it had destroyed them all.³⁰ And the eyes of that sheep were opened, and it saw that ram³¹ in the middle of the sheep, how it renounced its glory³² and began to butt those sheep, and how it trampled on them and behaved unbecomingly.³³ And the Lord of the sheep sent the sheep to another sheep³⁴ and raised it up to be a ram, and to lead the sheep³⁵ in place of that sheep³⁶ which had renounced its glory.³⁷ And it went to it, and spoke with it³⁸ alone, and raised up that ram, and made it the prince and leader of the sheep;³⁹ and during all this those⁴⁰ dogs oppressed the sheep. And the first ram pursued that⁴¹ second ram, and that second ram rose and fled⁴² before it. And I looked until those dogs made the first ram fall.⁴³ And that second ram rose up and led the small⁴⁴ sheep, and that ram begat many sheep and fell asleep; and a small sheep became ram in place of it, and became the prince and leader of those sheep.⁴⁵ And those⁴¹ sheep grew and increased; but all the⁴⁶

²⁸ until the Lord . . . a ram: so C' Gk.' and similarly N; all other Eth. MSS corrupt.

²⁹ Gk.' 'from the sheep' and om. 'which led them'.

³⁰ Gk.' 'to butt and to pursue with its horns, and to hurl itself against the foxes, and after them against the wild-boars; and it destroyed many wild-boars, and after them [it injure]d the dogs'.

³¹ Gk.' 'And the sheep (plur.) whose eyes were opened looked at the ram'.

³² how . . . its glory: Gk.' 'until it left its way'.

³³ and began . . . unbecomingly: Gk.' 'and began to walk off the way'.

³⁴ the sheep to another sheep: Gk.' 'this lamb to another lamb'.

³⁵ and raised . . . the sheep: Gk.' 'to appoint it as the ram in command of the sheep'.

³⁶ D 'that ram' (lit. 'that male sheep').

³⁷ Gk.' 'in place of the ram which had left its way'. In notes 32, 33, and 37 a small fragment of Aram. appears to support the originality of Gk.' 'way'.

³⁸ Gk.' adds 'secretly'.

³⁹ and raised up . . . the sheep: Gk.' 'and raised it up to be the ram and leader and prince of the sheep'; GMQD' corrupt.

⁴⁰ GMQTD' Gk.' 'the'.

⁴¹ Gk.' 'the'.

⁴² and that second . . . fled: Gk.' 'and it fled'.

⁴³ Gk.' 'Then I looked at the first ram until it fell before the dogs'.

⁴⁴ small: Gk.' om.

⁴⁵ and that ram . . . those sheep: Gk.' om.

⁴⁶ So some Eth. II MSS Gk.'; other Eth. MSS 'those'.

dogs and foxes and wild-boars⁴⁷ were afraid and fled from it,⁴⁸ and that ram butted and killed all the animals, and those animals did not again prevail amongst the sheep and did not seize anything further from them. And that house became large and broad, and for those sheep a high tower was built on that house⁴⁹ for the Lord of the sheep; and that house was low, but the tower was raised up and high; and the Lord of the sheep stood on that tower, and they spread a full table before him. And I saw those sheep again, how⁵⁰ they went astray, and walked in many ways, and left that house of theirs; and the Lord of the sheep called some of the sheep and sent them to the sheep, but the sheep began to kill them. But one of them was saved and was not killed, and it sprang away and cried out against the sheep, and they wished to kill it; but the Lord of the sheep saved it from the hands of⁵¹ the sheep, and brought it up to me, and made it remain *there*. And he sent many other sheep to those sheep to testify *to them* and to lament over them. And after this I saw how when they left the house of the Lord of the sheep⁵² and his tower, they went astray in everything, and their eyes were blinded; and I saw how the Lord of the sheep wrought much slaughter among them in their pastures until those sheep *themselves* invited that slaughter and betrayed his place. And he gave them into the hands of the lions and the tigers and the wolves and the hyenas, and into the hands of the foxes, and to all the animals; and those wild animals began to tear those sheep in pieces. And I saw how he left that house of theirs and their tower and gave them all into the hands of the lions, that they might tear them in pieces and devour them, into the hands of all the animals. And I began to cry out with all my power, and to call the Lord of the sheep,⁵³ and to represent to him with regard to the sheep that they were being devoured by all the wild animals. But he remained still, although he saw *it*, and rejoiced that they were devoured and swallowed up

⁴⁷ and wild-boars: Gk.^v om.

⁴⁸ were afraid . . . from it: Gk.^v 'fled from it and feared it' (Gk.^v ends here).

⁴⁹ and for . . . house: so many Eth.II MSS; all other MSS (except GQU) have two versions of this. Later this double reading was shortened, in Eth.II probably deliberately, in GQU probably by accident.

⁵⁰ GMT most Eth.II MSS add 'again'.

⁵¹ the hands of: GMD' om.

⁵² of the sheep: GMQTD' om.

⁵³ GMQD' 'of the lions'.

and carried off, and he gave them into the hands of all the animals for food. And he called seventy⁵⁴ shepherds and cast off those sheep⁵⁵ that they might pasture them; and he said to the shepherds and to their companions, Each one of you from now on is to pasture the sheep, and do whatever I command you. And I will hand *them* over to you duly numbered and will tell you which of them are to be destroyed, and destroy them. And he handed those sheep over to them. And he called another and said to him, Observe and see everything that the shepherds do against these sheep, for they will destroy from among them more than I have commanded them. And write down all the excess and destruction which is wrought by the shepherds, how many they destroy at my command, and how many they destroy of their own volition; write down against each shepherd individually all that he destroys. And read out before me exactly how many they destroy of their own volition,⁵⁶ and how many are handed over to them for destruction,⁵⁷ that this may be a testimony for me against them, that I may know all the deeds of the shepherds, in order to hand them over *for destruction*, and may see what they do, whether they abide by⁵⁸ my command which I have commanded them, or not. But they must not know *this*, and you must not show *this* to them, nor reprove them, but *only* write down against each individual in his time all that the shepherds destroy and bring it all up to me. And I looked until those shepherds pastured at their time, and they began to kill and to destroy more than they were commanded, and they gave those sheep into the hands of the lions. And the lions and the tigers devoured and swallowed up the majority of those sheep, and the wild-boars devoured with them; and they burnt down that tower and demolished that house. And I was extremely sad about the tower, because that house of the sheep had been demolished; and after that I was unable to see whether those sheep went into that house. And the shepherds and their companions handed those sheep over to all the animals that they might devour them; each one of them at his time received an exact number, and *of* each one of them after

⁵⁴ GMQ 'seven'.

⁵⁵ GQD' add 'to them'.

⁵⁶ of their own volition: GMQTD' and many Eth.II MSS om.

⁵⁷ Or 'and how many they hand over for destruction'.

⁵⁸ D' 'act according to'.

the other there was written in a book how many of them he
 69 destroyed⁵⁹ . . . And each one killed and destroyed more than was
 prescribed, and I began to weep and to moan very much⁶⁰ because
 70 of those sheep. And likewise in the⁶¹ vision I saw that one who
 wrote, how every day he wrote down each one which was destroyed
 by those shepherds, and *how* he brought up and presented and
 showed the whole book to the Lord of the sheep, everything that
 they had done, and all that each one of them had made away with,
 71 and all that they had handed over to destruction. And the book was
 read out before the Lord of the sheep, and he took the book in⁶² his
 72 hand, and read it, and sealed it, and put it down. And after this I
 saw how the shepherds pastured for twelve hours, and behold,
 three of those sheep returned and arrived and came and began to
 build up all that had fallen down from that house; but the wild-
 73 boars hindered them so that they could not. And they began again
 to build, as before, and they raised up that tower, and it was called
 the high tower; and they began again to place a table before the
 74 tower, but all the bread on it *was* unclean and was not pure. And
 besides all *this* the eyes of these sheep were blinded so that they
 could not see, and their shepherds likewise; and they handed yet
 more of them over to their shepherds for destruction, and they
 75 trampled upon the sheep with their feet and devoured them. But
 the Lord of the sheep remained still until all the sheep were
 scattered abroad and had mixed with them,⁶³ and they did not save
 76 them from the hand of the animals. And that one⁶⁴ who wrote the
 book brought it up, and showed it, and read *it* out in the dwelling of
 the Lord⁶⁵ of the sheep; and he entreated him on behalf of them,
 and petitioned him as he showed him all the deeds of their⁶⁶

⁵⁹ and *of* each . . . he destroyed: so Eth.II, although the text is a little awkward and perhaps should be emended to read 'and *of* each one of them the other (cp. verse 61) wrote in a book . . .'; Eth.I MSS offer little sense. All MSS (except U) repeat some words at the end of the verse by mistake.

⁶⁰ very much: GMQTD' om.

⁶¹ D' 'my'.

⁶² GMTD' 'from'; Q corrupt.

⁶³ i.e., apparently, with the animals.

⁶⁴ GMQT 'this one'; D' 'the one'.

⁶⁵ and read . . . the Lord: so MQT²(?) Eth.II; G 'and read *it* out before the Lord'; T¹ 'and read out the great things to the Lord'; D' 'and read out the great things of the Lord'.

⁶⁶ GMQD' 'the'.

77 shepherds, and testified before him against all the shepherds. And he took the book, and put it down by him,⁶⁷ and went out.

XC. And I looked until the time that thirty-seven¹ shepherds had pastured *the sheep* in the same way, and, each individually, they all completed their time like the first ones; and others received them into their hands to pasture them at their time, each shepherd at his
 2 own time. And after this I saw in the vision² all the birds of heaven coming: the eagles, and the vultures, and the kites, and the ravens;
 3 but the eagles led all the birds; and they began to devour those
 sheep, and to peck out their eyes, and to devour their flesh. And the
 4 sheep cried out because their flesh was devoured by the birds, and I cried out³ and lamented in my sleep on account of that shepherd
 who pastured the sheep. And I looked until those sheep were
 5 devoured by the dogs and by the eagles and by the kites, and they left on them neither flesh nor skin nor sinew until only their bones
 remained; and their bones fell upon the ground, and the sheep
 6 became few. And I looked until the time that twenty three shepherds⁴ had pastured *the sheep*; and they completed, each in his
 time, fifty eight times. And small lambs⁵ were born from those
 7 white sheep, and they began to open their eyes, and to see, and to cry to the sheep. But the sheep did not cry to them and⁶ did not
 listen to what they said to them,⁷ but were extremely deaf, and
 8 their eyes were extremely and excessively blinded.⁸ And I saw in the vision how the ravens flew upon those lambs, and took one of
 those lambs, and dashed the sheep in pieces and devoured them.
 9 And I looked until horns came up on those lambs, but the ravens

⁶⁷ D' adds 'in the same way'.

¹ So all MSS except M (QD' corruptly), but a mistake for 'thirty-five': M om.

² GQT 'in my vision'; D' 'with my eyes'.

³ GQ 'and I looked'; M 'and I saw'.

⁴ GMQD' om.

⁵ GMQTD' 'And behold, lambs'.

⁶ D'L'N 'And the sheep cried to them, but they'; GOB' 'But they did not cry to them and'; M 'But they oppressed them and'; Q 'And they cried to them, but they'; T 'But they did not hear them and'.

⁷ what they said to them: GMQTD'N 'their words'.

⁸ and excessively blinded: so T Eth.II; GMQ 'blinded and heavy'(?), but the text is of uncertain meaning; D' corrupt.

cast their horns down;⁹ and I looked until a big horn grew on¹⁰ one of those sheep, and their eyes were opened.¹¹ And it looked at them, and their eyes were opened, and it¹² cried to the sheep, and the rams saw it, and they all ran to it. And besides all this those eagles and vultures and ravens and kites were still continually tearing the sheep in pieces and flying upon them and devouring them; and the sheep were silent, but the rams lamented and cried out. And those ravens battled and fought with it, and wished to make away with its horn, but they did not prevail against it. And I looked at them until the shepherds and the eagles and those vultures and kites came and cried to the ravens that they should dash the horn of that ram in pieces; and they fought and battled with it, and it fought with them and cried out that its help might come to it.¹³ And I looked until that man who wrote down the names of the shepherds and brought *them* up before the Lord of the sheep came, and he helped that ram and showed it everything, *namely that* its help was coming down.¹⁴ And I looked until that¹⁵ Lord of the sheep came to them in anger, and all those who saw him fled, and they all fell into the¹⁶ shadow before him. All the eagles and vultures and ravens and kites gathered together and brought with them all the wild sheep,¹⁷ and they all came together and helped one another in order to dash that horn of the ram in pieces. And I looked at that man who wrote the book at the command of the Lord until he opened that book of the destruction which those twelve last shepherds had wrought, and he showed before the Lord of the sheep that they had destroyed even more than *those* before them. And I looked until the Lord of the sheep came to them and took in his hand the staff of his anger and struck the earth; and the earth

⁹ D' 'broke their horns'.

¹⁰ So GC': all other MSS om ('one of those sheep' will then be in apposition to 'a big horn').

¹¹ GMT add 'and their eyes saw'.

¹² GQT 'they'. ¹³ to it: GMQTD' om.

¹⁴ G 'and he helped it, and saved it, and showed it everything; he had come down for the help of that ram'.

¹⁵ GTD' 'the'; M corrupt.

¹⁶ So GMD': other MSS 'his'.

¹⁷ Some Eth. II MSS 'and brought with them all the wild asses'; GQD' (QD' in part corruptly) 'and all the wild sheep came with them'.

was split, and all the animals and¹⁸ the birds of heaven fell from those sheep and sank in the earth, and it closed over them. And I looked until a big sword was given to the sheep, and the sheep went out against all the¹⁹ wild animals to kill them, and all the animals and the birds of heaven fled before them. And I looked until a throne was set up in the pleasant land, and the Lord of the sheep sat on it; and they took all the sealed books and opened²⁰ those books before the Lord of the sheep. And the Lord called those men,²¹ the seven first white ones, and commanded *them* to bring before him the first star²² which went before those stars whose private parts *were* like the private parts of horses²³ . . . and they brought them all before him.²⁴ And he said to that man who wrote before him, who was one of the seven white ones²⁵ – he said to him,²⁶ Take those seventy shepherds to whom I handed over the sheep, and who, on their own authority, took and killed more than I commanded them. And behold I saw them all bound, and they all stood before him. And the judgement was held first on the stars, and they were judged and found guilty; and they went to the place of damnation, and were thrown into a deep *place*, full of fire, burning and full of pillars of fire. And those seventy shepherds were judged and found guilty, and they also were thrown into that abyss of fire. And I saw at that time how a similar abyss was opened in the middle of the earth which was full of fire, and they brought those blind sheep, and they were all judged and found guilty and thrown into that²⁷ abyss of fire, and they burned; and that²⁸ abyss was on the south²⁹ of that house. And I saw those

¹⁸ GMQTD' add 'all'.

¹⁹ all the: TX 'the'; some Eth. II MSS 'these'.

²⁰ took . . . opened: the verbs are in the singular (TD' have the second one in the plural), but I take them to be used impersonally.

²¹ Eth. II om.

²² the first star: so GL; all other MSS 'beginning with the first star' (lit. 'from the first star'), and the text has commonly been emended to read 'beginning with the first star which led the way, all the stars whose . . . '.

²³ All MSS add a dittograph 'and the first star which fell (G 'went out') first'.

²⁴ and they brought . . . before him: C' 'they brought it before him'.

²⁵ MQTD' 'one of those seven white ones'; G 'from those white ones'.

²⁶ GQD' HOXB' 'to them'.

²⁷ G 'this'.

²⁸ Some Eth. MSS 'this'; M corrupt.

²⁹ Lit. 'right'.

28 sheep burning, and their bones were burning. And I stood up to
 look until he folded up³⁰ that old house, and they removed all the
 pillars, and all the beams and ornaments of that house were folded
 up with it; and they removed it and put it in a place in the south²⁹ of
 29 the land. And I looked until the Lord of the sheep brought a new
 house, larger and higher than that³¹ first one, and he set it up on the
 site of the first one which had been folded up; and all its pillars were
 new,³² and its ornaments were new and larger than those of the first
 one, the old one which he had removed. And the Lord of the sheep,
 30 was in the middle of it.³³ And I saw all the sheep which were left,
 and all the animals on the earth and all the birds of heaven falling
 down and worshipping those sheep, and entreating them and
 31 obeying them³⁴ in every command. And after this those three who
 were dressed in white and had taken hold of me by my hand, the
 ones who had brought me up at first – they, with the hand of that
 ram also holding me, took me up and put me down in the middle of
 32 those sheep before the judgement was held. And those sheep were
 all white, and their wool thick and pure. And all those which had
 been destroyed and scattered and all the wild animals and all the
 birds of heaven gathered together in that house, and the Lord of
 the sheep rejoiced very much because they were all good and had
 34 returned to his house. And I looked until they had laid down that
 sword which had been given to the sheep, and they brought it back
 into his³⁵ house, and it was sealed before the Lord; and all the
 sheep were enclosed in³⁶ that house, but it did not hold them. And
 35 the eyes of all of them were opened, and they saw well, and there
 was not one among them that did not see. And I saw that that
 37 house was large and broad and exceptionally full. And I saw how a
 white bull was born, and its horns were big, and all the wild animals
 and all the birds of heaven were afraid of it and entreated it
 38 continually. And I looked until all their species were transformed,
 and they all became white bulls; and the first one among them

³⁰ folded up: so NP(Y); D' 'changed'; M corrupt; other MSS 'submerged'.

³¹ MQTD' 'the'.

³² TD'B²NX add 'and its beams were new'.

³³ So M and some Eth. II MSS (M om. 'And'): all other MSS 'And all the sheep were within it' (G om. 'And').

³⁴ and obeying them: GQ om.

³⁵ G 'the'.

³⁶ G 'invited into'.

was³⁷ a wild-ox,³⁸ and that wild-ox was³⁷ a large animal and had big
 black horns on its head. And the Lord of the sheep rejoiced over
 39 them and over all the bulls. And I was asleep in the middle of them;
 40 and I woke up and saw everything. And this is the vision which I
 saw while I was asleep, and I woke up and blessed the Lord of
 41 righteousness and ascribed glory to him. But after this I wept
 bitterly, and my tears did not stop until I could not endure it: when
 I looked, they ran down³⁹ on account of that which I saw, for
 everything will come to pass and be fulfilled; and all the deeds of
 42 men in their order were shown to me. That night I remembered
 my⁴⁰ first dream, and because of it I wept and was disturbed,
 because I had seen that vision.

XCI. And now, my son Methuselah, call to me all your brothers
 and gather to me all the children of your mother,¹ for a voice calls
 me, and a spirit has been poured out over me, that I may show to
 2 you everything that will come upon you for ever. And after this
 Methuselah went and called all his brothers² to him and gathered
 3 his relations. And he spoke about righteousness to all his sons³ and
 said, Hear, my children, all⁴ the words of your father and listen
 properly to the voice of⁵ my mouth, for I will testify to you and
 4 speak to you, my beloved.⁶ Love uprightness and walk in it. And do
 not draw near to uprightness with a double heart, and do not
 associate with those of a double heart,⁷ but walk in righteousness,
 my children,⁸ and it will lead you in good paths, and righteousness

³⁷ Or 'became'.

³⁸ All Eth. MSS have 'word' (*nagar*): in all probability this derives ultimately from a transliteration of the Aramaic word for 'wild-ox'.

³⁹ when I . . . ran down: G 'when I looked, for these ran down'; M corrupt; QT'D' 'but they ran down'.

⁴⁰ GMQTD' 'the'.

¹ G 'call to me all the children of your mother and gather to me all your brothers'.

² GMTD' add 'and called'.

³ about righteousness . . . his sons: GQD'YB' 'to all the sons of righteousness'; M corrupt; T 'about his righteousness to all his sons'.

⁴ GQT' 'you children of Enoch, all'; MD' 'all you children of Enoch'.

⁵ the voice of: MQTD' om.

⁶ GMQTD' 'O beloved'.

⁷ and do not associate . . . double heart: GU om.; D' 'and do not associate with those who walk with a double heart'.

⁸ in . . . children: G 'in uprightness and in righteousness'.

5 will be your companion. For I know that the state of wrongdoing
will continue on the earth, and a great punishment will be carried
out on the earth, and an end will be made of all iniquity, and it will
6 be cut off at its roots, and its whole edifice will pass away. And
iniquity will again be complete on the earth, and all the deeds of
iniquity and the deeds⁹ of wrong and of wickedness will prevail¹⁰
7 for a second time.¹¹ And when iniquity and sin¹² and blasphemy
and wrong and all kinds of *evil* deeds¹³ increase, and *when* apostasy
and wickedness and uncleanness increase, a great punishment¹⁴
8 will come¹⁵ in anger and in wrath to execute judgement on the earth. In
those days wrong-doing will be cut off at its roots, and the roots of¹⁶
iniquity together with deceit will be destroyed¹⁷ from under
9 heaven. And all the idols of the nations will be given up; *their* towers
will be burnt in fire, and they will remove them from the whole
earth; and they will be thrown down into the judgement of fire and
will be destroyed in anger and in the severe judgement which *is* for
10 ever. And the righteous will rise from¹⁸ sleep, and wisdom will rise
and will be given to them. And after this the roots of iniquity will be
cut off, and the sinners will be destroyed by the sword; from the
blasphemers they will be cut off in every place, and those who plan
wrongdoing and those who commit blasphemy will be destroyed
12 by the sword.¹⁹ And after this there will be another week, the
eighth, that of righteousness, and a sword will be given to it that

⁹ the deeds: M om.

¹⁰ and all the deeds . . . will prevail: QT 'and it will contain all the deeds of iniquity and of wrong and of wickedness', and similarly D'; G corrupt.

¹¹ Or 'to a double extent'.

¹² GMQTD' 'sin and iniquity'.

¹³ GMT 'in all kinds of deeds'; D' corrupt.

¹⁴ And when . . . increase, and *when* apostasy . . . increase, a great punishment: MT 'And after this . . . will increase, and apostasy . . . will increase, and a great punishment'.

¹⁵ G adds 'upon earth'.

¹⁶ the roots of: GQ om. (Q also om. 'and').

¹⁷ will be destroyed: so some Eth.II MSS; GQ om.; other MSS 'and they will be destroyed'.

¹⁸ GMQD'X add 'their'.

¹⁹ For verse 11 Aram. has 'And they will uproot the foundations of wrongdoing and the works of deceit in it in order to carry out [the judgement]'.

the righteous judgement may be executed²⁰ on those who do
wrong, and the sinners will be handed over into the hands of the
13 righteous.²¹ And at its end they will acquire houses because of their
righteousness,²² and a house will be built for the great king in glory
14 for ever. And after this in the ninth week the righteous judgement
will be revealed to the whole world,²³ and all the deeds of the
impious will vanish from the whole earth; and the world will be
written down for destruction,²⁴ and all men will look to the path of
15 uprightness.²⁵ And after this in the tenth week, in the seventh part,
there will be the eternal judgement which will be executed on the
Watchers, and the great eternal heaven which will spring from the
16 midst of the angels.²⁶ And the first heaven will vanish and pass
away, and a new heaven will appear, and all the powers of heaven
17 will shine for ever²⁷ with sevenfold light. And after this there will be
many weeks without number for ever²⁸ in goodness and in right-
18 ceousness, and from then on sin will never again be mentioned. And
now I tell you, my children, and show you the paths of righteous-
ness and the paths of wrongdoing; and I will show you²⁹ again that

²⁰ to it . . . be executed: so GD; D' 'to it that the judgement may be executed in righteousness'; all other Eth. MSS 'to it that judgement and righteousness may be practised'; Aram. 'to all the righteous to execute a righteous judgement'.

²¹ on those . . . the righteous: Aram. 'on all the sinners, and they will be given into their hands'.

²² houses . . . righteousness: Aram. 'riches in righteousness'.

²³ Aram. 'to all the children of the whole earth'.

²⁴ and the world . . . for destruction: so M Eth.II; GQ corrupt; TD' 'and he will write *them* down for destruction for ever' (or perhaps 'he will write the world down for destruction'); Aram. 'and they will cast into the pit'.

²⁵ Aram. 'the path of eternal righteousness'.

²⁶ there will be . . . the angels: so most Eth.II MSS; TD'J 'there will be the eternal judgement which will be executed on the Watchers of the eternal heaven, the great judgement which will spring from all (J 'the midst of) the angels'; G 'there will be the great eternal judgement which will spring from the midst of the angels'; M 'there will be the great eternal judgement in which he will take vengeance among the angels', and similarly the corrupt Q. 'Spring' is a simple corruption of 'take vengeance'; TD' Eth.II appear to derive from a combination of alternative versions of the text represented by M.

²⁷ for ever: GAHK om., but something equivalent is present in Aram.

²⁸ GD' 'And after this *there will be* many weeks without number for ever, and they will all be (D' 'and it will be')'.

²⁹ GQTD' 'and I have shown you'.

19 you may know what is to come. And now listen,³⁰ my children, and³¹ walk in the paths of righteousness, and do not walk in the paths of wrongdoing; for all those who walk in the path of iniquity will be destroyed for ever.

XCII. Written by Enoch the scribe – this complete wisdom teaching,¹ praised by all men and a judge of the whole earth – for all my sons who dwell upon the earth and for the last generations
2 who will practise uprightness and peace. Let not your spirit be saddened because of the times, for the Holy² Great One has
3 appointed days for all things. And the righteous man³ will rise from sleep,⁴ will rise and will walk in the path of righteousness, and all his paths and his journeys *will be* in eternal goodness and mercy.
4 He will show mercy to the righteous man⁵ and to him give eternal uprightness and *to him* give power; and he will live⁶ in goodness and
5 in righteousness and will walk⁷ in eternal light. And sin will be destroyed in darkness⁸ for ever and from that day will never again be seen.

1, 2 XCIII. And after this Enoch began to speak¹ from the books. And Enoch said, Concerning the sons of righteousness and concerning the chosen of the world² and concerning the plant of righteousness and uprightness³ I will speak these things to you and make *them* known⁴ to you, my children, I Enoch, according to that which

³⁰ G om.; M corrupt; QTD' 'listen to me'.

³¹ G om.

¹ Written . . . wisdom teaching: so Eth.II; G 'The book written by Enoch. Enoch indeed wrote this complete wisdom explanation and teaching'; MQTD' unintelligible.

² Some Eth. MSS add 'and'.

³ the righteous man: G 'wisdom'; M 'righteousness'.

⁴ MD' 'from his sleep'; G defective.

⁵ GQ 'to righteousness'.

⁶ Lit. 'be'; TD' 'judge'.

⁷ GQ(D') 'and they will walk'.

⁸ D' 'And sin and darkness will be destroyed'.

¹ Enoch began to speak: so Eth.II; MTD' 'Enoch was speaking'; G 'Enoch gave and Enoch began to speak'; Q unintelligible; U 'Enoch gave'.

² of the world: C' 'for ever'.

³ righteousness and uprightness: GMTD' 'uprightness'; Q 'righteousness'.

⁴ MTD' 'and have made *them* known'.

appeared to me in the heavenly vision, and *which* I know from the words of the holy angels and understand from the tablets of
3 heaven. And Enoch⁵ then⁶ began to speak from the books and said, I was born the seventh in the first week, while justice and righteousness
4 still lasted.⁷ And after me in the second week great wickedness will arise, and deceit will have sprung up; and in it there will be the first end, and in it a man will be saved. And after it has ended,
5 iniquity will grow, and he will make a law⁸ for the sinners. And after this in the third week, at its end, a man will be chosen as the plant of righteous judgement; and after him will come the plant of
6 righteousness⁹ for ever. And after this in the fourth week, at its end, visions of the holy and righteous¹⁰ will be seen, and a law¹¹ for all
7 generations and an enclosure will be made for them. And after this in the fifth week, at its end, a house of glory and of sovereignty will
8 be built for ever. And after this in the sixth week all those who live in it *will be* blinded, and the hearts of all, lacking wisdom, will sink into impiety. And in it a man will ascend; and at its end the house of sovereignty¹² will be burnt with fire, and in it the whole race of
9 the chosen root¹³ will be scattered. And after this in the seventh week an apostate¹⁴ generation will arise, and many *will be* its deeds,
10 but all its deeds *will be* apostasy. And at its end the chosen righteous from the eternal plant of righteousness will be chosen,¹⁵ to whom will be given sevenfold teaching concerning his whole creation.¹⁶
11 For is there any man who can hear the voice of the Holy One, and not be disturbed? And who is there who can think his thoughts?
12 And who is there who can look at all the works of heaven?¹⁷ And how should there be anyone who could¹⁸ understand the works of

⁵ MQTD' 'he'.

⁶ C' om.

⁷ Or 'while judgement and righteousness held back'.

⁸ Or 'covenant'; QNC' 'and a law will be made'; GM corrupt.

⁹ and after him . . . righteousness: so Eth.II; G om. (hmt.); MQTD' of uncertain meaning.

¹⁰ G 'a vision of the holy and righteousness'; TC' 'holy and righteous visions'.

¹¹ Or 'covenant'.

¹² E 'the house of the sanctuary'.

¹³ chosen root: M(Q)T 'root of power'.

¹⁴ GM om.

¹⁵ Some Eth.II MSS 'rewarded'; Aram. adds 'to be witnesses of righteousness'.

¹⁶ GQD' 'property'.

¹⁷ MD'DFP² 'of goodness'.

¹⁸ G adds 'look at heaven, and who is there who can?'; MT add 'look at (T 'understand') heaven, and how should there be anyone who could'; Q defective, but based on a similar text.

heaven and see a soul¹⁹ or a spirit²⁰ and could tell *about it*,²¹ or ascend and see all their ends and comprehend them or make
 13 *anything* like them? And is there²² any man who could know what is the breadth and the length of the earth? And to whom have all its
 14 measurements²³ been shown? Or is there any man who could know the length of heaven, and what is its height, and on what it is fixed, and how large is the number of the stars, and where all the lights rest?

XCIV. And now I say to you, my children, love righteousness and walk in it; for the paths of righteousness are worthy of acceptance,
 2 but the paths of iniquity will quickly be destroyed and vanish. And to certain men from a *future* generation the paths of wrongdoing and of death will be revealed, and they will keep away from them
 3 and will not follow them. And now I say to you, the righteous: do not walk in the wicked path, nor *in* wrongdoing,¹ nor in the paths of
 4 death; and do not draw near to them, lest you be destroyed. But seek² and choose for yourselves righteousness and a life that is pleasing, and walk in the paths of peace, that you may live and
 5 prosper. And hold my words firmly in the thoughts of your heart, and let *them* not be erased from your heart, for I know that sinners will tempt men to debase wisdom,³ and no place will be found for
 6 it, and temptation will in no way decrease. Woe to those who build iniquity and wrongdoing and found deceit, for they will quickly be
 7 thrown down and will not have peace. Woe to those who build their houses with sin, for from their whole foundation they will be thrown down, and by the sword they will fall; and those who
 8 acquire gold and silver will quickly be destroyed in the judgement. Woe to you, you rich, for you have trusted in your riches, but from your riches you will depart, for you did not remember the Most

¹⁹ So GMQD'XY: other MSS 'his soul'.

²⁰ So MTD'XY: GQ corrupt; other MSS 'or his spirit'.

²¹ GMQ 'and could make *them*'; D' 'and could remain'.

²² MQTD' 'And how should there be'.

²³ all its measurements: so T; other MSS 'the measurements of all of them'.

¹ nor *in* wrongdoing: GMQTD' om.

² But seek: G 'like those who seek wickedness'.

³ Lit. 'to make wisdom bad'.

9 High in the days of your riches. You have committed blasphemy and iniquity and are ready for the day of the outpouring of blood and for the day of darkness and for the day of the great judgement.
 10 Thus I say and make known to you that He who created you will throw you down, and over your fall there will be no mercy, but
 11 your creator will rejoice at your destruction. And your⁴ righteous in those days will be a reproach to the sinners and to the impious.

XCv. Would that my eyes were a cloud of water that I might weep over you and pour out my tears like a cloud of water, so that I
 2 might have rest from the sorrow of my heart! Who permitted you to practise hatred and wickedness? May judgement come¹ upon you, the sinners! Do not be afraid of the sinners, you righteous, for the
 3 Lord will again deliver them into your hands that you may execute judgement upon them as you desire. Woe to you who pronounce
 4 anathemas that you cannot loose;² healing *will be* far from you because of your sin. Woe to you who repay your neighbours with
 5 evil, for you will be repaid according to your deeds. Woe to you, lying witnesses, and to those who weigh out iniquity, for you will
 6 quickly be destroyed. Woe to you, you sinners, because you persecute the righteous, for you yourselves will be handed over and persecuted, you men of iniquity,³ and their yoke⁴ will be heavy upon you.

XCvi. Be hopeful,¹ you righteous, for the sinners will quickly be destroyed before you, and you will have power over them as you
 2 desire. And in the day of the distress of the sinners your young will mount up and rise² like eagles, and your nest will be higher than *that of* vultures; and you will go up and like badgers enter the crevices of the earth and the clefts of the rock for ever before the

⁴ your: Eth.II has plural, GMQTD' singular.

¹ GMQT(D')C' 'Judgement will come'.

² M² 'that cannot be loosed'; GM'QD' 'that can be loosed'.

³ GM(Q)D' 'because of iniquity'; P corrupt.

⁴ GMQD' 'its yoke'.

¹ TU 'Rejoice'.

² D' 'and be revealed'; GTU 'and be thrown down'.

lawless, but they will groan and weep because of you, like satyrs.
 3 And do not be afraid, you who have suffered, for you will receive healing, and a bright light will shine upon you, and the voice of rest
 4 you will hear from heaven. Woe to you, you sinners, for your riches make you appear righteous, but your hearts prove to you that you are sinners; and this word will be a testimony against you as a
 5 reminder of *your* evil deeds. Woe to you who devour the finest of the wheat and drink the best of the water and trample upon the
 6 humble through your power. Woe to you who drink water all the time, for you will quickly be repaid and³ will become exhausted
 7 and dry,⁴ for you have left the spring of life. Woe to you who commit iniquity and deceit and blasphemy; it will be a reminder
 8 against you for evil. Woe to you, you powerful, who through power oppress the righteous, for the day of your destruction will come; in those days many good days will come for the righteous -- in the day
 of your judgement.

XCVII. Believe, you righteous, that the sinners will become an
 2 object of shame and will be destroyed on the day of iniquity. Be it known to you *sinners* that the Most High remembers your destruction, and *that* the angels¹ rejoice over your destruction. What will
 3 you do, you sinners, and where will you flee on that day of judgement, when you hear the sound of the prayer of the righteous? But
 4 you will not be² like them, *you* against whom³ this word will be a testimony, You have been associated with the sinners. And in
 5 those days the prayer of the holy⁴ will come before the Lord, and for you will come the days of your judgement. And all the words of
 6 your iniquity will be read out before the Great and⁵ Holy One, and your faces will blush with shame,⁶ and every deed which is founded

³ will quickly be repaid and: MQTD' om. 'will be repaid and'.

⁴ and dry: BCX 'and you do wrong'.

¹ GMQTD'N add 'of heaven'.

² GQD' 'will be'.

³ GD' 'like those against whom'; T 'like them, for against you'; C' 'like them, but against you'.

⁴ So G and some Eth.II MSS: other MSS 'righteous'.

⁵ GGaMQN Gk.^m om.

⁶ and your faces . . . shame: Gk.^m 'before your faces'.

7 upon iniquity will be rejected.⁷ Woe to you, you sinners, who *are* in the middle of the sea and on the dry ground; their memory *will be*
 8 harmful to you.⁸ Woe to you who acquire silver and gold,⁹ but not in righteousness, and say, We have become very rich and have
 9 possessions and have acquired everything that we desired.¹⁰ And now let us do what we planned,¹¹ for we have gathered silver and filled our storehouses, and *as* many as water are the husbandmen of
 10 our houses. And like water your lie will flow away,¹² for your¹³ riches will not stay with you,¹⁴ but will quickly go up from you; for you acquired everything in iniquity, and you will be given over to a great curse.

XCVIII. And now I swear to you, the wise and the foolish,¹ that you
 2 will see many things² on the earth. For you men will put on yourselves more adornments than a woman and more coloured
 garments than a girl³ in sovereignty and in majesty and in power; and silver⁴ and gold and purple and honour and food will be
 3 poured out like water. Because of this they will have neither knowledge nor wisdom,⁵ and through this they will be destroyed

⁷ GQTD' 'and he will reject every deed which is founded upon iniquity'; Ga corrupt; Gk.^m 'Then he will remove all the works which have shared in iniquity'.

⁸ their memory . . . harmful to you (lit. 'evil against you'): Gk.^m 'there is an evil record against you'.

⁹ GaH Gk.^m 'gold and silver'.

¹⁰ and have possessions . . . desired: Gk.^m 'and have got and have acquired possessions'.

¹¹ And now . . . planned: GM corrupt; Ga 'And now let us do all that we planned'; Q 'And now let us do what we desired'; Gk.^m 'And let us do all that we desire'.

¹² for we have gathered . . . flow away: so Eth., but text appears corrupt in several respects; Gk.^m 'for we have stored up silver in our storehouses and many goods in our houses, and like water **they have been poured out** (probable reading; text corrupt). You have been deceived'.

¹³ So (U)D' Gk.^m; other Eth. MSS om.

¹⁴ with you: Gk.^m om.

¹ GGaQT Gk.^m 'and not to the foolish'.

² Gk.^m 'iniquities'.

³ Gk.^m 'For men will put on beauty like women, and fair colour more than girls'.

⁴ and silver: so GaMQTD'; other Eth. MSS 'and in silver'.

⁵ and silver . . . nor wisdom: Gk.^m 'They will have silver and gold for food, and in their houses they will be poured out like water [because] they (have) neither knowledge, nor insight'.

together with their possessions and with all their glory and their honour;⁶ and in shame and in slaughter and in great destitution
 4 their spirits will be thrown into the fiery furnace.⁷ I swear to you, you sinners, that *as* a mountain has not, and will not, become a slave, nor a hill a woman's maid, so sin was not sent on the earth, but man of himself created it, and those who commit it will be
 5 subject to a great curse. And barrenness⁸ has not been given to a woman,⁹ but because of the deeds of her hands¹⁰ she dies without
 6 children. I swear to you, you sinners, by the Holy and¹¹ Great One, that all¹² your evil deeds are¹³ revealed in heaven, and *that* your
 7 wrongdoing is not covered or hidden.¹⁴ And do not think in your spirit,¹⁵ nor say¹⁶ in your heart that you do not know and do not see *that* every sin¹⁷ is written down¹⁸ every day in heaven¹⁹ before the
 8 Most High. From now on you know²⁰ that all your wrongdoing which you do²¹ will be written down every day until the day of²²
 9 your judgement. Woe to you, you fools, for you will be destroyed through your folly; and you do not listen to²³ the wise, and good

⁶ and through this . . . honour: Gk.^m 'so you will be destroyed together with all your possessions and all your glory and your honour' (remainder of verse 3 and verse 4 severely damaged).

⁷ into the fiery furnace: MQTD' om.

⁸ G(Ga)MQN¹ 'an excuse'; D' corrupt; Gk.^m om. (but 'childlessness' possibly to be supplied).

⁹ Gk.^m 'to a barren woman'.

¹⁰ Gk.^m adds what appears to be an alternative version of verses 4f., 'For it was not determined that a slave should be a slave; from above it was not given, but it came about through oppression. Likewise iniquity was not given from above, but it came about through transgression. Likewise a woman was not created barren, but because of her own misdeeds she was reproached with childlessness'.

¹¹ GQTD' Gk.^m om.

¹² P¹ Gk.^m om.

¹³ Gk.^m 'will be'.

¹⁴ and *that* your . . . hidden: Gk.^m 'No unrighteous deed of yours will be hidden'.

¹⁵ Gk.^m 'soul'.

¹⁶ Gk.^m 'think'.

¹⁷ D' 'all our sin'.

¹⁸ that you do not . . . down: C' 'They do not know and do not see all our sin, for it is written down'; Gk.^m 'that they do not know and do not see, and *that* your misdeeds are not observed, nor written down'.

¹⁹ every day in heaven: Gk.^m om.

²⁰ you know: Gk.^m imperative.

²¹ which you do: GaN Gk.^m om.

²² the day of: Gk.^m om.

²³ GGa 'and you act impiously against'; D' 'and you do not act impiously against'; M 'and you do not know'; Q 'and you do not see'.

10 will not come upon you.²⁴ And now know that you are ready for the day of destruction. And do not hope that you will live,²⁵ you sinners; rather you will go and die, for you know no ransom, for²⁶ you are ready for the day of the great judgement and for the day of
 11 distress and great shame for your spirits. Woe to you, you stubborn of heart who do evil and eat blood. Whence do you have good things to eat and to drink and to be satisfied? From all the good things which our Lord, the Most High,²⁷ has placed in abundance
 12 on the earth: *therefore* you will not have peace. Woe to you who love deeds of iniquity. Why do you hope for good for yourselves? Know²⁸ that you will be given into the hand of the righteous, and they will cut your throats and²⁹ kill you and will not have mercy on
 13 you.³⁰ Woe to you who rejoice in the distress of the righteous, for
 14 graves will not be dug for you.³¹ Woe to you who declare the words
 15 of the righteous empty,³² for you will have no hope of life.³³ Woe to you who write lying words and the words of the impious,³⁴ for they write their lies that *men* may hear and not forget *their* folly;³⁵ and they will not have peace, but will die a sudden death.³⁶

²⁴ Gk.^m adds 'but evil [will befall] you'.

²⁵ that you will live: Gk.^m 'to be saved'.

²⁶ for you know no ransom, for: so Ga Eth.II; G 'for you know a ransom, and'; M 'for you know no ransom'; T obscure; QD' 'for you know that'; Gk.^m 'knowing [that]' (remainder of verse 10, verse 11, and the beginning of verse 12, severely damaged).

²⁷ our Lord, the Most High: GGaMQTD' 'the Lord Most High'.

²⁸ Gk.^m 'Now be it known to you'.

²⁹ cut your throats (lit. 'necks') and: Gk.^m om.

³⁰ Gk.^m 'not spare you'.

³¹ GGaD' 'for no grave of yours will be seen'; Gk.^m 'no grave will be dug for you'.

³² Gk.^m uncertain, possibly 'Woe to you who wish to make of no effect the words of the righteous'.

³³ Gk.^m 'of salvation'.

³⁴ and the words . . . impious: Gk.^m 'and words of error'.

³⁵ for they write . . . folly: so Eth.II; GMQT' 'for they write their lies (M om. 'their lies') that *men* may hear *them* and act impiously against their neighbour'; GaD' corrupt; Gk.^m 'they write *them* and will lead many astray through their lies. You yourselves have gone astray'.

³⁶ and they . . . sudden death: Gk.^m 'and you have no joy, but will quickly be destroyed'.

XCIX. Woe to you who do impious deeds and praise and honour lying words;¹ you will be destroyed and will not have a good life.²
 2 Woe to you who³ alter the words of truth, and they distort the eternal law⁴ and count themselves⁵ as being without sin; they⁶ will
 3 be trampled under foot on the ground.⁷ In those days⁸ make ready, you righteous, to raise⁹ your prayers as a reminder, and lay them¹⁰
 4 as a testimony before the angels that they may lay¹¹ the sin of the sinners before the Most High¹² as a reminder. In those days the
 5 nations will be thrown into confusion, and the races of the nations will rise¹³ on the day of destruction.¹⁴ And in those days those who
 6 are in need will go out and seize their children and cast out their children;¹⁵ and their offspring will slip from them,¹⁶ and they will cast out their children while they are sucklings¹⁷ and will not return to them¹⁸ and will not have mercy on¹⁹ their beloved ones.

¹ Gk.^m 'Woe to you who cause errors and by your false deeds gain honour and glory'; the Eth. MSS confuse second and third person forms in this verse and only T consistently has the second person.

² C' 'you will be destroyed and will have no hope of life'; Gk.^m 'you are destroyed, you have no salvation for good'.

³ GGaM 'Woe to those who'.

⁴ Or 'covenant'.

⁵ C' Gk.^m 'Woe to you who alter the words of truth, and distort the eternal law (Gk.^m 'pervert the eternal covenant'), and count yourselves'.

⁶ C' 'you'.

⁷ Gk.^m 'they will be swallowed up in the earth'.

⁸ In those days: Gk.^m 'Then'.

⁹ to raise: Gk.^m 'and offer'.

¹⁰ and lay them: so GT; other Eth. MSS corrupt; Gk.^m 'give them'.

¹¹ T(D')Gk.^m 'bring'.

¹² Gk.^m adds 'God'.

¹³ Gk.^m 'And then they will be thrown into confusion, and they will rise'.

¹⁴ QD' 'of the destruction of the sinners'; MT 'of the destruction of sin'; Gk.^m 'of the destruction of wrongdoing'.

¹⁵ And in . . . their children: so Eth., but GGaMQTD' 'and cast them out' for 'and cast out their children'; Gk.^m 'At that very time those who give birth will cast out and remove and abandon their infants'.

¹⁶ and their offspring will slip from them: i.e. in premature birth; Gk.^m 'and those who are with child will [. . .]'.

¹⁷ Eth.II 'and while they are sucklings they will cast them out'; Gk.^m 'and those who suckle will cast out their children'.

¹⁸ to them: Gk.^m 'to their infants, nor to their sucklings'.

¹⁹ have mercy on: Gk.^m 'spare' (the remainder of verse 5, verse 6, and beginning of verse 7, has not survived).

7 of unceasing bloodshed. And they worship stone, and some carve images of gold and of silver and of wood and of clay,²⁰ and some, with no knowledge,²¹ worship unclean²² spirits and demons and
 8 every kind of error,²³ but no help will be obtained from them. And they will sink into impiety²⁴ because of the folly of their hearts, and their eyes will be blinded through the fear of their hearts and
 9 through the vision of their dreams.²⁵ Through these they will become impious and fearful, for they do all their deeds with lies and worship stones, and they will be destroyed at the same
 10 moment.²⁶ And in those days blessed *are* all those who accept the words of wisdom and understand them,²⁷ and follow the paths²⁸ of the Most High, and walk in the path of righteousness,²⁹ and do not act impiously with the impious, for they will be saved.³⁰ Woe to you who extend evil to your neighbours, for you will be killed in Sheol.
 12 Woe to you who lay foundations of sin and deceit,³¹ and to those who cause bitterness³² on the earth, for because of this an end will be
 13 made of them.³³ Woe to you who build your houses with the toil of others,³⁴ and all their building materials *are* the bricks and stones of

²⁰ and some carve . . . clay: Gk.^m '[. . .] and those who carve images of silver and of gold, of wood [. . .] and of clay'.

²¹ with no knowledge: so GQTD'; Ga corrupt; M 'but not in the temples'; Eth.II 'in the temples'.

²² GGaMQTD' 'evil'.

²³ and some, with . . . error: Gk.^m 'and worship phantoms and demons [. . .] and evil spirits [and] all errors, with no knowledge'.

²⁴ Gk.^m 'And they will go astray'.

²⁵ and their eyes . . . dreams: Gk.^m 'and the visions of their dreams will lead you astray'.

²⁶ Through these . . . same moment: Gk.^m obscure, 'you and your lying works that you have made and wrought of stone, and together you will perish'.

²⁷ Gk.^m 'And then blessed *are* all those who hear the words of the wise and will learn them'.

²⁸ and follow the paths: Gk.^m 'in order to fulfil the commands'.

²⁹ GGaMQD' 'in the path of his righteousness'; T Gk.^m 'in the paths of his righteousness'.

³⁰ and walk . . . saved: Gk.^m 'and they will walk in the paths of his righteousness, and will not go astray with those who go astray, and will be saved'.

³¹ QD'J' 'who make false and deceitful measures'; GaM corrupt.

³² cause bitterness: QD' 'know'; Ga 'advise'.

³³ Gk.^m om. verses 11f.

³⁴ Gk.^m 'Woe to those who build their houses not (by) their own toil'.

14 sin;³⁵ I say to you, You will not have peace.³⁶ Woe to those who
 reject the measure³⁷ and the eternal inheritance of their fathers³⁸
 and cause their souls to follow after error,³⁹ for they will not have
 15 rest.⁴⁰ Woe to those⁴¹ who commit iniquity and help wrong and kill
 16 their neighbours until the day of the great judgement, for⁴² he will
 throw down⁴³ your glory and put evil into your hearts⁴⁴ and rouse
 the spirit of his anger that he may destroy⁴⁵ you all with the sword;
 and all the righteous and holy⁴⁶ will remember your sin.

C. And in those days¹ in one place fathers and sons will strike one
 another, and brothers will together fall in death until there flows of
 2 their blood as it were a stream. For a man will not in mercy²
 withhold his hand from his sons, nor from his sons' sons,³ in order
 to kill them, and the sinner will not withhold his hand from his
 honoured brother;⁴ from dawn until the sun sets they will kill one
 3 another.⁵ And the horse will walk up to its chest in the blood of
 4 sinners, and the chariot will sink up to its height.⁶ And in those

³⁵ Gk.^m 'and from stones and from bricks you make every building'.

³⁶ I say . . . peace: Gk.^m uncertain, but different from Eth.

³⁷ Q 'the leaders'; D' 'the foundation'.

³⁸ Gk.^m 'Woe to those who despise the foundation and the inheritance of their fathers which is from eternity'.

³⁹ Ga(M) 'and whose souls follow after error'; GQT(D') 'and follow after the soul of error'; Gk.^m 'for the spirit of error will pursue you'. (Eth. 'soul' might also be translated 'spirit'.)

⁴⁰ GMQTD' 'for you will not have rest'; Gk.^m 'There is no rest for you'.

⁴¹ GMQTD' Gk.^m 'you'. ⁴² Gk.^m adds 'then'.

⁴³ throw down: Gk.^m uncertain, possibly 'destroy'.

⁴⁴ and put . . . hearts: Gk.^m om.

⁴⁵ GM 'and rouse his anger and his spirit; he will destroy'; QT 'and rouse his anger, and his spirit will destroy'; D' 'and rouse the anger of his spirit, and will destroy'; Gk.^m 'and rouse [his] anger [against] you; he will destroy'.

⁴⁶ GGAMQD' 'holy and righteous'; Gk.^m probably only 'righteous'.

¹ Gk.^m 'And then' (remainder of verse severely damaged).

² in mercy: GGAMQD' Gk.^m om.

³ GMT 'sons, nor from his son's son'; GaQ corrupt; Gk.^m 'son, nor from his beloved'.

⁴ and the sinner . . . brother: Gk.^m 'and the sinner from the honoured man, nor from his brother'.

⁵ Gk.^m 'they will be killed together'.

⁶ Gk.^m 'sink down to its axles'; GGAMQTD' corrupt.

days⁷ the angels will come down⁸ into the hidden places and gather
 together in one place all those who have helped⁹ sin,¹⁰ and the
 Most High will rise on that day¹¹ to execute the great judgement on
 5 all the sinners.¹² And he will set guards from the holy angels over
 all the righteous and holy, and they will guard them¹³ like the apple
 of an eye until an end is made of¹⁴ all evil and all sin;¹⁵ and even if
 6 the righteous sleep a long sleep, they have nothing to fear.¹⁶ And
 the wise men will see the truth,¹⁷ and the sons of the earth will
 understand all the words of this book,¹⁸ and they will know that
 their riches will not be able to save them in the overthrow of their
 7 sin.¹⁹ Woe to you, you sinners, when you afflict the righteous on the
 day of severe trouble and burn²⁰ them with fire;²¹ you will be repaid
 8 according to your deeds. Woe to you, you perverse of heart,²² who
 watch to devise evil; fear will come upon you, and there is no one
 9 who will help you. Woe to you, you sinners,²³ for²⁴ on account of
 the words of your mouth, and on account of the deeds of your
 hands which you have impiously done,²⁵ you will burn in blazing
 10 flames of fire. And now know that the angels will inquire in
 heaven²⁶ into your deeds from²⁷ the sun and the moon and the

⁷ Gk.^m 'And on that day'.

⁸ Gk.^m adds 'descending'.

⁹ GGAMQ 'who brought down'.

¹⁰ and gather . . . sin: Gk.^m uncertain, but apparently '(and) those who have helped unrighteousness will be gathered together into one place'.

¹¹ (G)Ga(M)Q(D') 'on that day of judgement'; Gk.^m 'on the day of judgement'.

¹² GGAMQ 'amongst the sinners'; Gk.^m 'on all'.

¹³ Gk.^m 'will be guarded'. ¹⁴ GGAMQ² 'he makes an end of'.

¹⁵ Gk.^m 'until evils and sin come to an end'.

¹⁶ Gk.^m 'and from that time the pious will sleep a sweet sleep, and there will no longer be anyone to make them afraid'.

¹⁷ the truth: so (Q)T Eth.II; GGAMD' unintelligible.

¹⁸ Gk.^m 'Then the wise among men will see, and the sons of the earth will pay attention to these words of this epistle'. ¹⁹ Gk.^m 'of unrighteousness'.

²⁰ Q 'save'; Gk.^m 'keep', but probably corrupt for 'burn'.

²¹ Gk.^m adds 'for'. ²² GGAMQTD' Gk.^m 'you stubborn of heart'.

²³ Gk.^m 'all you sinners'. ²⁴ GMQTD' Gk.^m om.

²⁵ which you . . . done: GM 'which your impiety has wrought'; GaQ 'which are the works of your impiety'; TD' 'because of the works of your impiety'; Gk.^m 'for you [have] gone astray (from) holy deeds' (remainder of verse 9, verse 10, and majority of verse 11, severely damaged).

²⁶ GGAMQTD' 'that from the angels he will inquire in heaven (G 'from heaven')'. ²⁷ GGAMQTD' 'and from'.

stars, *that is* into your sins, for on earth you execute judgement on the righteous. And all the clouds and mist and dew and rain will testify against you,²⁸ for they will all be withheld from you so that they do not fall on you, and they will think²⁹ about your sins. And now³⁰ give gifts to the rain that it may not be withheld from falling on you, and that the dew, if it has accepted gold and silver from you, may fall.³¹ When³² hoar-frost and snow with their cold and all the snow-winds with all their torments fall on you, in those days³³ you will not be able to stand before them.³⁴

Cl. Contemplate heaven, all¹ you sons of heaven, and all the works of the Most High,² and fear him and do not do evil before him.³ If he closes the windows of heaven, and withholds the rain and the dew so that it does not fall on the earth⁴ because of you, what will you do? And if he sends his anger upon you and upon all your deeds,⁵ will you not entreat him?⁶ For you speak⁷ proud and hard words against his righteousness,⁸ and you will not have peace.⁹ And do you not see the kings¹⁰ of the ships, how their ships are

²⁸ And all . . . against you: so G(Ga)QD'P'; other Eth. MSS 'And he will call to testify against you all the clouds and mist and dew and rain'.

²⁹ and they will think: so GQY; Ga defective; TB 'and they will not be'; other Eth. MSS 'and they will not think'.

³⁰ Gk.^m 'Therefore'.

³¹ and that . . . may fall: so Eth. (MQ 'may not fall'; some Eth. II MSS om. 'that' and 'may fall'); Gk.^m uncertain, apparently 'and to the dew and [clouds] and mist; pay gold that they may fall'.

³² Gk.^m 'For if'.

³³ in those days: Gk.^m om.

³⁴ Gk.^m 'before cold and their torments'.

¹ GGaMQT'D' om.

² Gk.^m 'Consider therefore, you sons of men, the works of the Most High'.

³ Gk.^m 'and fear to do evil before him'. ⁴ on the earth: Gk.^m om.

⁵ T Gk.^m 'and upon your deeds'; GaM 'because of (Ga adds 'all') your deeds'; GQD' defective.

⁶ will you not entreat him?: so EHLC' Gk.^m; other Eth. MSS 'you will not be able to entreat him'.

⁷ Gk.^m 'Why do you speak with your mouth?'

⁸ Gk.^m 'majesty'. ⁹ and you . . . peace: Gk.^m om.

¹⁰ So all Eth. MSS, but a mistake, deriving from a misreading of the Aramaic for 'sailors'.

tossed by the waves and rocked by the winds, and are in distress?¹¹ And because of this they are afraid,¹² for all their good possessions go out on the sea with them,¹³ and they think nothing good in their hearts, *namely* that¹⁴ the sea will swallow them up, and *that* they will be destroyed in it. Is not all the sea and all its waters and all its movement¹⁵ the work of the Most High, and did he not seal all its doings¹⁶ and bind it all with sand?¹⁷ And at his rebuke it dries up and becomes afraid,¹⁸ and all its fish¹⁹ die and everything that is in it; but you sinners who *are* on earth do not fear him. Did he not make heaven and earth and everything that is in them? And who gave knowledge and wisdom²⁰ to all the things that move on the ground and²¹ in the sea? Do not those kings²² of the ships fear the sea?²³ Yet sinners do not fear the Most High.²⁴

CII. And in those days if he brings a fierce fire upon you,¹ whither will you flee, and where will you² be safe? And when he utters his voice against you, will you not be terrified and afraid?³ And all the lights will shake with great fear, and the whole earth will be terrified and will tremble and quail. And all the angels will carry out their commands and will seek to hide before the one who is

¹¹ Gk.^m 'You [see] the sailors who sail the sea, their ships tossed by the waves and storm'.

¹² Gk.^m 'And beaten by the storm they are all afraid'.

¹³ Gk.^m 'and cast out into the sea [all] their [goods] and possessions'.

¹⁴ and they think . . . that: so Eth. II; GGaMQTD' unintelligible; Gk.^m 'and they suspect in their hearts that'.

¹⁵ and all its movement: Gk.^m om.

¹⁶ and did . . . its doings: so Eth. II, except E; E 'and did he not establish (or perhaps 'prescribe') all its doings'; GGaMQTD' unintelligible; Gk.^m 'and did he not establish their [limits]'.

¹⁷ Gk.^m 'and bind it, and fence it with sand?'
¹⁸ dries up . . . becomes afraid: GMQTD'X Gk.^m transpose; Ga om. 'and becomes afraid'.

¹⁹ Gk.^m 'and the fish' (the remainder of verse 7 and beginning of verse 8 has not survived).

²⁰ and wisdom: Gk.^m om.

²¹ on the ground and: Gk.^m om.

²² So all Eth. MSS, but corrupt for 'sailors' (cp. note 10).

²³ Gk.^m 'The sailors fear the sea'.

²⁴ Yet . . . Most High: Gk.^m om. by hmt.

¹ Gk.^m 'And when he throws out against you the waves of the fire of your burning'.

² where will you: Gk.^m om.

³ Gk.^m adds 'at the great sound'.

great in glory,⁴ and the children of the earth will tremble and shake,⁵ and you sinners *will be* cursed for ever and will not have peace.⁶ Do not be afraid, you souls of the righteous, and be hopeful, *you* who have died⁷ in righteousness.⁸ And do not be sad that your souls have gone down⁹ into Sheol in sadness, and *that* your bodies¹⁰ did not obtain during your life *a reward* in accordance with your goodness,¹¹ but on the day on which you became as sinners and on the day of cursing and punishment . . .¹² But when you die, the sinners say about you,¹³ As we die, the righteous have died,¹⁴ and of what use to them were their deeds? Behold, like us they have died in sadness and in darkness,¹⁵ and what advantage do they have over us?¹⁶ From now on we are equal, and what will they receive,¹⁷ and what will they see for ever? For, behold, they too have died, and from now on they will never again see light.¹⁸ I say to you, you sinners, You are content to eat and drink, and strip men naked and steal and sin,¹⁹ and acquire possessions and see

⁴ GGaMQT(D)' 'before the great glory'.

⁵ And all the lights . . . will tremble and shake: Gk.^m in part corrupt and apparently out of order, 'And the whole earth *will be* shaken and trembling and thrown into confusion and the angels *will be* carrying out that which has been commanded them, and heaven and the lights *will be* shaken, and all the children of the earth *will be* trembling'.

⁶ Gk.^m 'and you, you sinners accursed for ever, there is no joy for you'.

⁷ *you* who have died: some Eth.II MSS 'on the day you die'; GQT 'they who have died'; GaD' 'the souls of those who have died'.

⁸ Gk.^m 'Be courageous, *you* souls of the righteous dead, of the righteous and the pious'.

⁹ T Eth.II add 'into great distress and crying and groaning and'.

¹⁰ Gk.^m 'and *that* the body of your flesh'.

¹¹ Gk.^m 'holiness'.

¹² but on . . . punishment . . . : so Eth., but corrupt; Gk.^m 'for the days which you lived were days of sinners and accursed *men* on the earth'.

¹³ Gk.^m 'When you die, then the sinners will say'.

¹⁴ Gk.^m 'The pious have died according to *their* fate'.

¹⁵ Gk.^m 'And they like us have died. See then how they die in grief and darkness'.

¹⁶ over us: QTD' Gk.^m om.

¹⁷ GGaQD' 'From now on we are equal, and how will they rise'; Gk.^m 'From now on let them rise and be saved'.

¹⁸ and what will they see . . . light: Gk.^m 'and they will for ever see us (Gk.^m 'you') eating and drinking well'.

¹⁹ GMQTD' 'and steal and sin and strip men naked'.

10 good days.²⁰ But you saw²¹ the righteous, how their end was peace,²² for no wrong was found in them until the day of their death.²³ But they were destroyed²⁴ and became as though they had not been, and their souls²⁵ went down into Sheol in distress.

III. And now I swear to you, the righteous, by his great glory and his honour, and by his magnificent sovereignty¹ and by his majesty
2 I swear to you that I understand this² mystery. And³ I have read the tablets of heaven and seen the writing of the holy ones,⁴ and I
3 found written and engraved in it⁵ concerning them⁶ that all good⁷ and joy and honour have been made ready and written down for the spirits of those who⁸ have died in righteousness, and *that* much good will be given to you in recompense for your toil, and *that* your
4 lot *will be* more excellent than the lot of the living. And the spirits of you⁹ who have died in righteousness will live,¹⁰ and their spirits will rejoice and be glad,¹¹ and the memory of them *will remain*¹²

²⁰ I say . . . good days: Gk.^m 'Then (you do well to eat and drink and) steal and sin and steal clothes and acquire *possessions* and see good days'.

²¹ But you saw: so D'P²; MT¹ and some Eth.II MSS 'You saw'; T² and some Eth.II MSS 'Have you seen'; other Eth. MSS 'I saw'.

²² peace: GGaMQTD' om.

²³ GTD' 'until they died'; MQ corrupt.
²⁴ But you saw . . . destroyed: Gk.^m 'See therefore, they who justify themselves, how their end was, for no righteousness was found in them until they died and were destroyed'.

²⁵ GMQTD' 'spirits'.

¹ by his great . . . sovereignty: so Eth.II; G 'by the glory of the One who is great and honoured and mighty in sovereignty'; QTD' 'by the glory of the Great One and by his magnificent sovereignty'; other Eth.I MSS differ slightly. Most of verse 1 has not survived in Gk.^m.

² this: GGaMQ om.

³ Gk.^m 'for'.

⁴ (G)Q(T) 'the holy writing'; D' corrupt; Gk.^m 'the writing of authority'.

⁵ GMQTD' 'them'.

⁶ and I found . . . them: Gk.^m 'I learned what was written and engraved on them [concerning] you'; D' also has 'concerning you'.

⁷ all good: Gk.^m 'good things'.

⁸ QOD' 'for your spirits which'; Ga corrupt; Gk.^m 'for the s[ouls] of those who'.

⁹ MT'D' 'of those'.

¹⁰ and that much good . . . will live: Gk.^m om. by hmt.

¹¹ and be glad: G(Ga) 'and be glad and will not be destroyed'; M corrupt; QTD' Gk.^m 'and will not be destroyed'.

¹² GMQTD' Gk.^m 'nor *will* the memory of them *be destroyed*'.

before the Great One for all the generations of eternity. Therefore
 5 do not fear their abuse. Woe to you, you sinners,¹³ when you die
 in¹⁴ your sin, and those who are like you say about you, Blessed
 6 were the sinners; they saw all their days.¹⁵ And now they have died
 in prosperity and wealth; distress and slaughter they did not see¹⁶
 during their life, but they died in glory, and judgement was not
 7 executed on them during their life. Know¹⁷ that their souls¹⁸ will be
 made to go down into Sheol, and they will be wretched, and¹⁹ their
 8 distress *will be great*,²⁰ and in darkness and in chains and in
 burning flames your spirits²¹ will come to the great judgement, and
 the great judgement will last²² for all generations for ever.²³ Woe to
 9 you, for you will not have peace.²⁴ Do not say to the righteous and
 good who were alive,²⁵ In the days of our²⁶ affliction we toiled
 laboriously and saw every affliction and met many evils;²⁷ we were
 10 spent and became few, and our spirit small. We were destroyed,²⁸
 and there was no one who helped us with words or deeds; we were
 11 powerless and found nothing.²⁹ We were tortured and destroyed,
 and did not expect to see life from one day to the next.³⁰ We hoped

¹³ GGaMQTD' 'Woe to you, you sinners who are dead'; Gk.^m 'And you, you who are dead of the sinners'.

¹⁴ GGaMTD' add 'the wealth of'.

¹⁵ Gk.^m 'when you die they will say about you, Blessed *were the sinners* all the days that they saw'.

¹⁶ And now . . . not see: Gk.^m om. by hmt.

¹⁷ BCXC' 'Do you know'; Gk.^m 'You yourselves know'.

¹⁸ T 'their spirits'; GQD' 'your spirits'; Gk.^m 'your souls'.

¹⁹ So D'CC': other Eth. MSS om.

²⁰ and they . . . great: Gk.^m 'and there they will be in great distress'.

²¹ your spirits: Gk.^m 'and your souls'.

²² and the great . . . last: Gk.^m om.

²³ GGa(M)QTD' 'for all (Ga(M) om. 'all') the generations of eternity'; Gk.^m 'in all the generations of eternity'.

²⁴ Gk.^m 'Woe to you, there is no joy for you'.

²⁵ Gk.^m 'For do not say, you who were righteous (and) holy in your life'.

²⁶ M Gk.^m om.; GGaQT'D' 'their'; Ga continues with the third person throughout verses 9-13 and in part in verses 14f.

²⁷ and saw . . . many evils: Gk.^m om.

²⁸ and our spirit . . . destroyed: Gk.^m om.

²⁹ and there was no one . . . found nothing: G(Ga)MQD' 'and did not find anyone to help us even with a word'; Gk.^m 'and we did not find a helper'.

³⁰ Gk.^m 'and gave up hope of knowing safety again day by day'.

to become the head, but became the tail. We toiled and laboured,
 but were not masters of the fruits of our toil;³¹ we became food for
 the sinners, and the lawless made³² their yoke heavy upon us.
 12 Those who hated us and those who goaded us³³ were masters of
 us,³⁴ and to those who hated us we bowed our necks, but they did
 13 not have mercy on us.³⁵ We sought to escape from them that we
 might flee and be at rest,³⁶ but we found no place where we might
 14 flee and be safe from them. We complained about them to the
 rulers in our distress and cried out against those who devoured
 us,³⁷ but they took no notice of our cry³⁸ and did not wish to listen
 15 to our voice. And they helped those who plundered us and de-
 voured us and those who made us few,³⁹ and they concealed their
 wrongdoing and did not remove from us the yoke of those who⁴⁰
 devoured us and scattered us and killed us;⁴¹ and they concealed
 our slaughter and did not remember that they had raised their
 hands against us.⁴²

CIV. I swear to you, you righteous,¹ that in heaven the angels
 remember you for good before the glory of the Great One, and *that*

³¹ Gk.^m corrupt, apparently 'of our wages'.

³² GGaMQTD' 'for the sinners and the lawless, and (GaMQTD' om. 'and') they made'.

³³ and those who goaded us: Q 'and those who hated us and goaded us'; D' 'and those who goaded us and surrounded us'.

³⁴ Those who . . . masters of us: Gk.^m 'Those who rule us, our enemies, goad us and surround us'.

³⁵ and to those . . . mercy on us: Gk.^m om.

³⁶ that we might . . . rest: Gk.^m 'that we might be refreshed' (the remainder of verse 13 and beginning of verse 14 has not survived).

³⁷ Gk.^m 'against those who struck us down and inflicted violence on us'.

³⁸ Gk.^m 'and they did not receive our petitions'.

³⁹ Gk.^m 'And they did not help us, not finding *anything* against those who inflicted violence on us and devoured us, but they harden against us them (who) killed us and made us few'.

⁴⁰ the yoke of those who: so GGaMFOB'C'; other Eth. MSS 'their yoke, but they'.

⁴¹ and they concealed their . . . killed us: Gk.^m om.

⁴² and they concealed our . . . against us: Gk.^m 'and they bring no charge concerning those of us who have been murdered, and concerning (the) sinners they do not remember their sins'.

¹ you righteous: GGaMQT'D' Gk.^m om.

your names are written down before the glory of the Great One.²
 2 Be hopeful! For you were formerly put to shame through³ evils
 and afflictions, but now⁴ you will shine like the lights of heaven⁵
 3 and will be seen, and the gate⁶ of heaven will be opened to you. And
 persevere in your cry for judgement, and it will appear to you, for
justice will be exacted from the rulers for all your distress,⁷ and from
 4 all those who helped those who plundered you.⁸ Be hopeful, and do
 not abandon your hope, for you will have great joy like the angels of
 5 heaven.⁹ What will you have to do?¹⁰ You will not have to hide on
 the day of the great judgement, nor will you be found to be
 sinners.¹¹ The eternal judgement will be upon you for all the
 6 generations of eternity.¹² And now¹³ do not be afraid, you righteous,
 when you see the sinners growing strong and prospering in their
 desires,¹⁴ and do not be associated with them, but keep far away
 from their wrongdoing,¹⁵ for you shall be associates of the host¹⁶ of
 7 heaven.¹⁷ For you sinners say, None of our sins will be inquired
 into¹⁸ and written down! – *but* they will write down all your sins
 8 every day.¹⁹ And now I show to you that light and darkness, day
 9 and night, see all your sins. Do not be impious²⁰ in your hearts, and

² and that your . . . Great One: AHKN¹ Gk.^m om.

³ Gk.^m 'Be courageous, for you have grown old in'.

⁴ but now: Gk.^m om. ⁵ GGA^m(Q)T add 'you will shine'.

⁶ GM 'and the gates'; Gk.^m 'the windows'.

⁷ Gk.^m 'And your cry will be heard, and your judgement for which you cry will appear against everything which will help (against) you in respect of your affliction'.

⁸ and from . . . plundered you: Gk.^m 'and it will be executed on all who took part with those who inflicted violence on you and devoured you'.

⁹ Gk.^m om. verse 4.

¹⁰ So GGA^mQE: other Eth. MSS 'As for what you will have to do'.

¹¹ What . . . be sinners: Gk.^m defective and reconstruction uncertain, but the text clearly differed from Eth – at least in the first part. After 'sinners' Gk.^m adds 'you will be troubled and' (It is likely that something like 'But as for you sinners' has dropped out of the text before this: cp. note 12).

¹² The eternal . . . eternity: this only makes sense as an address to the sinners, and perhaps it was so originally.

¹³ And now: Gk.^m om.

¹⁴ GGA^mQTD' Gk.^m 'ways'.

¹⁵ Gk.^m 'all their misdeeds'.

¹⁶ GMQT(D)' 'the good ones'.

¹⁷ for you shall . . . heaven: Gk.^m om.

¹⁸ will be inquired into: so NC'; other Eth. MSS corrupt.

¹⁹ Gk.^m in verse 7 obscure and incomplete, but apparently similar to Eth.

²⁰ Gk.^m 'Do not go astray'.

do not lie, and do not alter the words of truth, nor say that the
 words of the Holy and²¹ Great One are lies, and do not praise your
 idols, for all your lies and all your impiety lead not to right-
 10 eousness,²² but to great sin. And now I know this mystery, that
 many sinners will alter and distort the words of truth,²³ and speak
 evil words,²⁴ and lie, and concoct great fabrications, and write
 11 books in their *own* words.²⁵ But when they write out all my²⁶ words
 exactly in their languages, and do not alter or omit *anything* from
 my words, but write out everything exactly, everything²⁷ which I
 12 testified about them before – *then* I know²⁸ another mystery, that
 books²⁹ will be given to the righteous³⁰ and wise *which will be the*
 13 *source of joy* and truth and much wisdom.³¹ And books will be given
 to them,³² and they will believe in them and rejoice over them; and
 all the righteous who have learnt from them all the ways of truth
 will be glad.³³

CV. And in those days, says the Lord, they shall call and testify to
 the sons of the earth about the wisdom in them.¹ Show *it* to them,
 for you *are* their leaders, and the rewards *which are to come* over all
 2 the earth. For I and my son will join ourselves with them for ever in

²¹ GQT om.; Gk.^m om. 'and Great'.

²² Remainder of verse 9 and beginning of verse 10 lost in Gk.^m.

²³ many . . . truth: G(GaM)TP¹ 'the sinners will alter and distort the words of truth in many ways' (or perhaps 'the sinners will alter the words of truth and pervert many'); Gk.^m 'the sinners alter and write against [the words] of truth and lead astray (lit. 'change') the many'.

²⁴ and speak evil words: Gk.^m om.

²⁵ and write books in their own words (or 'concerning their words'): GGA^mQD' 'and write out my books in their *own* words'; Gk.^m 'and write out the scriptures in their *own* names'.

²⁶ GGA^mQD' 'the'. ²⁷ Q om.

²⁸ But when . . . know: Gk.^m 'And would that they would write out all my words exactly in their names, and not omit or change *anything* in these words, but write out exactly all the things which I testify to them. And again I know'.

²⁹ Gk.^m 'my books'. ³⁰ Gk.^m adds 'and holy'.

³¹ *which* . . . wisdom: Gk.^m 'for joy of truth'.

³² And books . . . them: Gk.^m om.

³³ Gk.^m 'and all the righteous will be glad to learn from them all the ways of truth'; in Eth. for 'be glad' many MSS have 'be rewarded'.

¹ the wisdom in them: i.e. in the books (lit. 'their wisdom').

the paths of uprightness during their lives, and you will have peace. Rejoice, you sons of uprightness! Amen.²

- CVI. And after *some* days my son Methuselah took for his son Lamech a wife,¹ and she became pregnant by him and² bore³ a son.
 2 And his body was white like snow and red like the flower of a rose, and the hair of his head *was* white like wool⁴ . . . and his eyes were beautiful;⁵ and when he opened his eyes, he made the whole house bright like the sun so that the whole house was exceptionally
 3 bright.⁶ And when he was taken⁷ from the hand of the midwife,⁸ he opened his mouth and spoke to the Lord of Righteousness.⁹ And his father¹⁰ Lamech was afraid of him and fled and went to his
 4 father Methuselah. And he said to him, I have begotten a strange son; he is not like a man, but is like the children of the angels of
 5 heaven, of a different type, and not like us. And his eyes *are* like the rays of the sun, and his face glorious. And it seems to me that he is
 6 not sprung from me, but from the angels,¹¹ and I am afraid lest something extraordinary should be done¹² on the earth in his days.
 7 And now,¹³ my father, I am entreating you and petitioning you to go¹⁴ to our father Enoch, and¹⁵ learn from him the truth, for his

² Gk.^m om. chap. cv, but from the fragments that have survived it is clear that Aram. had material corresponding at least to verse 1 and perhaps to the end of verse 2.

¹ Gk.^m 'And after *some* time I took a wife for my son Methuselah, and she bore a son and called his name Lamech; righteousness was brought low until that day. And when he came of age, he took a wife for himself'.

² became pregnant by him and: Gk.^m om.

³ Gk.^m adds 'to him'.

⁴ All Eth. MSS add what seems to be a gloss, 'and his hair'; Gk.^m 'And when the child was born, *his* body was whiter than snow and redder than the rose, *his* hair all white, and like white wool, and curly and glorious'.

⁵ and his eyes . . . beautiful: Gk.^m om.

⁶ he made . . . exceptionally bright: Gk.^m 'the house shone like the sun'.

⁷ Ga 'And thereupon he rose'; Gk.^m 'And he rose'.

⁸ Ga Gk.^m add 'and'.

⁹ and spoke . . . Righteousness: Gk.^m 'and blessed the Lord'.

¹⁰ his father: Gk.^m om. ¹¹ Gk.^m 'an angel'.

¹² Gk.^m 'and I fear him lest something should occur'.

¹³ now: Gk.^m om. ¹⁴ to go: Gk.^m 'Go'.

¹⁵ Remainder of verse 7 and beginning of verse 8 has not survived in Gk.^m.

- 8 dwelling is with the angels. And when Methuselah heard the words of his son, he came to me at the ends of the earth, for he had heard that I was there.¹⁶ And he cried out,¹⁷ and I heard his voice and went to him. And I said to him,¹⁸ Behold, I am *here*, my son, for
 9 you have¹⁹ come to me.²⁰ And he answered me²¹ and said, Because of a great matter²² have I come to you,²³ and because of a disturb-
 10 ing vision have I come near.²⁴ And now hear me, my father, for²⁵ a child has been born to my son Lamech whose form and type are not like the type of a man; his colour is whiter than snow and redder than the flower of²⁶ a rose, and the hair of his head is whiter than white wool, and his eyes *are* like the rays of the sun; and he opened
 11 his eyes and made the whole house bright.²⁷ And he was taken from²⁸ the hand of the midwife and opened his mouth and blessed the Lord of Heaven.²⁹ And his father Lamech³⁰ was afraid and fled to me. And he does not believe that he *is sprung* from him, but thinks him *to be*³¹ from the angels³² of heaven. And behold I have come to
 12 you that you may make known to me the truth. And I, Enoch, answered and said to him,³³ The Lord will do new things on the earth, and this I have already seen in a vision and made known to you,³⁴ for³⁵ in the generation of my father Jared some from the

¹⁶ for . . . there: Gk.^m 'where he [saw] that I was then'.

¹⁷ And he cried out: Gk.^m 'And he said to me, [My] father, hear my voice and come [to] me'.

¹⁸ to him: Gk.^m om.

¹⁹ Gk.^m 'Why have you'.

²⁰ Gk.^m adds 'my son'.

²¹ me: Gk.^m om.

²² GGAMTD' Gk.^m 'need'.

²³ to you: Gk.^m 'here, father'.

²⁴ and because . . . near: Gk.^m om.

²⁵ hear me . . . for: Gk.^m om.

²⁶ the flower of: Gk.^m om.

²⁷ and he opened . . . bright: Gk.^m om.

²⁸ And he was taken from (or perhaps 'rose from'): so GBCEL²C'; other Eth. MSS 'And he rose in'; Gk.^m 'And he rose from'.

²⁹ Gk.^m 'of Eternity'.

³⁰ Gk.^m 'And my son Lamech'.

³¹ but thinks him *to be*: GGAMH 'but *that* his form *is*'.

³² Gk.^m 'And he does not believe that he is his son, but that *he is* from the angels' (after this one line of text seems to have dropped out and what remains of the verse is corrupt).

³³ Gk.^m 'Then I answered, saying'.

³⁴ Gk.^m in part obscure, 'The Lord will make a new command on the earth, and in the same way (?), my son, I have seen and made *it* known to you'.

³⁵ for: in Eth. could also be translated 'that'.

14 height of heaven transgressed the word of the³⁶ Lord.³⁷ And be-
 hold, they commit sin and transgress the law,³⁸ and have been
 15 promiscuous with women and commit sin with them, and have
 married some of them, and have begotten children by them.³⁹ And
 there will be great destruction over the whole⁴⁰ earth,⁴¹ and there
 will be⁴² a deluge, and there will be great destruction for one year.
 16 But this child who has been born to you⁴³ will be left on the earth,⁴⁴
 and his three sons will be saved with him;⁴⁵ when all the men⁴⁶ who
 17 are on the earth die, he and his sons will be saved.⁴⁷ They will beget
 on the earth giants, not of spirit, but of flesh, and there will be great
 wrath on the earth,⁴⁸ and the earth will be cleansed from all
 18 corruption.⁴⁹ And now make known to your son Lamech⁵⁰ that the
 one who has been born is truly his son.⁵¹ And call his name Noah,
 for he will be a remnant for you,⁵² and he and his sons will be saved
 from the destruction which is coming on the earth because of all the
 sin and all the iniquity which will be committed on the earth in his
 19 days. But after this there will be yet greater iniquity than that
 which was committed on the earth before. For I know the

³⁶ GGaQD'T² and some Eth.II MSS 'my'.

³⁷ some . . . Lord: N 'the angels of heaven transgressed the word of my Lord'; D'
 Gk.^m 'they transgressed the word of the (D' 'my') Lord, departing from the covenant
 of heaven'.

³⁸ Gk.^m 'custom'.

³⁹ by them: GaQAN om.

⁴⁰ GaEhKNC' om.

⁴¹ and have begotten . . . earth: Gk.^m 'and they bear children not like spirits, but of
 flesh. And there will be great wrath on the earth' (cp. verse 17).

⁴² there will be: Gk.^m om.

⁴³ to you: Gk.^m om.

⁴⁴ on the earth: Gk.^m om.

⁴⁵ with him: Gk.^m om.

⁴⁶ all the men: Gk.^m 'those'.

⁴⁷ he and his sons will be saved: GGaQD' Gk.^m om. (probably repeated by
 mistake). GGa also om., but by hmt., 'They will beget on the earth'. For Gk.^m cp.
 also note 48.

⁴⁸ They will beget . . . wrath on the earth: Gk.^m om., but has a very similar
 passage at the end of verse 14 and the beginning of verse 15 (cp. note 41). Verse 17a
 in Eth. is probably an alternative version of the end of verse 14 and the beginning of
 verse 15 which has been introduced into the text in the wrong place.

⁴⁹ Gk.^m 'and he will calm the earth from the corruption that is on it'.

⁵⁰ Gk.^m 'And now tell Lamech'.

⁵¹ that . . . his son: Gk.^m 'He is your son in truth and holiness'.

⁵² Gk.^m adds 'whereby you will have rest' (after this there appears to be a lacuna,
 and the text of the remainder of the verse is obscure).

mysteries of the holy ones, for that Lord⁵³ showed *them* to me and
 made *them* known to me, and I read *them* in the tablets of heaven.

CVII. And I saw written on them¹ that generation upon generation
 will do wrong² until a generation of righteousness shall arise, and
 wrongdoing shall be destroyed, and sin³ shall depart from the
 2 earth, and everything good shall come upon it.⁴ And now, my son,
 go,⁵ make known to your son Lamech that this child who has been
 3 born is truly his son, and *this* is no lie. And when Methuselah had
 heard the words of his father Enoch – for he showed everything⁶ to
 him which is secret⁷ – he returned, having seen him,⁸ and called the
 name of that child Noah; for he will comfort the earth after all the
 destruction.⁹

CVIII. Another book which Enoch wrote for his son Methuselah
 and for those who should come after him and keep the law in the
 2 last days. You who have observed *it*¹ and are waiting² in these days
 until an end shall be made of those who do evil, and an end shall be
 3 made of the power of the wrongdoers, do³ indeed wait until sin

⁵³ Verse 19 down as far as 'Lord' has not survived in Gk.^m.

¹ And I saw . . . them: so Eth. Aram.; Gk.^m 'Then I saw what was written on
 them'.

² that . . . wrong: Gk.^m 'that one generation [will be] wor[se] than another';
 Aram. 'that [generation] upon generation will do wrong in [. . .] and wrong will be
 []'; Gk.^m adds 'and then I saw' (perhaps a duplicate version of the beginning of the
 verse).

³ Aram. 'violence'.

⁴ and everything . . . upon it (Ga 'upon the earth'): Gk.^m 'and good things will
 come to them upon the earth'; Aram. damaged, but did apparently have 'to them'.

⁵ Gk.^m 'run'.

⁶ Gk.^m om.

⁷ which is secret: GGaMQTD' Gk.^m 'in secret'.

⁸ he returned, having seen him: GaQ Gk.^m om.; D' om. 'having seen him'; M 'he
 returned and showed *them* to him', and similarly G (which is defective).

⁹ Gk.^m 'And his name was called Noah, comforting the earth after the
 destruction'.

¹ GGa 'You who have done good'.

² and are waiting: GGaMQD' 'will wait'.

³ GGaMQTD' 'And do'.

shall pass away; for their names will be erased from⁴ the books of the holy ones,⁵ and their offspring will be destroyed for ever, and their spirits will be killed, and they will cry out and moan in a chaotic⁶ desert place, and will burn⁷ in fire, for there is no earth there. And there I saw something like a cloud which could not be discerned, for because of its depth I was not able to look up at it; and the flames of a fire I saw burning brightly, and *things* like bright mountains revolved and shook from side to side. And I asked one of the holy angels who *were* with me and said to him, What is this bright *place*? For there is no heaven, but only the flames of a burning fire and the sound of crying and weeping and moaning and severe pain. And he said to me, This place which you see—here will be thrown⁸ the spirits of the sinners and of the blasphemers, and of those who do evil, and of those who alter everything which the Lord has spoken⁹ by the mouth of the prophets about the things which shall be done. For there are books and records about them in heaven above, that the angels may read them and know what is to come upon the sinners, and upon the spirits of the humble,¹⁰ and of those who afflicted their bodies and were recompensed by God, and of those who were abused by evil men; who loved¹¹ God, and did not love gold, or silver, or any worldly good, but gave up their bodies to torment; who, from the moment they existed, did not desire earthly food, but counted themselves as a breath which passes away, and kept *to* this; and the Lord tested them much, and their spirits were found pure that they might bless his name. And all their blessings I have recounted in the books; and he has assigned them their reward, for they were found to be such as loved

⁴ GGa add 'the book of life and from'; Q adds 'from the books of the living and from'; MTD' add 'the book and from'.

⁵ the books of the holy ones: MQTD'EB'C' 'the holy books'; G 'the book of the Holy One (or 'holy ones')'.

⁶ chaotic; lit. 'that cannot be seen', but in the light of the LXX of Gen. i. 2 probably to be translated 'chaotic'.

⁷ will burn; so D'ABCXC'; other MSS 'have burnt'.

⁸ GQD' 'led'.

⁹ GGaQD' 'done'.

¹⁰ Many Eth.II MSS 'the humble spirits'; D' 'the spirits of those who have gone astray'.

¹¹ So ABDEX: other MSS 'love'.

heaven more than their life in the world,¹² and even though they were trampled under foot by evil men, and had to listen to reviling and reproach from them and were abused, yet they blessed me.

11 And now I will call the spirits of the good *who are* of the generation of light, and I will transform those who were born in darkness, who in the flesh were not recompensed with honour, as was fitting to

12 their faith. And I will bring out into shining light those who love¹³ my holy name, and I will set each one on the throne of his honour.

13 And they will shine for times without number, for righteousness is the judgement of God, for with the faithful he will keep faith in the dwelling of upright paths. And they will see those who were born in

14 darkness thrown¹⁴ into darkness, while the righteous shine. And the sinners will cry out as they see them shining, but they themselves will go where days and times have been written down for them.

¹² in the world: so Ga; all other MSS 'which is for ever'.

¹³ GMQTD' 'loved'.

¹⁴ GMQD' 'led'.

2 ENOCH

INTRODUCTION

2 Enoch, or 'Slavonic Enoch' (so-called to distinguish it from 'Ethiopian Enoch'), or 'The Book of the Secrets of Enoch' (a title based on the titles in some of the manuscripts), has been preserved only in Slavonic in two distinct recensions, each attested by more than one family of manuscripts.

Attention was first drawn to it in modern times by an extract contained in two MSS in the Synodal Library in Moscow printed by A. V. Gorsky and K. I. Nevostruev in their catalogue of MSS in that library, published in 1859.¹ The first edition of the work as a whole was that of A. N. Popov, who in 1880 printed the text from the Poltava MS (our P), written in 1679. In 1884 S. Novaković printed a much shorter text, with a number of obvious lacunae, from a 16th–17th cent. MS in the National Library in Belgrade (our N): this text is a Serbian redaction, but there are several clear indications that it was derived from a Russian original. Two years later M. I. Sokolov discovered another MS containing the work, also in Belgrade, and of the 16th cent., but in middle-Bulgarian (our R): the contents tallied much more closely with Popov's Poltava text than with that in the other Belgrade MS, and Sokolov concluded that this longer version represented the original and that the shorter text was an abbreviation of it.

The next few years witnessed fresh discoveries, both of MSS (including the earliest of all, that in the Uvarov collection, of the 15th cent. – our U) and of a number of fragments in the form of extracts and quotations preserved in other works. Despite the fact that the new evidence showed that the shorter version was known before the longer, and also that all the fragments were taken from it, Sokolov still maintained his opinion that the longer version was to be preferred, and accordingly chose as the basis for his edition of 1899 the Belgrade MS R, though his posthumous papers, edited

¹ See A. V. Gorsky and K. I. Nevostruev, *Opisanie slavyanskikh rukopisei Moskovskoi sinodal'noi (patriarshei) biblioteki*, II. ii (Moscow, 1859), pp. 626–7. The MSS are now in the Library of the State Historical Museum in Moscow.

by M. N. Speransky in 1910, show that he eventually relented to the extent of recognizing U as a witness to the existence of an 'intermediate version' from which the shorter version was derived.

The German scholar Bonwetsch, in the Introduction to his translation of 1922, denied the existence of this 'intermediate version' and argued that U is much better explained as a primary witness to the text of the shorter version; but he still followed Sokolov in maintaining the priority of the longer version. However, he made the point that the shorter version cannot reasonably be regarded as the abbreviation of the contents of any one of the existing 'longer' MSS. Nevertheless, all the MSS, wide as the divergences are, were (according to Bonwetsch) derived ultimately from the same original Slavonic translation.

Meanwhile, N. Schmidt had in 1921 argued cogently, in a brief article of only six pages, for the priority of the shorter version; and in this view he was supported by A. Vaillant in his full critical edition of 1952. But whereas Schmidt thought that the two Slavonic versions were traceable to two previously existing recensions in Greek, Vaillant, like Bonwetsch, preferred to think of them as Slavonic recensions and to trace them back to a single Slavonic translation, made probably in Macedonia in the 10th or 11th centuries. This translation, Vaillant thought, survives in all essentials in the 'short recension', attested by five MSS dating from the 15th to the 18th centuries (UBNVBa.), and by the fragments Mpr. Chr. Rum. and Tr. The 'long recension' in its pristine form (found only in the Belgrade MS R) Vaillant attributed to a reviser, who worked between the second half of the 13th cent. and the early part of the 16th – most probably towards the end of the 15th: this reviser was responsible for very many relatively minor corrections and alterations, and also for a number of substantial additions of new material. Finally, a second reviser, fairly soon afterwards, worked over his predecessor's text, paraphrased it sometimes rather freely, transposed an item here and there, and made a few more additions: this second reviser's activity is attested by the MSS J and P, both of which are unfortunately incomplete (as are also the MSS NVBa. of the 'short recension').

Vaillant's edition is therefore an edition of the 'short recension', his text being based on the oldest MS U. The variants of all the

MSS and the fragments are, however, cited in his apparatus with the exception of the putative additions of new material made by the first reviser: these are collected together in an appendix at the end (the text here being that of R, printed over an apparatus showing the variants in J and P).

Our translation is a translation of the text of the 'short recension' as given in Vaillant's edition. In the footnotes will be found a selection of the more important of the minor variations; but only occasionally, for obvious reasons, are the major variants of the 'long recension' either given in full, or, indeed, mentioned. When R appears in the footnotes, it is to be understood that it is supported by both J and P where extant, unless it is stated otherwise.

About the date, authorship, and original language of the work opinions have differed widely. At one extreme R. H. Charles concluded that it was written about the beginning of the Christian era, by an Alexandrian Jew, and in Greek (though certain parts of it 'were founded on Hebrew originals'). At the other extreme Mrs A. S. D. Maunder argued that it is a Bogomil work, written originally in Bulgarian, between the 12th and the 15th centuries. As a third, intermediate, view may be instanced that of Vaillant, who could refer to it as 'Christian Enoch' in contrast with 'Jewish Enoch' (i.e. 1 Enoch), though he was in no doubt that the author was a *Jewish* Christian, who was concerned to produce a Christian counterpart to the well-known Jewish Enoch, and wrote in Greek, probably in the second or early third century AD.

There is no certain indication, however, that 2 Enoch, even in the short recension, was known to any of the Greek or Latin Fathers. For example, it is customary to explain 'I saw all material things', quoted and attributed to Enoch both by Clement of Alexandria² and by Origen³ in the light of several passages in 2 Enoch xiii.⁴ But there are two difficulties here. In the first place, both in Clement and in Origen the words appear as an exact quotation ('when Enoch said, I saw . . .'), whereas not one of the suggested passages from 2 Enoch xiii is verbally identical; and secondly, Origen not only ascribes the quotation to Enoch, but

² Clem-Alex. *Ecl. proph.* ii. 1.

³ Orig. *Princ.* IV. iv. 8.

⁴ xiii. 5–8, 14–15, 20–22, 23–26, 27.

also says that it was 'written in the same book' as another of Enoch's sayings he has just quoted, and which appears to be taken from 1 Enoch xxi. 1. What the answer is we do not know. It may be that the words 'I saw all material things' did in fact stand in the Greek copy of 2 Enoch xiii used by Clement and Origen, and the Slavonic translator either omitted them or paraphrased them – in which case Origen will have been guilty of a lapse of memory in saying that they occurred in the same book as 1 Enoch xxi. 1. Alternatively it may be that Origen was correct and that they did once stand in some texts of 1 Enoch, though they are not found today in any known text of that work. Or it may be that the words were not intended originally as an exact quotation at all, but merely as a loose reference (to 1 Enoch xix. 3, for instance), and Origen may have remembered them from his reading of Clement, or both may have been familiar with them independently from some collection of Enoch's sayings circulating in Alexandria or from contemporary oral traditions about Enoch. And there are a number of other possibilities. What we cannot have is certainty. And there is a similar uncertainty about all the other suggested patristic quotations.

But quite apart from the question whether or not 2 Enoch was known to the Fathers, it is highly probable, if we are to argue from analogy, that there was at one time a Greek text, of which the earliest Slavonic text was a translation. It is also highly probable that this Greek text was the original: there are a number of linguistic pointers in this direction; and the Septuagint, rather than the Hebrew, seems to have been the author's Bible. However, this by itself tells us very little about him. Some of the names, found only in 2 Enoch, such as Adoif⁵ and Sofonima,⁶ suggest at the very least a Jewish background. The author, then, may well have been a Jew of Alexandria (as Charles maintained) or of some other city of the Dispersion, who spoke and wrote in Greek, and who quite naturally regarded the Septuagint as his Bible. And yet there are no specifically Jewish features anywhere: Enoch's admonitions about gifts and offerings,⁷ for instance, and the descriptions of the

⁵ xi. 7.⁶ xxiii. 1, 2, etc.⁷ ii. 2-4; xiii. 46-47; xv. 6-7, 17-20; xvii. 7.

priestly functions and activities of Methuselah⁸ and Nir,⁹ are all very general, and they exhibit no points of contact in detail either with the sacrificial requirements of the Pentateuch or with any known Temple practices.

The case for a Christian origin depends partly on general considerations, partly on the lack of specifically Jewish features just mentioned, partly on alleged influence from the books of the New Testament (Charles's list of parallels can just as easily be explained as echoes of the New Testament in 2 Enoch as they can as echoes of 2 Enoch in the New Testament), but more particularly on how we understand the Melchizedek story in chap. xxiii at the very end.

According to this story Melchizedek is born, without the agency of a human father, from the body of Sofonima after her death: he has on his breast 'the seal of the priesthood',¹⁰ and Nir is told that he will be 'a priest of priests for ever';¹¹ after the Flood the Lord will raise up another generation and Melchizedek will be 'chief priest' in that generation:¹² until then he is to be kept safe in the Garden of Eden. It is tempting to read this story as a development of what is said about Melchizedek in the Epistle to the Hebrews. In Hebrews Melchizedek appears 'without father, without mother, without genealogy',¹³ and his priesthood is the type of the priesthood of Christ, who is described more than once both as 'a priest for ever'¹⁴ and as 'the mediator' of a 'new (or 'better') covenant'.¹⁵ If we read the story in 2 Enoch so, then 2 Enoch cannot be much earlier than the end of the first century A.D. and its origin must be Christian. On the other hand, the details in Hebrews and 2 Enoch that are alleged to correspond are not sufficiently close to establish anything like a water-tight case for dependence: we know from the evidence of Qumran that Jews, no less than Christians, were interested in Melchizedek; and there is, therefore, no reason to suppose that both a Jewish author and a Christian author could not have developed this interest independently, one in 2 Enoch and the other in Hebrews.

⁸ xx. 1-2; xxi. 7-15.⁹ xxii. 15, 22-24.¹⁰ xxiii. 18.¹¹ xxiii. 29.¹² xxiii. 34.¹³ Heb. vii. 3.¹⁴ Heb. v. 6; vii. 21: cp. vii. 3.¹⁵ Heb. viii. 6; ix. 15; xii. 24: cp. vii. 22.

And there is the further difficulty that we cannot be sure that the Melchizedek story is an integral part of the original 2 Enoch. Chapters xxi–xxiii are missing altogether in Morfill's and Forbes's translations; and Bonwetsch relegated all three chapters to an appendix – the reason being that they are not included in the MSS N and Ba. of the short recension (both of which end with chap. xviii), while of the MSS of the long recension P ends with chap. xx and J at xxiii. 2. Vaillant, however, printed all of them as part of his text, following UB and two of the fragments (short recension) together with R (long recension); and as explained above, we, in our translation, have followed Vaillant.

Finally, a point of some interest in this connection has been made by A. Rubinstein. Enoch, in his admonitions about sacrifice at xv. 8–9 lays it down, 'And all you have for food, bind it by the four legs . . . The man who kills any beast without binding it – it is an evil custom'. For this binding of a victim before slaughter there is neither Biblical nor Rabbinic parallel. Yet later in 2 Enoch both Methuselah (at xxi. 9) and Nir (at xxii. 23) observe the provision. Chaps. xxi and xxii, therefore, even if not xxiii, have a very definite link with what goes before, although they are lacking in three of the MSS.

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From the secret books of the taking up of Enoch the Just (in the Lord, O master, give a blessing), a wise man, a great man of letters, whom the Lord received that he might be an eyewitness of¹ the life above and of the most wise and great and unchangeable majesty of Almighty God, of the most great, many-eyed, and immoveable

¹ Emended on the basis of RJ ('that he might see').

throne of the Lord, of the most bright station of the servants of the Lord, and of the mighty, fire-born, ranks of the heavenly hosts, and of the ineffable harmony of a great multitude of elements, and of the varied aspect and inexpressible singing of the hosts of the cherubim, and to be the witness of immeasurable light.²

- I. And at that time, said Enoch, when I had completed three hundred and sixty-five years,¹ in the first month, on a certain day² of the first month, I was in my house alone, weeping and sorrowing with my eyes. While I was resting on my bed, sleeping,³ there appeared to me two men, very great, such as I had never seen on earth. Their faces were like the shining sun, their eyes burned like candles, out of their mouths came what looked like fire, and their clothing was a diffusion of foam, and their arms like golden wings at the head of my bed; and they called me by my name. I awoke from my sleep, and the two men were really standing by me.⁴ And I made haste and got up and bowed down to them; and my face was covered with frost from fright. And the men said to me, Take courage, Enoch, do not be afraid: the eternal Lord has sent us to you; and behold, you shall go up with us today to heaven. And tell your sons⁵ all they must do on earth, and in your house; and let no one look for you until the Lord returns you to them. And I obeyed them and went out. I called my sons Methusalom and Rigim⁶ and I told them everything the men had said to me.

- II. And I said to them, Behold, my children, I do not know where I am going or what will become of me. And now, my children, do not turn away from God, but live your lives in the Lord's presence, and

² Full title in URJP only.

¹ R has 'when my one hundred and sixty-fifth year was accomplished, I begot my son Methusalom. And after that I lived two hundred years: I completed all the years of my life, three hundred and sixty-five'.

² R adds 'the first day', which Vaillant explains as the first or seventh day of Easter (the 15th or 22nd of the month Nisan), a festal day which Enoch spends in retreat.

³ U 'I slept'.

⁴ R 'and I saw clearly the two men standing before me'.

⁵ So U: BN etc. add 'and (R + 'all') your household'.

⁶ R adds 'and Gaidad'.

keep his judgements; and do not refuse¹ the sacrifice of your salvation, and the Lord will not refuse² the labour of your hands.

3 Do not deny the Lord his gifts, *and* the Lord will not deny *you* his
4 possessions in your storehouses. Bless the Lord with the firstborn
5 of your flocks *and* herds, and you will be the blessed of the Lord for
6 ever. Do not turn aside from the Lord, nor worship idols, who have
made neither heaven nor earth: may the Lord confirm your hearts
in the fear of him. And now, my children, let no one look for me
until the Lord returns me to you.

III. And it came to pass, when I had spoken to my sons, the two
men called me and took me up on their wings; and they carried me
2 up into the first heaven and set me down there. And they brought
before me the elders, the masters of the ranks of the stars, and they
showed me their movements and their displacements from year to
3 year. And they showed me two hundred¹ angels, who rule the stars
4 and the constellations² in heaven. And they showed me there a sea,
very great, much greater than the earthly sea; and angels were
flying with their wings. And they showed me the treasuries of the
5 snow and ice,³ and terrifying angels guarding the treasuries. And
6 they showed me there the storehouses⁴ of the clouds, from which
7 they rise⁵ and go out. And they showed me the treasuries of the
dew, like the balm of olive trees, and the angels guarding their
treasuries; and their appearance⁶ was like all the flowers of the
earth.

IV. And those two men took me up into the second heaven and set
2 me down in the second heaven. And they showed me the prisoners,
under guard, of¹ the immeasurable judgement;² and there I saw
3 angels that had been condemned, weeping. And I said to the men
who *were* with me, Why are *these* in torment? The men answered

¹ B 'lessen'; R 'make odious'. ² BR 'cut short'.

¹ two hundred = BNBA: U 'in the light'.

² Lit. 'combinations'.

³ So BNR: UBA 'cold'.

⁴ U 'the treasuries, and they showed me the storehouses'.

⁵ U 'go in'.

⁶ NBA 'clothing'.

¹ R 'awaiting'.

² So BBa, supported by NR: U is corrupt.

me, *These* are apostates from the Lord, who were not obedient to
4 the Lord's commands,³ but took counsel with their own will.⁴ And
I was *very* sorry for them. *And* the angels bowed low to me and said,
5 Man of God, *we ask you* that you would pray to the Lord for us. And
I answered them and said, Who am I, a mortal man, that I should
pray for angels; for who knows where I am going, or what will
become of me, or who will pray for me?

V. And the men took me from there *and* led me up to the third
2 heaven, and set me in the midst of Paradise. And that place *is* more
beautiful than anything there is to see – all trees in full bloom, all
fruit ripe, every *kind of* food always in abundance, every breeze
3 fragrant. And *there are* four rivers flowing by in silent course: the
4 whole garden *is* good, producing *what is good* to eat.¹ And² the tree
of life *is* in that place, where the Lord rests, when he³ goes into
Paradise; and that tree is indescribable for the quality of its
5 fragrance. And there is another tree nearby, an olive, which flows
6 ceaselessly with oil. And every tree *is* laden with good fruit: there is
7 no tree there without fruit; and the whole place is blessed.⁴ And the
angels who guard Paradise *are* most glorious, *and* they serve God
8 continually⁵ with unceasing voice *and* sweet singing. And I said,
9 How very blessed is this place. The men answered me, This place,
Enoch, is prepared for the righteous, who will endure hardships in
this life, and mortify themselves, and turn their eyes away from
unrighteousness, and execute true justice, to give bread to the
hungry, and to cover the naked with a garment, and to lift up
10 anyone who has fallen, and to help those who have been wronged,
who live their lives in the Lord's presence and serve him alone. For
them is this place⁶ prepared as *their* eternal inheritance.

11 And those men took me from there and carried me up to the
north of the heaven and showed me there a very terrible place.

³ Lit. 'voice'.

⁴ R adds 'they deserted with their prince *and* those who are made fast in the fifth heaven'.

¹ B 'producing every kind that is good to eat'.

² R adds 'in the midst'.

³ U 'the Lord'.

⁴ So BNBA: U 'sweet smelling'.

⁵ Lit. 'throughout all days'.

⁶ U om.

12 Every kind of torment and torture *is* in that place, and darkness
and mist; and there is no light there, but a dark fire flaming up
eternally in that place, and a river of fire rising up against all that
13 place. *And there are* cold and ice and prisons *in that place*, and fierce
and cruel angels who carry weapons and inflict torments⁷ without
14,15 mercy. And I said, How very terrible is this place. And the men
answered me, This place, Enoch, is prepared for the impious, who
do godless deeds on earth, who deal in spells and incantations⁸ and
boast of what they do, *who* steal the souls of men⁹ secretly, who
16 loose the yoke that binds *them*, who grow rich from others' posses-
sions through injustice, and have left the *man who is* hungry to die of
starvation when they could have satisfied *him*, and have stripped
17 the naked when they could have clothed *them*, who did not
acknowledge their creator, but worshipped idols and made
18 images, and bowed down to the work of *their own* hands. And for all
these is this place prepared as *their* eternal inheritance.

VI. And the men led me up from there and carried me up¹ to the
2 fourth heaven. And behold, they showed me there all the
3 movements² and all the rays of the sun and moon. And I measured
their movement *and* compared their light; and I saw *that* the sun
has a light seven times greater than the moon.³ Their⁴ path and the
chariot on which each of them travels *is* like the wind in motion;
and there is no rest for them as they go and return by day and
4 night. And *I saw* four great stars hanging on the right of the sun's
5 chariot *and* four on the left, which go with the sun eternally. And *I*
saw angels going before the sun's chariot, flying spirits: twelve
wings has each angel that draws the sun's chariot, carrying the
dew and the heat, when the Lord commands *them* to go down to
earth with the sun's rays.

6,7 And the men took me to the east of the heaven. And they showed
me the doors through which the sun goes out according to the times
appointed, and according to the circuits of the moon⁵ of the whole

⁷ and inflict torments = B etc.: U is corrupt.

⁸ So NBaR: U 'calumnies'. ⁹ U om. 'of men'.

¹ from there . . . up = BNBa: U om.

² BR add 'and displacements'.

³ U 'sun'. ⁴ U 'its'. ⁵ B 'months'.

year, and according to the shortening *and* lengthening⁶ of the days
8 and of the nights.⁷ *And they showed me* six doors, one open, at a
distance of thirty stades; and I tried to measure their size, but I
9 could not.⁸ Through them the sun enters⁹ and goes to the west.
10 Through the first door he goes out forty-two days, through the
second thirty-five days, through the third thirty-five days, through
the fourth thirty-five days, through the fifth thirty-five days,
11 through the sixth forty-two days. And again, returning through the
sixth door according to the circuit of the seasons, he goes in
through the fifth door thirty-five days, through the fourth door
thirty-five days, through the third door thirty-five days, through
12 the second thirty-five days. And the days of the year are ended
according to the cycle of the seasons.¹⁰

13 And the men led me up to the west of the heaven and showed me
there the six great doors, open according to the circuit of the
heavenly eastern *doors* opposite, through which the sun sets accord-
ing to *his* entering¹¹ through the eastern doors and according to the
14 number of the days.¹² Thus he sets through the western doors; and
when he comes out from the western doors four angels take his
15 crown and carry it up to the Lord. But the sun turns his chariot and
16 goes without light; and there¹³ they put the crown on him. They
showed me this numbering¹⁴ of the sun and *of* the doors through
which he goes in and out; for these doors the Lord made, and he
appoints the sun to be the hour-keeper of the year.
17 And of the moon they showed me another numbering: they
showed me all her movements and all her circuits and her¹⁵ doors.
18 They showed me twelve doors to the east: they showed me *the doors*
of the crown,¹⁶ through which the moon goes in and out according

⁶ So Ba: U is corrupt.

⁷ and of the nights = B etc.: U om.

⁸ Lit. 'and I measured their size and I could not comprehend their size'.

⁹ N 'rises'.

¹⁰ R 'the four seasons'.

¹¹ BNBa 'rising'.

¹² R adds 'three hundred and sixty-five and a quarter'.

¹³ NBa add 'at the eastern doors'.

¹⁴ So R: U reads 'waxing', which is in all probability a corruption of 'numbering'.

¹⁵ and her = BN: U om.

¹⁶ circuits . . . crown. The passage is corrupt. On the basis of the variants Vaillant emends 'circuits, and they showed me her doors. They showed me twelve doors like a crown to the east, and twelve such doors like a crown to the west'.

19 to the accustomed times. Through the first door to the east thirty-one¹⁷ days certainly, and through the second thirty-five days certainly, and *through* the third thirty-one¹⁸ days exceptionally, and through the fourth thirty days certainly, and through the fifth thirty-one¹⁷ days extraordinarily, and through the sixth thirty-one days certainly, through the seventh thirty days certainly, through the eighth thirty-one days extraordinarily, and through the ninth thirty-one days precisely, and through the tenth thirty days certainly, through the eleventh thirty-one days exceptionally, through the twelfth door she enters twenty-two days¹⁹ certainly.

20 And so also through the western doors, according to the cycle and number of the eastern doors: thus she goes in also through the western doors; and she completes the year with three hundred and

21 sixty-four²⁰ days. She goes into the year with four exceptional *quarter days*: for this reason they are excepted *and* set apart from the heaven and the year and are not counted in the number of the days; for they change²¹ the seasons of the year, two new moons when she is waxing and a second two new moons when she is waning.²²

22 When she finishes at the western doors, she returns *and* goes to the

23 eastern with her light: thus she goes day and night in a circle. Her orbit is like the sky; and the chariot on which she goes up *is* a wind in motion, and drawing her chariot *are* her flying spirits, each

24 angel having six wings. This is the numbering of the moon.

25 In the midst of the heaven I saw an armed host serving the Lord²³ on cymbals and organs *and* with a ceaseless voice; and I was enchanted as I listened to them.²⁴

VII. And the men took me from there and carried me up to the

2 fifth heaven. And I saw there an immense host¹ – the Watchers.² Their appearance¹ *was* like men's appearance: in size they were

¹⁷ B 'thirty'.

¹⁸ BR 'thirty'.

¹⁹ So R: U is corrupt.

²⁰ So BNBA: UR 'three hundred and sixty-five'.

²¹ So BNBA: U 'exceed'.

²² and a second . . . waning = B: U om. The passage is obscure.

²³ So BNBA: U 'God'.

²⁴ and I was . . . to them = BNBA: U om.

¹ So B etc.: U corrupt.

² See 1 Enoch i.5, etc.

bigger than great giants, and their faces *were* sad and their mouths

3 silent;³ and there was no service in the fifth heaven.⁴ And I said to the men who were with me, Why are they *so* very sad, and their faces downcast, and their mouths silent, and *why* is there no service

4 in this heaven? And the men answered me, These are the Watchers, who did not join their brothers,⁵ two⁶ princes and *the* two hundred *others who* followed after them⁷ and went down to earth and broke their vow on the shoulder of mount Hermon to defile themselves with human women; and because they defiled

5 themselves the Lord condemned them. And these are bewailing their brothers and the punishment which was laid upon them.⁸

6 And I said to the Watchers, I have seen your brothers, and I have heard what they did; and I know⁹ their prayers, and I have prayed

7 for them. And behold, the Lord has condemned *them* below the earth¹⁰ until the heavens and the earth pass away: why then are you waiting for your brothers, and *why* are you not serving in the

8 Lord's presence? Resume your previous services: offer *your* service in the Lord's name,¹¹ in case you anger the Lord your God, *and* he

9 throws you down from this place. They listened to what I said and

10 were persuaded; and they stood in four ranks in the heaven. And behold,¹² as I stood there, they began to blow together on four trumpets, and the Watchers began to serve, as if with a single voice, *and* their voice went up into the Lord's presence.

VIII. And the men led me up from there and carried me up to the sixth heaven. And I saw there seven angels in a group, bright and

³ Lit. 'and the silence of their mouths (R adds 'perpetual')'.

⁴ in the fifth heaven = BR: U om.

⁵ Lit. 'who separated from themselves' (B 'who drove themselves out').

⁶ So B: U 'two hundred'. ⁷ after them = B: U om.

⁸ punishment . . . upon them = B: U corrupt.

⁹ So B: U corrupt.

¹⁰ There is some confusion here. That the condemned angels were imprisoned 'below the earth' would seem to be part of a generally accepted tradition (e.g. Jub. v. 6, 10; 1 Enoch lxxxviii. 3; 2 Pet. ii. 4), yet the angels Enoch is referring to would seem to be those he has already met and talked with in the second heaven (see chap. iv above).

¹¹ BR 'in the Lord's presence'.

¹² They listened . . . in the heaven. And behold = BR: U om.

2 very glorious; and their faces¹ shone like a ray of sunlight. There is
 3 no difference *between them* in face or size or style of clothing.² These
 arrange *and* teach the right ordering of the world, the movement³ of
 the stars, of the sun and of the moon, and of the angels, their
 guides, and of the heavenly voices;⁴ and *they* bring harmony to all
 4 the life of heaven. And they arrange also the regulation and order
 and execution⁵ of the singing *and the offering of* all the praise and
 glory, and the angels⁶ *who are* over the seasons and the years, and
 the angels *who are* over the rivers and over the seas, *and* the angels
who are over the fruits and grass and all that grows, and the angels
 5 of all the peoples. And these bear rule and record the deeds of all
 6 living things in the presence of the Lord.⁷ And among them *are*
 seven phoenixes and seven cherubim and seven six-winged
 angels,⁸ speaking together and singing together in unison; and it is
 7 impossible to describe their songs. And the Lord rejoices in his
 footstool.

IX. And the men raised me up from there and carried me up to the
 2 seventh heaven. And I saw *there* a great light, and all the fiery hosts
 of the incorporeal ones, the archangels, the angels, and the
 3 brightness¹ of the ophanim;² and I was afraid and trembled. And
 the men took me into their midst, and they said to me, Take
 4 courage, Enoch, do not be afraid. They showed me from afar the
 Lord sitting on his throne; and all the heavenly armies, grouped
 according to their rank, came forward and worshipped the Lord,
 and *then* they returned again and went to their places in joy and
 5 gladness *and* in measureless light. And *there were* the glorious ones,
 who serve him by night and do not depart by day,³ standing in the
 6 Lord's presence *and* doing his will. And all the hosts of the

¹ So B etc.: U corrupt.

² So BNR (lit. 'or in the modification of *their* clothing'): U corrupt.

³ So NBaR: U 'birth'.

⁴ BNBa 'angels'. ⁵ Lit. 'sweet voices'.

⁶ Or '... praise and glory; and *these are* the angels ...'

⁷ Lit. 'And these rule and write all life before the face of the Lord'.

⁸ So BNBaR: U 'and seven cherubim, six-winged creatures'.

¹ Lit. 'the bright station'.

² B 'seraphim'.

³ So BNBaR: U 'to-day'.

cherubum⁴ *were* around his throne, and did not depart *from it*, and
 the six-winged *angels* who cover his throne, singing in the Lord's
 7 presence. And when I had seen all this, the two men departed from
 8 me, and I saw them no more. They left me alone at the end of the
 heaven; and I was afraid *and* fell on my face.
 9 And the Lord sent to me one of his glorious ones, Gabriel; and he
 said to me, Take courage, Enoch, do not be afraid. Get up, and
 10 come with me, and stand in the presence of the Lord for ever. And I
 answered him and said, Alas, *my* lord, I am paralyzed by fear: call
 to me the men who brought me to this place; for I have confidence⁵
 11 in them, and with them I will enter the Lord's presence. And
 Gabriel caught me up, just as a leaf is caught up⁶ by the wind and
 12 he swept me along and set me down in the Lord's presence. And I
 saw⁷ the Lord – his face mighty and most glorious and terrible.
 13 Who am I to describe⁸ the proportions *of* his being,⁹ *and* the Lord's
 face, mighty and most terrible, and his many-eyed and many-
 voiced choir,¹⁰ and the Lord's immense throne, made without
 hands, or the company¹¹ assembled round it (the hosts of the
 cherubim and seraphim), or the unchanging *and* ineffable, never-
 14 silent and glorious service *that is offered to him*? And I fell down on
 my face and worshipped the Lord.
 15 And with his own mouth the Lord called me, Take courage,
 Enoch, do not be afraid: get up and stand in my presence for ever.
 And Michael, the Lord's great archangel,¹² raised me up and led
 16 me into the Lord's presence. And the Lord made trial of his
 servants *and* said to them, Let Enoch come up to stand in my
 presence for ever. And the Lord's¹³ glorious ones bowed down and
 17 said, Let him come up. And the Lord said to Michael, Take Enoch
 and take off his earthly garments, and anoint *him* with good oil, and
 clothe *him* in glorious garments. And Michael took off from me my
 18 garments and anointed me with good oil. And the appearance of

⁴ BNBa add 'and the seraphim'.

⁵ So B etc.: U corrupt.

⁶ caught up = N supported by R: UBBa corrupt.

⁷ So BR: U corrupt.

⁸ U 'Who is to confess ...'

⁹ A probable translation. The MSS are corrupt. R has 'the incomprehensible being of the Lord'.

¹⁰ So R.

¹¹ BR add 'of the choir'.

¹² So U: BNBaR 'archistrategē'.

¹³ Lord's = BNBa: U om.

the oil *was* more *resplendent* than a great light, and its richness like sweet dew, and its fragrance like myrrrh, **shining like a ray of the sun**.¹⁴ And I looked at myself, and I was like one of the glorious ones, and there was no apparent difference.

X. And the Lord called Vreveil,¹ one of his archangels, who was wise and wrote down everything that the Lord did. And the Lord said to Vreveil, Take the books from their storeplace, and give Enoch a pen and dictate the books to him. And Vreveil made haste and brought me the books, bright² with *smyrnium*,³ and gave me a pen from his own hand. And he told me all that happens in heaven⁴ and on the earth and in the sea, and the movements and courses⁵ of all the elements, and the changes of the years, and the movements and mutations of the days, *and* the regulation and order and execution⁶ of the singing, and the going in of the clouds and the going out of the winds, and all the words⁷ of the songs⁸ of the armed host.⁹ And all that it was proper that I should learn Vreveil explained to me in thirty days and thirty nights: his lips were never silent, as he went on speaking; and I, for my part, had no rest for thirty days and thirty nights, as I made my notes.¹⁰ And when I had finished, Vreveil said to me, Sit down: write out everything I have explained to you. And I sat down a second time for thirty days and thirty nights; and I wrote out everything exactly. And I wrote three hundred and sixty¹¹ books.

¹⁴ Emended on the basis of U ('its ray, as it were, of the sun') and B ('like a shining ray of the sun').

¹ Not only do the MSS vary considerably from one another in the spelling of this name in each of the five instances in which it occurs in this chapter, but they also differ individually from instance to instance. Thus, in the first instance BBa read 'Vreteil', N 'Vret'il', and P 'Pravu'il'; and B reads 'Vreteil' in the first instance, but 'Vreveil' in the others.

² So Ba: R 'decorated'; UBN are corrupt.

³ So Vaillant, supposing a Gk. original *σμύρνιον* rather than *σμύρρα* ('myrrh').

⁴ So BBa (lit. 'all the works of heaven'): U 'all the works of the Lord'.

⁵ Lit. 'lives'.

⁶ Lit. 'the sweet voice'.

⁷ Lit. 'language'.

⁸ So B: U 'of the new song'.

⁹ Cp. vi. 25 above.

¹⁰ Lit. 'writing all the signs'.

¹¹ RP 'three hundred and sixty-six'.

XI. And the Lord called me, and he set me on his left hand, nearer than Gabriel; and I worshipped the Lord. And the Lord said to me, All that you have seen, Enoch, *all* that is¹ and *all* that moves, and *all* that has been created by me, I will reveal it to you, †before all came to be from the first, †² all that I have created *and brought* from non-existence into being, and from what is invisible into what is seen. Not even to my angels have I revealed my secret, nor have I told them how they themselves were formed, nor do they know how my infinite and incomprehensible creation was accomplished; yet I am revealing it to you to-day. For before what is visible was brought into being, light appeared;³ but I, *although* surrounded by light, *was* like one of the invisible ones, *and* I journeyed⁴ as the sun journeys from east to west *and* from west to east. The sun will find⁵ rest; but I found no rest, for I was creating everything. Since I had purposed to establish a foundation to form a visible creation, I gave command to the depths that one of the invisible things should rise up *and become* visible. And Adoil came out, immense in size; and I looked at him, and behold, he had the great age⁶ in his belly, and I said to him, Open yourself, Adoil, and let what is visible be born from you. And he opened himself, and the great age⁶ came out of him; and thus **was born the light** from him who bears the whole creation which I purposed to create. And I saw that *it was* good; and I set a throne for myself and sat upon it; but to the light I said, Go up higher, and establish yourself, *and* be the foundation of the things above. And above the light there is nothing else.

And I got up from my throne, and I looked⁷ and called a second time to the depths, and I said,⁸ Let what is hard and visible come out from the invisible. And Aruchaz came out, hard, heavy, and very black.⁹ And I saw that it was right;¹⁰ and I said to him, Go down below and establish yourself, and be the foundation of the

¹ Lit. 'stands'.

² I will . . . the first: corrupt. Vaillant translates 'moi je te l'expliquerai d'avant qu'il ne soit apparu au début'.

³ Lit. 'opened itself'.

⁴ 'was like . . . journeyed = NBa: U, supported by R, 'alone journeyed among the invisible things'.

⁵ B 'The sun found'; R 'The sun has'.

⁶ So UB: NBa 'a very great stone'; R 'a great light'.

⁷ So B: NBa 'I saw'; U 'I said'.

⁸ So B etc.: U corrupt.

⁹ R 'red'.

¹⁰ Or 'that he was suitable'.

things below. And he went down and established himself, and was
14 the foundation of the lower things. And beneath the darkness there
is nothing else.

15 I encircled the ether with light, and I thickened it *and* stretched it
out over the darkness, and from the waters I built up great stones;
and I commanded the mists¹¹ of the abyss to become dry, and I
16 called¹² what fell back¹³ the abyss. When I had gathered the sea
together into one place, I bound it with a yoke, *and* I set an eternal
boundary between the earth and¹⁴ the sea, *so that* it should not be
burst by the waters: I fixed the vault of heaven and founded it
17 above the waters. And for all the heavenly host I formed the sun
from the great light, and I set it in the heaven that it might shine
18 over the earth. From the stones I struck a great fire; and from the
fire I created all the incorporeal host, and all the starry host, and
the cherubim, and the seraphim, and the ophannim (and all this I
19 struck from the fire). And I commanded the earth to make all kinds
of trees to grow, and all mountains,¹⁵ and all life-giving plants, and
every kind of seed that is sown:¹⁶ before I created living souls, I
20 prepared food for them. And I commanded the sea to produce its
fish, and all the reptiles that creep¹⁷ over the earth, and all the birds
21 that fly. And when I had finished everything, I commanded my
wisdom to create man.¹⁸

22 And now, Enoch,¹⁹ all I have told you, and all you have seen in
the heavens, and all you have seen on earth, and all *you* have
written in the books, *it was* by my wisdom *that* I planned to create it
23 all.²⁰ I created *it* from the lowest foundation to the highest and to
24 the farthest ends *of both*: I had neither counsellor nor helper. I alone
am eternal, not made by hands: my unchanging purpose is my

¹¹ BBa 'waves'.

¹² what fell back = NBaR: U corrupt.

¹⁴ between . . . and = BNBa: U om.

¹⁵ Vaillant suggests 'all fruit', on the basis of Gen. i. 11.

¹⁶ So BNBa: U 'all live seed which sows seed'.

¹⁷ So BNR: U corrupt.

¹⁸ R has a very much more extended account of the creation in this paragraph, attributing God's separate works to separate days (as in Gen. i) and ending not only with a reference to the blessing of the seventh day, but also to the appointment of the 'the eighth day' as 'the first'.

²⁰ to create it all = BNR: U 'it'.

¹² So BaR: U corrupt.

counsellor, and my word is my deed, and my eyes watch over all
things: if I turn away my face, all things perish; but if I look at all
25 things, they remain in being. Consider, Enoch, and realize who it is
that is speaking to you; and take the books which *you* have written
(and I give you Semeil and Rasuil,²¹ who brought you up to me),
and go down to earth, and tell your sons all I have said to you, *and*
26 all *you* have seen from the lowest heaven right up to my throne. (All
the hosts have I created: there is not one *among them* who is opposed
to me and is not subject *to me*: all are subject to my authority and
27 serve my might alone.) And give them the books which your hand
has written,²² and they will read *them* and recognize the creator,²³
and they will also understand that there is no other creator but me;
and they will pass on the books your hand has written to their
children, and *their* children to their children, and next-of-kin to
28 next-of-kin,¹⁷ from one generation to another.²⁴ For I give you,
29 Enoch, *as* an intercessor,²⁵ Michael, Prince of my hosts. For what
you have written, and what your fathers Adam and Seth²⁶ have
written, will not be destroyed to the end of time; for I have
commanded *my* angels Arioch²⁷ and Marioch,²⁸ whom I have set
on the earth to guard it and to order temporal things, to preserve
your fathers' writing, so that it is not destroyed in the flood which is
to come, *and* which I shall bring upon the earth in your
generation.²⁹

30 I know the wickedness of man, that they will not bear the yoke
that I have laid upon them,³⁰ nor do they sow the seed that I have
31 given them. But they have cast off my yoke, and they will take
another yoke and will sow worthless seed, and they will worship
idols and reject my authority, and the whole earth will sin³¹ with
32 injustice and transgressions and adulteries *and* idolatries. Then
will I bring a flood upon the earth; and the earth itself will perish in
33 a mighty swamp. And I will leave one righteous man of your stock

²¹ R 'Raguil'.

²² So BNBaR: U 'created'.

²³ U 'their creator' - i.e. the creator of the books.

²⁴ Lit. 'and generation to generation' (or 'and nation to nation').

²⁵ R 'curator'.

²⁶ So B etc.: U 'Joseph'.

²⁷ So UBBa: N Orioch; RJ 'Ariuch'.

²⁸ So UBNBa: RJ 'Pariuch'.

²⁹ Or 'upon your nation'.

³⁰ Lit. 'raised up for them'.

³¹ So UB: BaNR 'will be laden'.

with all his household, who will carry out³² my wishes; and from their children will arise another³³ generation,³⁴ the last,³⁵ many in
 34 number, and with great ambitions.³⁶ Then, in the course³⁷ of that generation,³⁴ the books you and your fathers have written will be revealed; for the guardians of the earth will show them to men of faith, and they will be explained to that generation³⁴ and come to be more highly thought of afterwards than they were before.

35 But now, Enoch, I am giving you a respite³⁸ of thirty days, so that you can spend it in your house and tell your sons *everything you have heard* from me, and your household, and everyone who keeps *my commands with all his heart* (let them read and understand that there is none but me). And after thirty days I will send the angels
 36 for you, and they will take you³⁹ from the earth and from your
 37 sons⁴⁰ to me. ⁴¹For a place is prepared for you, and you shall live in my presence for ever and see my secrets; and you shall be my servants' scribe, for you shall write down everything that happens on earth and everything that is done by those who are on earth and in the heavens, and you shall act for me as a witness in the
 38 judgement of the great age. All this the Lord said to me just as *if he were* a man speaking to his trusted friend.

XII.¹

XIII. And now, my children, listen to what your father says and to all the commands I give you to-day: live your lives *as* in the Lord's presence,¹ *and see that* whatever you have to do¹ is in accordance

³² U 'who did'.

³⁴ Or 'nation'.

³⁶ Lit. 'and very insatiable'.

³⁸ So BNBaR: U corrupt.

⁴⁰ U adds 'they will take you'.

³³ U om.

³⁵ the last = UBR: NBa 'afterwards'.

³⁷ R 'at the end'.

³⁹ U adds 'to me'.

⁴¹ See note 1 to chap. xiii below.

¹ This chapter (found only in R) describes how Enoch is restored to earth, how he found Methusalam awaiting him, how he instructed him to assemble his household, and how, when they were assembled, he began the farewell address which follows in chap. xiii.

¹ The passage 'For a place (xi. 37) . . . the Lord's presence' and the phrase 'you have to do' are found in U only, and Vaillant regards them both as interpolations.

2 with the Lord's will. ¹ For I am sent to you by the Lord's command² to tell you everything that is and everything that will be to the day
 3 of judgement. And now, my children, it is not from my own mouth
 4 that I am speaking to you to-day, but from the Lord's mouth, who
 5 has sent me to you. For you hear my words from my mouth, *from the*
 6 *mouth of* a man fashioned just like you; but I have heard *the Lord's*
 7 *words* from the Lord's fiery mouth (for the Lord's mouth is a fiery
 8 furnace and his words a fiery flame that issues forth). You, my
 9 children, see my face, *the face of* a man fashioned just like you; *but* I
 10 have seen the Lord's face, like *a piece of* iron heated in the fire that
 11 scatters sparks. For you see a man's eyes, *the eyes of a man* fashioned
 12 just like you; but I have seen³ the Lord's eyes, like the rays of the
 13 shining sun that dazzles human eyes. You, my children, see my
 14 right hand motioning to you,⁴ *the hand of a man* made just like you;
 15 but I have seen the Lord's right hand motioning to me⁵ *and filling*
 16 the heaven. You *can* see how large my body is, *that it is* just like
 17 yours; but I have seen how great the Lord is, *that he is* immeasur-
 18 able, incomparable, and has no end. For you hear the words of my
 19 mouth; but I have heard the Lord's words, like⁶ great thunder *with*
 20 unceasing tumult of the clouds. And now, my children, listen to
 21 someone talking about an earthly king *and saying*, It is terrifying
 22 and perilous to stand before an earthly king, frightening and very
 23 perilous,⁷ for the king's will is death and the king's will is life. But to
 24 stand before the King of kings⁸ — who can endure the infinite fear or
 25 the great heat? But the Lord called *one* of his *angels* in charge of
 26 Tartarus⁹ and set him by me; and the appearance of that angel was
 27 like snow, and his hands were ice, and he cooled my face (for I
 28 could not endure the terror of the fiery heat). And so the Lord
 29 spoke all his words to me.

He supposes that the original passed without a break from the words of the Lord to those of Enoch, and that the additions, both in U and in R (i.e. chap. xii) are independent attempts to effect a smooth transition. He further explains 'whatever is in accordance with the Lord's will' as a chapter-heading incorporated into the text.

² Lit. 'from the mouth of the Lord'.

³ U 'spoken'.

⁵ Or, as BR, 'helping me'.

⁷ U om. 'and very perilous'.

⁹ *one of his angels* in charge of Tartarus (or 'the horror') = BNBa: UR 'one of his terrible elder angels'.

⁴ Or, as BR, 'helping you'.

⁶ U 'as of'.

⁸ of kings = B: U om.

14 So now, my children, I know all things, some from the mouth of
 15 the Lord, some my eyes have seen, from the beginning to the end
 and from the end to the renewal. I know everything, and I have
 written down *in* the books the extent of the heavens and all that is
 in them: I have measured their movements and I know their hosts:
 I have completed *the count* of¹⁰ the stars, a great multitude without
 16 number. What man can understand their revolutions¹¹ or their
 movements or their returnings, or those that lead them or those
 that are led? Not even the angels know their number; but I have
 17 written down their names. And I have measured the circle of the
 sun, and I have numbered *its rays*¹² and its goings in and its goings
 18 out and all its movements: I have written down their names. And I
 have measured the circle of the moon, and its movements every
 day, the waning¹³ of its light every day and hour; and I have
 19 written out its names in the books.¹⁴ The dwellings of the clouds
 and their mouths and their wings and their rains and their drops
 have I explored; and I have written *of* the rumbling of the thunder
 20 and the wonder of the lightning. And they showed me their custo-
 dians *and* the passages measured out for them to go up *and down*¹⁵
 (they go up bound and descend bound, lest with rude violence they
 21 tear down the clouds and destroy everything that is on the earth). I
 have written down the treasuries of the snow and the storehouses of
 the ice and the cold airs:¹⁶ I have observed how from time to time¹⁷
 their custodians fill the clouds, yet the treasuries are not
 22 exhausted. I have written down the resting-places of the winds: I
 have looked and seen how their custodians bring their balances
 and measures: first they put them on the balance,¹⁸ and then in the
 measure; and *they* let them out by measure over the whole earth,
 lest with a rude breath they shake the earth.
 23 From there I was taken down and came to the place of judge-
 ment; and I saw hell open, and I saw there a piece of level ground¹⁹

¹⁰ BR 'I have written down'.

¹¹ Lit. 'the circuits of their changes'.

¹³ the waning = BR: U corrupt.

¹⁵ Lit. 'their passages where they go up by measure'.

¹⁶ the cold airs: Ba 'cold air; BN 'the air and cold'.

¹⁷ Lit. 'how at times'.

¹⁸ and measures . . . on the balance = BNBaR: U om.

¹⁹ So B (lit. 'a certain plain'): U corrupt.

¹² So BR: U 'their faces'.

¹⁴ Cp. 1 Enoch lxxviii. 2.

24 like a prison, a judgement-*place* without measure. And I descended
 and wrote *down* all the judgements of whose who were judged, and
 I saw²⁰ all their questionings; and I sighed and wept for the
 perdition of the impious, and I said to myself, Happy *the man* who
 was never born, or who after birth lived without sin in the Lord's
 eyes, so as not to come to this place or bear the yoke of this place.
 25 And I saw the keepers of the keys of hell standing by the massive
 gates: their faces²¹ were like *the faces of* great asps, their eyes like
 candles that had gone out, and their teeth were bared *and reached*
 26 *down* to their chests. And I said to them openly, **Would that**²² I had
 not seen you nor **caught sight**²² of what you do: may none of my
 kinsmen *ever* come to you.
 27 And from there I went up into the Paradise of the righteous; and
 I saw there a blessed place, and every creature is blessed, and all
 live in joy and gladness, and in measureless light, and in eternal
 28 life. Then I said, my children (and now²³ I say *it again* to you),
 Happy *the man* who fears the name of the Lord, who will serve *him as*
 29 *though* in his presence always,²⁴ and make gifts, offerings of life,²⁵
 and who will live his life and die. Happy *the man* who will do what is
 just and right,²⁶ *and* clothe the naked with a garment and give
 30 bread to the hungry. Happy *the man* who will champion²⁶ the
 orphan and widow, *and* who will help all who have been wronged.
 31 Happy *the man* who will refuse²⁷ the unstable way, and who walks
 32 in the paths of righteousness. Happy, too, *the man* who sows righte-
 33 ous seed, for he shall reap it sevenfold. Happy *the man* in whom is
 34 truth and *who* speaks the truth to his neighbour. Happy *the man* on
 35 whose lips is true pity and gentleness. Happy *the man* who shall
 understand the works of the Lord and glorify him, and²⁸ through
 his works come to know him who made them.
 36 And behold, my children, **after I had examined the things that**

²⁰ Vaillant emends 'I understood'.

²¹ So BNBaR: U corrupt.

²² So Vaillant. The MSS differ and are clearly all corrupt.

²³ and now = NBa: U om.

²⁴ Lit. 'who will serve before his face for ever'.

²⁵ Or 'will make gifts by offerings of life'.

²⁶ Lit. 'who will make a righteous judgement (to)'.

²⁷ BNBaR 'turn back from'.

²⁸ and glorify him, and: so the fragment Mpr: U om.

37 have been ordained²⁹ on earth, I wrote them down. I compared all
 38 the years, and of the year I measured the months, and of the month
 I counted the days, and of the day I counted the hours. I measured
 the hours *and* wrote them out: I distinguished between the different
 kinds of men³⁰ on earth; *and* I measured and proved every measure
 and every honest balance, as ³¹the Lord commanded me. And I
 found a difference in these things: one year is more notable than
 another year, one day than another day, one hour than another
 40 hour.³¹ So *also* one man is more notable than another man, one
 because of *his* great possessions, another because of his wisdom,
 another because of *his* intelligence, *his* skill, and his ability to keep
 41 quiet.³² But there is none greater than the man who fears the Lord;
 for those who fear the Lord will be honoured³³ for ever.

42 The Lord created man with his own hands, and in the likeness of
 43 his own face: small and great the Lord made *them*. He who reviles
 the face of man, reviles the face of the Lord: he who detests the face
 of man, detests the face of the Lord: he who despises the face of man
 despises the face of the Lord: wrath and great judgement *are*
 44 *appointed for those* who spit in the face of man. *But happy the man* who
 turns his heart³⁴ towards every man, to help the man on trial,³⁵
 to raise up the fallen,³⁶ and to give to the needy; for in the day of³⁷ the
 great judgement all men's deeds will be recalled by the record.³⁸
 45 *Happy the man* whose measure is honest and *his* weight honest and
 his balance honest; for in the day of the great judgement every
 measure and every weight and every balance will be on show, as if
 in the market, and each *man* will know *the truth about* his measure
 46 and receive his reward accordingly. The man who makes³⁹ an
 offering before the Lord, the Lord will make his affairs to prosper.⁴⁰

²⁹ So Vaillant: U 'leaving the countries (or 'limits')'.

³⁰ Lit. 'I distinguished every seed on earth'. The sequel in verses 40 and 41
 below, as Vaillant points out, makes it clear that 'seed' is a metaphor as in
 Eccles. x. 19.

³¹ the Lord . . . another hour = Mpr, supported by some MSS: U corrupt.

³² Lit. 'and the silence of his mouth'.

³³ Or 'glorious'.

³⁴ his heart = Mpr etc.: U om.

³⁵ Lit. 'him who is judged'.

³⁶ Or 'the bruised'.

³⁷ in the day of = Mpr etc.: U om.

³⁸ Lit. 'the writing'.

³⁹ B 'He who hastens'; R 'He who hastens and makes'.

⁴⁰ Lit. 'will direct (R, supported by B, 'hasten') his acquisitions'.

the man who fills the lamp before the Lord with oil, the Lord will
 47 fill his barns with wheat.⁴¹ Does the Lord need bread or candles or
 sheep or cattle? *Not at all*; but in this way the Lord tests the heart of
 48 man. For then the Lord will send his great light, and in that⁴² will
 the judgement be; and who, if there, can be hidden?

49 Now, my children, bear all this in mind, and pay attention to
 what your father is saying – to everything I am telling you as the
 50 Lord instructed me.⁴³ Take these books, the books written by your
 father's hand, and read them, and learn from them the Lord's
 51 works, that there is none but the Lord alone, who has set the
 foundations on the unknown, stretched out the heavens above the
 invisible, set the earth on the waters *and* founded it on the unstable,
 who alone made the countless *things in his* creation (*for* who has
 counted the dust of the earth or the sand of the sea, or the drops of
 52 the clouds?), who has bound together the earth and the sea with
 indissoluble bonds, who has struck out from the fire the incom-
 prehensible beauty of the stars⁴⁴ and has adorned the heaven, who
 has created all things so that what was invisible became visible,⁴⁵
 53 being himself invisible. And pass these books on to your children,
 and *see that your children pass them on* to their children, and *to* all your
 kin and all your generations,⁴⁶ *to*⁴⁷ those who have wisdom and
 fear the Lord; *and*⁴⁷ they will receive them and take more delight in
 them than in any choice food, and they will read *them* and hold
 54 fast⁴⁸ to them. But the foolish and those who do not know the Lord
 will not receive *them*, but will repudiate *them*; for their yoke will
 55 weigh them down. *Happy the man* who will bear their yoke *and* hold
 fast to it, for he will find *his recompense*⁴⁹ in the day of the great
 judgement.

56 For I swear to you, my children, that before man existed, a place
 of judgement was prepared for him; and a measure and a weight,

⁴¹ Lit. 'the man who increases the lamp before the Lord, the Lord will increase
 his barns'.

⁴² So BR Mpr: U 'in the darkness'.

⁴³ Lit. 'I am telling you from the Lord's mouth'.

⁴⁴ of the stars = B, supported by R: U om.

⁴⁵ Lit. '... all things from the invisible into the visible (so B; R 'into appearance';
 U corrupt).

⁴⁶ Or 'nations'.

⁴⁷ So Vaillant: U reads '... generations: those who have wisdom . . . Lord will
 receive . . .'

⁴⁸ hold fast = BR: U corrupt.

⁴⁹ The probable sense: U reads 'he will find it'.

by which man will be tested, has been prepared there beforehand.
 57 And I shall set down every man's deeds in writing, and no one will
 58 be able to escape. So then, my children, live out your span of life in
 patience and gentleness, so that you may inherit the eternal age
 59 that is to come. And every blow and every wound and *scorching* heat
 and every evil word, if it comes upon you⁵⁰ for the Lord's sake,
 endure it; and though you may be able to retaliate, do not retaliate
 upon your neighbour, for retaliation is the Lord's, and he will be
 60 your avenger in the day of the great judgement. Suffer the loss of
 your gold and silver for your brother's sake, so that you may
 61 receive *heavenly*⁵¹ treasure in the day of judgement. And stretch
 out your hands to the orphan and the widow, and help the poor to
 the utmost of your power; and they will be a protection⁵² in the time
 62 of trial. Every hard and heavy yoke,⁵³ if it comes upon you for the
 Lord's sake, endure it,⁵⁴ and thus you will find your reward in the
 63 day of judgement. In the morning and at noon and in the evening
 of the day⁵⁵ it is good to go into the house of the Lord to glorify the
 creator of all things.

64 Happy *the man* who opens his heart to praises, and who praises
 the Lord: a curse upon *him who* opens his heart to reviling and to
 slandering his neighbour.

65 Happy *the man* who opens his mouth to bless and glorify the
 Lord: a curse on him who opens his mouth to curse and blaspheme
 in the Lord's presence.

66 Happy *the man* who honours all the Lord's works: a curse upon
 him who reviles the Lord's creation.

67 Happy *the man* who regards⁵⁶ the labours of his own hands to
 establish them:⁵⁷ a curse upon him who looks *for an occasion* to
 destroy the labours of others.

68 Happy *the man* who maintains the foundations of the fathers of

⁵⁰ upon you = BNBA: U om.

⁵¹ *heavenly*: corrupt in all MSS: U 'which is of the flesh'; R 'which is full'; NBA
 Mpr 'not scanty'.

⁵² B 'and you will find protection'.

⁵³ So BR Mpr: U corrupt.

⁵⁴ So B: U 'loosen it'; R 'endure all and loosen them'.

⁵⁵ of the day = BNBA: U 'and to-day'.

⁵⁶ So BNBA: U 'compares'.

⁵⁷ Lit. 'to raise them up'.

old:⁵⁸ a curse upon *him who* destroys his fathers' laws and
 boundaries.

69 Happy *the man* who sows peace: a curse upon him who destroys
 those who are at peace.

70 Happy *the man* who speaks peace, ⁵⁹and peace is with him: a
 curse upon him who does not speak peace⁵⁹ and there is no peace in
 his heart.

71 All this will be revealed in the measure *and* in the books in the
 day of the great judgement.⁶⁰

72 So, my children, keep your hearts from all wickedness: †accord-
 73 ing to the balance of light, be heirs†⁶¹ for ever. You must not say,
 my children, *our* father is with the Lord and in answer to his
 74 prayers we shall be forgiven our sin.⁶² You see that I record all the
 deeds of every man; and no one *can* destroy what my hand has
 75 written, for the Lord sees everything. So now, my children, listen to
 all your father's words, all that I am saying to you, so that they may
 76 be an inheritance of peace for you. And the books that I have given
 you, do not hide them:⁶³ explain them to all who desire *to look into*
 77 *them*, for they⁶⁴ may, perhaps, recognize the works of the Lord. For
 behold, my children, the day of the time appointed is drawing
 near, and the time appointed leaves me no choice: the angels who
 are to go with me are standing before me; and tomorrow I shall go
 78 up to the highest heaven, to my eternal inheritance. This is why I
 command you, my children, to do the Lord's will in all things.

XIV. Mathusalom answered his father Enoch, What kind of food,
 father, would you like us to get ready for you, so that you can bless
 our dwellings, and your sons, and all your household, and glorify

⁵⁸ of old = BR Mpr: U corrupt.

⁵⁹ and peace . . . not speak peace = B, supported by NBAR: U om.

⁶⁰ So B etc.: U 'the judgement of the proud one'.

⁶¹ The MSS are in confusion here. Vaillant translates 'in the balance inherit the
 light'. The idea seems to be that after Enoch's sons (or their hearts) had been
 weighed in the balance and approved they should inherit eternal light (cp. the
 illustrations in the Egyptian Papyrus of Ani of the weighing of Ani's heart in a
 balance and his subsequent introduction into the presence of Osiris).

⁶² Lit. 'and he will pray us out of our sin'.

⁶³ So NBAR: U 'do not cast them aside'.

⁶⁴ So NBAR: U 'you'.

2 your people, before you go away? And Enoch answered his son and
 said, Listen, my child: from the day when the Lord anointed me
 with the oil of his glory, I have had no food at all:¹ food is of no
 3 consequence² to me; and I have no desire for any earthly food. But
 call your brothers and all our³ household and the elders of the
 4 people, that I may speak to them and then depart. And
 Methusalom made haste and called his brothers Regim and Ariim
 and Achazuchan and Charimion⁴ and all the elders of the people;
 and he brought them to his father Enoch, and they bowed down to
 5 him.⁵ And Enoch received *them* and blessed them; and he answered
 them and said,

XV. Listen, my children. In the days of your¹ father Adam, the
 Lord came down to earth to visit it and all his creatures² that he
 2 himself had made. *And* the Lord summoned all the cattle on the
 earth and all the reptiles on the earth and all the birds with wings,
 and he brought them to your³ father Adam, so that he might give
 3 names to everything on earth. And the Lord left them with him;⁴
 and he subjected everything to him as *his* inferior, and moreover⁵
 made it dumb;⁶ that it should be submissive⁷ and obedient to
 4 man. For the Lord created man *and set him over*⁸ all his posses-
 sions: there will therefore be no judgement for all living souls, but
 5 for man only. There is one place in the great age for all the souls of
 the cattle, and one fold and one pasture; for the soul of an animal
 which the Lord has made will not perish⁹ until the judgement, but

¹ anointed me . . . at all = BNBAR: U 'anointed my head with oil, and I was afraid'.

² Lit. 'is not sweet'.

³ So UN: BBAR 'your'.

⁴ R adds 'and Gaidad'.

⁵ U 'to Enoch': R 'before his face'.

¹ So UBAR: BN Mpr 'our'.

² Lit. 'his creation'.

³ BNBAR Mpr 'our'.

⁴ R 'And the Lord set him as king over all things'.

⁵ Lit. 'secondly'.

⁶ U 'deaf': R 'dumb and deaf'.

⁷ that it should be submissive = B etc.: U corrupt.

⁸ Mpr 'For he created man lord over . . .'

⁹ Lit. 'will not be shut off' in the sense of 'abandoned to death' (for the metaphor see Ps. lxxviii. 50 in the LXX - *καὶ τὰ κτήνη αὐτῶν εἰς θάνατον συνέκλεισεν*).

6 all souls *will* accuse man.¹⁰ The man who feeds the soul of a beast¹¹
 badly, transgresses against his own soul; but the man who offers a
 sacrifice of an animal without blemish - it is healing (he heals his
 7 own soul).¹² And the man who offers a sacrifice of birds without
 8 blemish - it is healing (he heals his own soul). And all you have for
 food, bind it by the four legs - it is healing (he heals his own soul).¹²
 9 The man who kills any beast without binding it - it is an evil
 10 custom¹³ (he transgresses against his own soul). The man who
 does injury to a beast secretly - it is an evil custom¹³ (he transgres-
 11 ses against his own soul). The man who does injury to another
 man's soul injures his own soul; and there is no healing for him for
 12 ever.¹⁴ The man who commits murder kills his own soul; and there
 13 is no healing for him for ever.¹⁴ The man who pushes another man
 into a trap will be caught in it himself, *and* there is no healing for
 him for ever; and the man who drags another man into court,¹⁵ his
 own judgement will not cease for ever.

14 Now, therefore, my children, keep your hearts from all
 unrighteousness which the Lord hates, and above all from every
 15 living soul which the Lord made. Just as a man asks for his own
 soul from the Lord, so shall he do to every living soul; for in the
 great age there are many dwelling-places¹⁶ prepared for man, *some*
 16 very good houses, *and others*, evil houses without number. Happy
the man who goes into the blessed houses, for in the evil ones there is
 17 no *possibility* of conversion.¹⁷ And if a man resolves in his heart to
 offer a gift to the Lord, and his hands do not do it, then the Lord
 will bring the labour of his hands to nothing, so that there is no
 18 profit *from it*. If his hands do it, and his heart dissents,¹⁸ even

¹⁰ man = Mpr etc.: U corrupt.

¹¹ the soul of a beast = BNBA: U 'his own'.

¹² And the man who offers . . . his own soul = B supported by R: U om.

¹³ Lit. 'law'.

¹⁴ The man who commits . . . for ever = B Mpr: U om.

¹⁵ Lit. 'pushes another man into judgement'.

¹⁶ The normal word for 'barn' or 'refuge'. Vaillant translates 'retraites' and Morfill 'mansions' (though this is not the word used in the Slavonic at John xiv. 2).

¹⁷ Or 'getting out of them'. The primary meaning of the word is 'asylum', but the secondary meaning 'conversion' is supported by BBAR 'return', 'turning back'.

¹⁸ Lit. 'murmurs'.

though the doubt in his heart persists,¹⁹ it will do him no harm.²⁰
 19 Happy the man who in his patience offers a gift to the Lord, for he
 20 will find *his* recompense. And when a man promises that at a set
 time he will offer a gift to the Lord, and does it, then he will find *his*
 recompense; but if the time he has set goes by, *yet* he fulfils his
 promise *afterwards*, it is *indeed* repentance, *though* he will not be
 21 blessed,²¹ for every delay is a cause of offence. And if a man clothes
 the naked *and* gives bread to the hungry, he will find *his* recom-
 pense; but if his heart dissents,¹⁸ he will be a loser and gain
 22 nothing. And when the poor man is satisfied, if his²² heart is
 arrogant,²³ then he will lose all his well-doing and get no gain; for
 the Lord detests an arrogant man.

XVI. And it came to pass, when Enoch had spoken to his sons and
 to the princes of the people, all his people and all his neighbours
 heard the Lord calling Enoch. And they agreed together, saying,
 2 Let us go and greet Enoch. And about two thousand¹ men assem-
 bled, and they came to the place Azuchan, where Enoch was and
 3 his sons and the elders of the people. And they greeted Enoch,
 saying, You, whom the Lord, the eternal king, has blessed, bless
 now your peoplè, and glorify *us* in the Lord's eyes, for the Lord has
 chosen you² and appointed you to take away² our sins.

XVII. Enoch answered his people, saying, Listen, my children.
 Before all things were, before all creation came into being, the Lord
 appointed the age of creation: after that he created all his creation,
both what is visible and what is invisible; and after all that he made
 man in his own image, and he set in him eyes to see and ears to hear

¹⁹ Lit. 'and the pain of his heart does not cease'.

²⁰ Reading with B ('the murmuring profits nothing'): the other MSS diverge.

²¹ So U: the other MSS differ. Vaillant proposes '... his promise, his repentance will not be acceptable'.

²² i.e. the heart of the giver.

²³ So Vaillant. U, supported by NBaR, reads 'And the poor man, when his heart is satisfied, and he (i.e. the poor man) is arrogant'.

¹ So UR: BNBa 'four thousand'.

² and appointed ... away (lit. 'to set you up as him who takes away') = B: U corrupt.

2 and a heart to think and a mind to consider. Then the Lord
 arranged¹ the age for man's benefit, and he divided it into seasons²
 and into hours, that man might consider the changes³ and ends of
 the seasons, the beginnings of the years and the ends of the months
 and the days and the hours, and that he might reckon the length of
 3 his own life.⁴ When the whole creation which the Lord has made
 comes to an end, and every man goes to the Lord's great judge-
 ment, then the seasons will perish, and there will be no years any
 more, nor will the months nor the days and hours be reckoned any
 4 more, but there will be a single age. And all the righteous who
 escape the Lord's great judgement will be united with the great
 age, and the age⁵ will be united with the righteous, and they shall
 5 live eternally.⁶ And they shall have no more labour nor suffering
 nor sorrow nor fear of persecution,⁷ nor labour, nor night nor
 darkness,⁸ but they shall have *about them* a great light for ever and
 an indestructible wall, and *in* the great Paradise shall they have the
 6 shelter of an eternal dwelling-place. Happy the righteous who
 escape the Lord's great judgement, for their faces will shine as
 brightly as the sun.
 7 So now, my children, keep your souls from all unrighteousness;
 from all that the Lord hates. Live your lives as in the Lord's
 presence, and serve him alone, and bring him every offering *he has*
 8 *ordained*. If you look up to heaven,⁹ the Lord is there, for the Lord
 created the heavens:¹⁰ if you look at the earth and the sea, and you
 consider¹⁰ the things under the earth, the Lord is there also, for the
 9 Lord created all things. Nothing you do can be hidden from the
 10 Lord's eyes. *Let it be* in patience, in gentleness, and in the affliction
 of¹¹ your sorrows, *that you* leave this world of suffering.

¹ Lit. 'delivered'.

² into seasons = U: BNBa 'into years and into months'.

³ So NR: U 'seasons'.

⁴ U 'that he might give his life and death'.

⁵ U om. 'and the age'.

⁶ Lit. 'and they shall be eternally' (or 'and they shall be belonging to the age').

⁷ Lit. 'nor expectation of violence'.

⁸ nor labour ... darkness: U 'and no labour neither of night nor of darkness'.

⁹ So BR: U 'if he looks upward'.

¹⁰ So BR: U 'if he looks ... and he considers'.

¹¹ of: U 'and in' (but the case endings show that this is corrupt).

XVIII. While Enoch was speaking to his people,¹ the Lord sent a blackness on the earth, and it was dark, and the darkness covered
 2 the men who were standing with Enoch. And the angels made haste, and the angels took up Enoch and led him up to the highest heaven; and the Lord received him, and he set him before him for
 3 ever. And the darkness departed from the earth and it was light, and the people saw and understood² how Enoch had been taken; and they glorified God and went to their own homes.³

XIX.¹

XX. And Methusalom made haste,¹ and his brothers, Enoch's sons, and they built an altar at the place Azuchan² where Enoch had been taken, and they took sheep and cattle and sacrificed
 2 before the Lord. And they called together all the people³ who had come with them to the feast; and the people brought gifts to Enoch's sons, and they made merry and rejoiced for three days.⁴

XXI. And on the third day, at sunset, the elders of the people spoke to Methusalom, saying, Go and stand before the Lord and before your people, 'and before the altar of the Lord, and you
 2 will be glorified by² your people. And Methusalom answered his people,¹ The Lord, the God of my³ father Enoch, he himself will raise up a priest over his people. And the people waited there the
 3 whole of that night in the place Azuchan;⁴ and Methusalom stayed

¹ At this point U inserts a title, 'Of the taking up of Enoch'.

² So U: B etc. 'did not understand'.

³ NBA end with this chapter.

¹ Chapter xix, which gives a summary of Enoch's activities, is found only in R and P.

¹ So BR: U corrupt.

² So U: BR 'Achuzan'.

³ called . . . people = BR: U corrupt.

⁴ Here, with a brief concluding formula, P ends.

¹⁻¹ and . . . people = BR: U om. (and in consequence, Methusalom's statement, which follows, is attributed to the elders).

² Lit. 'in'. ³ So BR: U 'your'.

⁴ So UB: R 'Achuzan'.

by the altar and prayed to the Lord and said, Eternal Lord, the only God,⁵ who hast chosen our⁶ father Enoch, do thou, Lord, appoint⁷ a priest for thy people, and give *their* hearts understanding
 4 to fear thy glory and to do all things according to thy will. And Methusalom fell asleep, and the Lord appeared to him in a vision by night and said to him, Listen, Methusalom, I am the Lord, the God of your father Enoch: pay attention to what your people are saying, and stand before them and before my altar, and I will
 5 glorify you before these my people all the days of your life. And Methusalom rose up from his sleep and blessed him⁸ who had
 6 appeared to him. And the elders of the people came to Methusalom in the morning; and the Lord God turned Methusalom's heart so that he listened to what the people said, and he said to them, The Lord our⁹ God, let him do what he pleases to these his people.
 7 And Sarsan and Charmis and Zazas¹⁰ and the elders of the people made haste and arrayed Methusalom in a gorgeous robe and put a splendid crown on his head; and the people made haste and brought sheep and cattle and the kinds of birds that were appointed, so that Methusalom could sacrifice before¹¹ the Lord
 8 and before¹¹ the people. And Methusalom went up to the altar of the Lord, like the morning-star when it rises, and all the people
 9 followed after *him*. And Methusalom stood at the altar, and all the people *were* round about the altar. And the elders of the people took the sheep and the cattle and bound them by the four feet, and they laid them at the head of the altar; and the people said to Methusalom, Take your knife and slaughter these appointed
 10 *victims* before the Lord. And Methusalom stretched out his hands to heaven and invoked the Lord, saying, Ah me, Lord! Who am I to stand at the head of thine altar *and* at the head of all thy people?
 11 ¹²And now, Lord, Lord, look upon thy servant, and on the head of all thy people,¹² and on all these who have been chosen, and give grace to thy servant before these people, that they may understand

⁵ Lit. 'Lord of all the age, who art alone'.

⁶ BR 'my'.

⁷ So U (lit. 'show forth'): BR 'raise up'.

⁸ So U: BR 'the Lord'.

⁹ B 'your'.

¹⁰ So UR: B 'And Sarsai and Charlis' (om. Zazas).

¹¹ R 'in the name of'.

¹²⁻¹² And now . . . people = B, supported by R: U om.

12 that thou hast ordained¹³ a priest for thy people. And it came to
 pass, while Methusalom was praying, the altar trembled, and the
 13 knife rose up from the altar, and the knife leapt into Methusalom's
 hands before all the people. And all the people trembled and
 glorified the Lord; and Methusalom was honoured before the Lord
 14 and before all the people from that day onwards. And Methusalom
 15 took¹⁴ and slaughtered all that had come from the people.¹⁵ And
 the people rejoiced and made merry before the Lord and before
 Methusalom on that day; and after that they went to their own
 homes.

XXII. But Methusalom stood at the head of the altar and at the
 2 head of all the people from that day. In *the year 1480* he explored¹
 the whole earth and sought out all those who had believed in the
 Lord, and those who had fallen away:² he corrected and converted
 them; and no man was found, who had fallen away² from the
 3 Lord's ways,³ all the days that Methusalom lived. And the Lord
 blessed Methusalom in his sacrifices *and* his offerings and in all his
 ministry before the Lord.

4 And when Methusalom's days were near their end,⁴ the Lord
 appeared to him in a vision by night and said to him, Listen,
 Methusalom, I am⁵ the God of your father Enoch. I would have
 you know that the days of your life are at an end and the day of your
 5 rest is approaching. Call Nir, your son Lamech's second son, and
 array him in your own holy robes and set him at my altar, and tell
 6 him everything that will happen in his days. For the time is coming
 for the destruction of the whole earth and of every man and of
 7 everything that moves on the earth. For in his days there will be
 great disorder on the earth, for man has become envious of man;
 and people will oppress⁶ people, and nation will make war upon

¹³ So BR: U 'that thou art: ordain'.

¹⁴ R adds 'the knife'.

¹⁵ BR 'all that had been brought by the people'.

¹ B 'In 482 he explored': U 'In 492 he inherited'; R recasts the passage, 'From that day for ten years, hoping for the eternal inheritance, he sought out . . .'. Vaillant's emendation is based on the number of years from the Creation according to the figures in the Septuagint.

² Lit. 'changed'.

³ Lit. 'face'.

⁴ Lit. 'And after the ending of the days of Methusalom'.

⁵ BR add 'the Lord'.

⁶ B 'threaten'; R 'behave themselves proudly against'.

nation: the whole earth will be filled with blood and with evil
 8 disorder. Moreover, they will fall away from their Creator *and*
 worship what is fixed in heaven and what moves on earth⁷ and the
 waves of the sea; and the adversary will magnify himself and
 9 rejoice in what they do to my sorrow. The whole earth will change
 its order, and all the fruits and all the grass will⁸ change their
 seasons,⁹ for they will be waiting for the time of destruction; and all
 10 nations on the earth will fall away,¹⁰ and all I have desired.¹¹ And
 then will I command the abyss *and* it will pour itself out on the
 earth, and the treasuries of the waters of heaven will pour
 themselves out on the earth, and all will be without form as it was
 in the beginning;¹² and the whole structure of the earth will perish,
 and the whole earth will tremble and lose its stability¹³ from that
 11 day onward. Then will I preserve Noc, your son Lamech's eldest
 son; and I will raise up from his descendants another world, and
 his descendants shall endure for ever.

12 And when he got up from his sleep, Methusalom was much
 13 distressed about the dream. He called all the elders of the people,
 and he told them everything the Lord had said to him *and* the
 14 vision the Lord had revealed to him. And the people *too* were
 distressed about his vision, and they answered him, The Lord has
 power to do what he wills; so you must now do everything the Lord
 15 has told you. Methusalom called Nir, Lamech's second son, and
 arrayed him in the priestly robes before all the people, and he set
 him at the head of the altar and taught him all that he had to do¹⁴
 16 among the people. And Methusalom said to the people, Behold
 Nir! Behold, he shall be your leader¹⁵ from today *and* the guide of
 17 the princes. And the people answered Methusalom, May the word
 18 of the Lord be fulfilled on us as he promised you.¹⁶ And while
 Methusalom was speaking to the people, his spirit was troubled,

⁷ All MSS corrupt. U 'the movement over the earth': BR 'the fixing in the heaven and the movement of the earth'.

⁸ will: U om.

⁹ R 'seeds'.

¹⁰ Lit. 'will change'.

¹¹ B 'to my sorrow'.

¹² Lit. '... on the earth, in matter as great as primitive matter'. The reference is to the *primaeva* 'matter' out of which the world was made.

¹³ So R: BU 'its strong one'.

¹⁴ U 'all that he did'.

¹⁵ Lit. 'he shall be before you'.

¹⁶ So U: B and R have slightly longer variants.

and he fell on his knees and stretched out his hands to heaven and prayed to the Lord; and as he prayed, his spirit left him.

19 And Nir made haste, and all the people, and built a tomb for Methusalom; and they put there incense and sweet-cane and many things to consecrate it.¹⁷ And Nir and the people went, and they took up Methusalom's body and laid it in the tomb that they had built for him and covered it.¹⁸ And the people said, Blessed was Methusalom before the Lord and before all the people. And afterwards¹⁹ they assembled together, and Nir said to the people, Make haste today, and bring the sheep and the bullock and the turtle-dove and the pigeon, so that we may sacrifice before the Lord, and he shall rejoice today;²⁰ and then go to your own homes. And the people listened to Nir the priest: they made haste and brought the victims and bound them at the head of the altar; and Nir took the sacrificial knife and sacrificed before the Lord. And the people made haste and did what they had been told, and they made merry before the Lord the whole day: they glorified the Lord God, the saviour²¹ of Nir, before the people. From that day there was peace and order throughout the whole earth in Nir's days, for two hundred and two years.²²

26 And after that the people fell away²³ from the Lord and began to be envious of one another; and people stood up against people and nation rose up against nation in strife, and there was great tumult. And Nir the priest heard about it, and he was much distressed and said to himself, The time has come and the words are fulfilled that the Lord spoke to my grandfather Methusalom.

XXIII. And behold,¹ Sofonima, Nir's wife, was barren and had borne Nir no child. And Sofonima was well on in years and very near her death; and she conceived, although Nir the priest had not

¹⁷ So U: B 'many lights'; R has a longer conflate reading.

¹⁸ So BR: U 'and set it down'.

¹⁹ Lit. 'And from there'. ²⁰ B 'and rejoice today'.

²¹ the saviour = U: B 'of heaven and'; R 'of heaven and earth and'.

²² Vaillant suggests emending 202 to 2200 (*αβ* to *βσ*), which would be the date of the generation preceding the flood.

²³ Lit. 'the people changed'.

¹ So BR Rum.: U om.

had intercourse with her since the day the Lord set *him* before the people.² Sofonima³ was ashamed and hid herself day after day, and no one of the people knew; and the day came when she should give birth. And Nir remembered his wife and called her to him in his house to talk to her; and Sofonima went to her husband, and behold, she was about to give birth.⁴ And when Nir saw her he was very ashamed because of her, and he said to her, Why have you done this, wife, and brought shame upon me before all the people?⁵ And now, away from me: go where you have so shamefully conceived,⁵ in case I sully my hands on you and sin before the Lord. And Sofonima answered her husband, saying, Behold, my lord, I am well on in years⁶ and no youthful desires are left in me: I do not know how in my innocence I have conceived. Nir did not believe her, and he said to her a second time, Away from me, in case I strike you and sin before the Lord. And it came to pass, while Nir was speaking to his wife, that Sofonima fell down at Nir's feet and died.

10 And Nir was greatly distressed and said to himself, Is it because of what I said⁷ that this has happened to her? But now the eternal Lord is merciful, for I lifted no hand against her.⁸ And Nir made haste and shut⁹ the doors of his house and went to his brother Noe and told him everything that had happened to his wife. And Noe made haste and went to his brother's house; and his brother's wife was clearly dead, and she was about to give birth.¹⁰ And Noe said to Nir, Do not be distressed, Nir, my brother, for the Lord has concealed our shame today, since no one of the people knows about this; and now make haste,¹¹ let us bury her, and the Lord will

² Here J ends.

³ R 'When Sofonima realized that she had conceived, she'.

⁴ Lit. 'she had in her womb at the time of birth'.

⁵ Lit. 'you have conceived the shame of your womb'.

⁶ BR Rum. add 'and the day of my death (+ has come R)'.

⁷ Lit. 'Is it from my word (= B Rum.: R 'voice'; U 'Lord')'.

⁸ U adds here 'And the archangel Gabriel appeared to Nir and said to him, Do not think your wife Sofonima died as a result of sin. This child that is born of her is righteous fruit; and I will take him up to Paradise, so that you be not a father to a gift of God'.

⁹ So BR Rum.: U 'opened'.

¹⁰ Lit. 'and the aspect of his brother's wife was in death, and her womb at the time of birth'.

¹¹ BR Rum. 'let us make haste'.

14 conceal our disgrace.¹² And they laid Sofonima on a bed, and clothed her in black garments, and shut the door, *and went* and hollowed out tombs¹³ secretly.

15 And when they had gone out to her tomb,¹⁴ the child came out of the corpse of Sofonima and sat on the bed. And Noe and Nir came in to bury Sofonima, and they saw the child sitting by the corpse, and he had a garment on him.¹⁵ And Noe and Nir were very frightened, for the child's body was perfect: he spoke with his mouth and blessed the Lord. Noe and Nir stared at him, saying,

18 This is the Lord's doing, my brother. And behold, the seal of the priesthood *was* on his breast, and *he was* a joy to look at. And Noe said to Nir, Brother, behold, the Lord will restore the holy tabernacle after us. And Nir and Noe made haste and washed the child and arrayed *him* in the priestly garments, and *they* gave him bread that had been blessed and he ate *it*; and they called him

21 Melchisedek. And Noe and Nir took Sofonima's body and took the black garments off her; and they washed her body and clothed her in splendid and exquisite garments. And they built her a tomb;¹⁶ and Noe went, and Nir and Melchisedek, and they buried her with honour openly. And Noe said to his brother, Keep the child secretly until the time *appointed*, for the people's wickedness has increased everywhere on earth, and if they see him, they will find

23 some way of killing him. And Noe returned home.

24 And behold, all *kinds of* iniquities increased greatly¹⁷ everywhere on earth in Nir's days; and Nir was greatly distressed, the more so

25 for the child, saying, What can I do for him? Nir stretched out his hands towards heaven and invoked the Lord, saying, Alas, eternal Lord, all *kinds of* iniquities have increased greatly on earth in my

26 days, and I sense that our end is near. And now, Lord, what is the future of this child, and what his fate? What can I do for him, so

27 that he is not involved with us in this destruction? The Lord heard Nir *and* appeared to him in a vision at night and said to him,

¹² R 'the disgrace of our shame'.

¹³ So U – no doubt assuming a separate tomb for the child: BR Rum. 'tomb'.

¹⁴ So Vaillant: U 'to her bed'; B Rum. 'to Nir's house'; R om.

¹⁵ So U Tr.: R Rum., supported by B, 'and wiping his garments'.

¹⁶ B Rum., supported by R, 'another house'.

¹⁷ increased greatly = B Rum., supported by R: U om.

Behold, Nir, the corruption on the earth is universal:¹⁸ no longer

28 will I tolerate *it* or endure *it*. Behold, I intend very soon to bring a great destruction on the earth; but have no worries about the child, Nir, for after a little while I will send my archangel Gabriel,¹⁹ and

29 he will take the child and put him in the Paradise of Eden. He will not perish with those who are about to perish, for I have sent *him* as a sign;²⁰ for he shall be to me a priest of priests for ever – Melchisedek, and I will set him apart,²¹ and I will make of him²² a great people who will honour me.

30 And Nir got up from his sleep and blessed the Lord who had appeared to him, saying, Blessed *art thou*, Lord God of our²³ fathers, who hast not let reproach fall on my priesthood or²⁴ the priesthood of my fathers, for thy word has created a high priest in

31 the womb of my wife Sofonima. For I had no children, and this child shall be²⁵ in place of my *own* children and become²⁶ my son; and thou shalt count him with thy servants²⁷ ²⁸with Sonfi and Onoch and Rusi and Milam and Seruch and Arusan, Nail and Enoch and Methusalom and thy servant Nir;²⁸ and Melchisedek

32 shall be chief priest in another generation. For I know²⁹ that this generation will end in turmoil and all will perish, and Noe my brother will be preserved to another generation³⁰ to be its father;³¹ and from his family will spring a numerous people, and Melchisedek will be chief priest among a people that is subject to thee, O Lord, and serveth thee.

33 And it came to pass, when the child had been in Nir's house for forty days, the Lord said to the archangel Gabriel,³² Go down to earth, to Nir the priest, and take the child Melchisedek that is with

¹⁸ Lit. 'a great iniquity has already been on the earth'.

¹⁹ Tr.R 'my archistrategé Michael'.

²⁰ Lit. 'and I have shown *him* forth'.

²¹ Lit. 'and I will sanctify him'.

²² So U (lit. 'and I will change him into'): BR Tr. Rum. 'and I will set him up as'.

²³ So U: BR Rum. 'my'.

²⁴ Lit. 'in'.

²⁵ So B Rum.: UR 'and may this child be'.

²⁶ BR add 'as it were'.

²⁷ BR Rum. add 'and with thy priests'.

²⁸⁻²⁸ So U: BR Rum. differ not a little.

²⁹ So BR: U corrupt.

³⁰ So UR: B Rum. 'in that day': R continues 'and the procreation will be from his tribe, and there will be another people, and there will be another Melchisedek, chief of the priests . . .'

³¹ Lit. 'for the procreation'.

³² So U: BR Rum. 'to Michael'.

34 him³³ and put *him* in the garden of Eden to keep him safe. For the time is now very near when I shall let loose all the waters over the earth, and all that is on the earth shall perish; and I will give *him* a place of honour in another generation, and Melchisedek shall be
 35 chief priest in that generation. And Gabriel³⁴ made haste and flew down by night; and that night Nir was asleep on his bed and Gabriel³⁴ appeared to him *and* said to him, Thus says the Lord to
 36 Nir, Let the child I entrusted to you come to me. And Nir did not recognize who it was that was speaking to him, and he was much troubled and said to himself, Can it be that the people know about the child, and want to take him away and kill him? (For the people's thoughts and inclinations were evil in the Lord's sight.)
 37 And he answered Gabriel³⁴ and said, I have no child, neither do I
 38 know who it is that is speaking to me. And Gabriel³⁵ answered him, Have no fear, Nir, I am the archangel Gabriel:³⁶ The Lord has sent me; and behold, I will take your child today and I will go with him
 39 and put him in the Paradise of Eden. And Nir remembered his first dream, and he believed and answered Gabriel,³⁴ Blessed be the Lord who has sent you to me today; and now bless your servant Nir, and take the child and do with him everything you have been
 40 told to do. And Gabriel³⁴ took the child Melchisedek on his wings
 41 that night and put him in the Paradise of Eden. And when Nir got up in the morning and went into the house, he did not find the child; and this was for Nir a cause both of great joy and of sorrow,³⁷ for he had come to look upon the child as a son.³⁸

³³ with him = BR Rum.: U om.

³⁴ So U: BR Rum. 'Michael'.

³⁵ So U: B Rum. 'Michael'; R 'he that spoke to me'.

³⁶ So U: BR Rum. 'I am the archistratege of the Lord'.

³⁷ So U: BR Rum. 'And Nir had great sorrow in place of joy'.

³⁸ U adds a doxology, 'Glory be to our God always, now and for ever, and to the ages of ages. Amen'.

In B our apocryphon forms part of a series of Biblical stories and is followed immediately by an account of the Flood.

R ends '... in place of joy, for he had no other son but him. So Nir died; and afterwards there was no priest among the people. And from that time arose much tumult on the earth'. Then follows a very much condensed account of the Flood and Noah's subsequent history.

Rum. ends with the opening sentence of a Flood account, '... in place of joy, for he had come to look upon the child as a son. But in that time all great tumult arose on the earth. The Lord called Noe to the mountain Asir and told him to make an ark speedily'.

THE APOCALYPSE OF ABRAHAM

Both the pseudo-Athanasian Synopsis and the Stichometry of Nicephorus include 'Abraham' in their lists of apocryphal books; but whether they are referring to our Apocalypse, or to our Testament, or to some other work bearing Abraham's name, it is impossible to say. Priscillian is similarly vague when he asks whether anyone has ever 'read a book of Abraham among the prophets of the established canon'.¹ Even more uncertain is the identity of the book (or books) 'of the Three Patriarchs' mentioned at the very end of the apocryphal list in the well known passage in *The Apostolic Constitutions* (VI. xvi. 3) — is one book being referred to here or are three? Are the 'three patriarchs' referred to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (as we should naturally expect)? Or is the fact that they occur at the very end of the list (after 'J'raiah' and 'David' and 'Elijah') significant, and are three later worthies therefore in mind?

Epiphanius, at first sight, is more definite. He records that among the apocryphal books used by the Sethians was one passing under the name of Abraham 'which also they assert to be a revelation'.² The obvious interpretation of this statement is that it is a reference to our Apocalypse. On the other hand, the Testament contains not a little apocalyptic material; and this is recognised, for example, in the title of the Testament in the Rumanian version ('The Life and Death of our Father Abraham, the Righteous, written according to the Apocalypse . . .'). So there could clearly be confusion between Apocalypse and Testament. The Sethians, about whom Epiphanius is writing, may have used either the Apocalypse or the Testament, or, perhaps, another work incorporating material in one, or the other, or both, or neither.

Even greater uncertainty surrounds the interpretation of a passage in the Prologue to Palladius's *Lausiac History*. In the traditional text of this passage Palladius refers to 'those who have written the lives of the Fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and

¹ Prisc. *Tract.* iii.

² Epiph. *Haer.* xxxix. v. 1.

Moses also and Elijah, and those who came after them'.³ But the standard modern text reads 'those who have written the lives of the Fathers, Abraham and those who came after him, Moses and Elijah and John'.⁴ Whether or not Palladius knew three 'Lives' of all three patriarchs, or only a single 'Life' of Abraham, is for our present purposes immaterial. What is important to note is that the description 'Life' fits the Testament of Abraham just as well as it does the Apocalypse. Though it may well be that Palladius was referring to neither, but to a different work altogether, now no longer extant.

In modern times the Apocalypse has been preserved only in Slavonic. Two editions of the Slavonic text were published independently by N. S. Tikhonravov and I. I. Sreznevsky in 1863 from the 14th cent. Codex Sylvester (in which the Apocalypse appears as one item in a collection of lives of saints); and these two editions of the text were followed by the publication of a facsimile edition of the MS itself in 1891. The Apocalypse is also found in some of the MSS of the *Palaea interpretata*,⁵ and the texts of several of these MSS have been edited.

Our translation is based on the Sylvester text (= S). This text, however, is in many places manifestly corrupt and not infrequently inferior to one or the other of the *Palaea* texts: in such cases the *Palaea* texts have been preferred. Three *Palaea* texts have been used: J = the 15th cent. MS of the *Palaea* in the Joseph Monastery at Volokolamsk (now in Moscow), edited by N. S. Tikhonravov; K = the 17th cent. MS originally in Solovetsk, transferred to Kazan, and edited by I. Ya. Porfir'ev; and R = the MS dated AD

³ e.g. PG xxxiv. 1003-4 (reprinted from Ducaeus).

⁴ Cuthbert Butler, *The Lausiac History of Palladius*, II (= TS VI. ii; Cambridge, 1904), p. 11.

⁵ The *Palaea* is a compendium of miscellaneous items collected together primarily to show how the Old Testament was fulfilled in the New. Individual items vary not a little from MS to MS. The basic collection is thought to have been made in Greek in the 8th or 9th cents. and to have been translated into Slavonic in the 10th cent.: over the years it was much enlarged and expanded. Besides The Apocalypse of Abraham the *Palaea* has preserved, among other things, The Ladder of Jacob, a number of sagas about Cain, Abel, Lamech, and other Old Testament worthies, and, most important of all, the Slavonic version of The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.

1494 in the Rumyantsev Museum (now the Lenin Library) in Moscow, edited by A. N. Pypin.

Most of the *Palaea* texts begin with a prologue not found in S: we have printed this prologue in full from R and K in the apparatus on p. 369. Some *Palaea* texts (and among them R and K) continue immediately with the opening words of chap. i, although this makes a very awkward connection; but others omit chaps. i-vi altogether and follow the prologue with the beginning of chap. vii ('And Abraham, having reasoned thus, came to his father, saying, Father Thara, fire is more honourable than images . . .'). R stops short at the end of chap. viii - i.e. it contains only the 'legendary' part of the Apocalypse and not the more specifically 'apocalyptic'. J and K agree in offering a more satisfactory conclusion, which is lacking in S; but, even here, J seems to be defective at the very end. And throughout there are many variants, omissions, additions, and displacements, by no means all of which are recorded in our apparatus. Also noteworthy is the vacillation between the use of the first and third persons in the narrative - the result of uncertainty in the tradition about whether Abraham himself is telling the story or someone else is telling it about him. Moreover, the work known as 'The Tale of the Just Man Abraham',⁶ although it cannot be described as an 'abridgement' of the Apocalypse, nevertheless shows clear traces of dependence on the same tradition, and by its very existence provides an interesting illustration of how that tradition, in the Slavonic world at least, was being continually adapted and re-shaped.

Despite the wide variations in the extant Slavonic texts of the Apocalypse, and the consequent difficulty in tracing any part of it with any degree of certainty to a Greek or Semitic original, there can be no doubt at all that a very great deal of the material contained in it is ultimately Jewish. Thus, the tradition that Israel's ancestors in Mesopotamia 'even Terah, the father of Abraham, and the father of Nahor . . . served other gods' is attested as early as Josh. xxiv. 2. The Book of Jubilees relates how Abraham disputed with Terah about the folly of idol-worship and how he 'set fire to the idols' house' in Ur of the Chaldees, and then how later in

⁶ Published most recently by P. A. Lavrov in *SORYAS* lxvii. 3 (St. Petersburg, 1899), pp. 70-81.

Haran, while observing 'the signs of the stars', he perceived at last the truth about the Creator, was thus led to forsake all kinds of false worship, and set out at the Divine command on his journey to Canaan⁷. And this account in Jubilees is repeated and developed in a variety of ways in later Jewish writings.

Yet this does not in itself prove that the author of the Apocalypse was a Jew. Christians read, not only their Bibles, but also Jubilees and other Jewish literature. They were also in touch in certain areas and at certain times with not a little Jewish oral tradition. There is clear evidence, from sources quite unconnected with the Apocalypse, that in this instance they knew some, at least, of the extra-Biblical Jewish traditions about Abraham.⁸ And there are in the Apocalypse several passages which show signs of Christian influence, particularly towards the end (and pre-eminently chap. xxix). These passages may, of course, be Christian interpolations into an originally purely Jewish work. But not necessarily so.

A possible indication of date is the description of the burning and pillaging of the Temple by the heathen in chap. xxvii. This has been held to point to a date after AD 70. But chap. xxvii is in the second, 'apocalyptic', part of the book (ix-xxxi); so that for those who, like Ginzberg, think that the 'apocalyptic' part was originally independent of the 'legendary' (i-viii), chap. xxvii is only evidence for the date of the 'apocalyptic' part.

However, as the book stands, there are certainly connections between the two parts (chaps. xxv and xxvi make unambiguous references to the contents of i-viii). Consequently, even if the two parts were originally independent, they have not simply been joined together, but a definite attempt has been made to fuse them. And the fusion (if such it was) would seem to have been made by the middle of the 4th cent. at the latest, since the Clementine *Recognitions* refer to Abraham,

'who, since he was an astrologer, was able to recognise the Creator from the disposition and order of the stars, and understood that all things are

⁷ Jub. xii. 1-8, 12, 16-28.

⁸ See especially L. Ginzberg, 'Die Haggada bei den Kirchenvätern und in der apokryphischen Litteratur' in *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*, xliiii (1899), pp. 486-490.

regulated by His providence. Whence also an angel standing by him in a vision, instructed him more fully about those things which he was beginning to perceive. But he shewed him also what was destined for his race and posterity, and promised that these places should not so much be given to them as restored'.⁹

Nothing is said in the *Recognitions* about the source of the writer's information about Abraham at this point. Furthermore, the 'legendary' interest of the passage is concentrated on Abraham's practice of astrology, rather than on his attack on idolatry, which is the main theme of the first part of the Apocalypse. Even so, what is significant is that in the *Recognitions* the 'legendary' and the 'apocalyptic' elements in the Abraham tradition are closely associated, and that the latter part of the passage quoted 'forms (as Box puts it) a good description of the second or apocalyptic part of our Book'.¹⁰ In other words, *Recognitions*, i. 32, would seem to be evidence that the Apocalypse existed, at any rate in embryo, as early as c. 350, however much it may subsequently have been re-modelled, re-written, expanded, or interpolated, even perhaps as late as the 16th or 17th cents. (the date of our latest Slavonic MSS).

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The Book of the Revelation of Abraham, the son of Therin, the son of Nachor, the son of Seruch, the son of Roch, the son of Arphaxad, the son of Sim, the son of Noe, the son of Lamech, the son of Methusalam, the son of Enoch, the son of Ared.¹

1. One day, when I was planing the gods of my father Theran¹ and the gods of my brother Naoch,² when I was enquiring who in truth
2 the Mighty God is, I, Abraham was doing my duty and devoting myself to the services *and* sacrifices of my father Thara to his gods of
3 wood, stone, gold, silver, brass, and iron. And I went into their temple for the service; and I found the god Marumath by name, *who was* carved from stone, fallen down at the feet of the god
4,5 Nachor,³ *who was* of iron. And when I saw *it*, I was distressed. I was sure that I, Abraham, could not put him back in his place by
6 myself, for he was a massive lump of stone *and* heavy. So I went and
7 told my father; and he came in to help me.⁴ And while we were
8 lifting him to put him back in his place, his head fell off him; and I
9 was still holding him by the head. And when my father saw that
10 Marumath's head had fallen off, he said to me, Abraham. And I
11 said, Here am I. And he said to me, Bring me the axes *and* pincers⁵
12 from the house. And I brought *them* to him from the house. And he carved a second Marumath from a second stone without a head,

¹ R has the title 'The Book about Abraham, forefather and patriarch'. RK begin 'Thara was Abraham's father, and Thara began to do what he saw done at his father Nahor's; and he worshipped idols and burned sacrifices before them, both calves and heifers, and did all that is pleasing to the devil. When Abraham saw this, he was very perturbed; and he said to himself, Behold, my father Thara is deceived by these gods of wood, for they have no souls (R om.) in them: they have eyes but they do not see, they have ears but they do not hear, they have hands but they do not feel, they have feet but they do not walk (R omits this clause), they have noses but they do not smell, and there is no voice in their mouths. So I think in very truth my father Thara is deceived. And Abraham, having reasoned thus' . . . (see above p. 365).

¹ RJK 'Thara'.

² my brother Naoch: RK 'Nahor'.

³ So J:RK 'Nachin'; S 'Naritsen'.

⁴ Lit 'came in with me'.

⁵ K om. 'and pincers'.

and *he put on it* the head that had fallen off Marumath; but the rest of Marumath he destroyed.⁶

II. And he made five other gods, and he gave them to me and told me to sell them outside in the city street. And I saddled my father's ass and put them on it and went out onto the highway to sell them. And behold, merchants from Fandana in Syria came with camels, on their way into Egypt to trade. And I fell into conversation with them.¹ One of their camels snorted, and the ass took fright, and ran away and upset the gods; and three of them were broken, and *only* two remained *whole*. And when the Syrians saw I had gods, they said to me, Why did you not tell us you had gods? We would have bought them² before the ass heard the camel's snort,³ and you would not have had this loss. But *give* us the remaining gods, and we will pay you the proper price for the broken gods *as well as* for the gods that remain *whole*.⁴ (For I was worried how I should make account⁵ to my father.) And the three broken ones I threw into the water of the river Gur,⁶ which was in that place; and they sank to the bottom and were *seen* no more.

III. And as I went on my way a number of questions arose in my mind which disturbed me.¹ And I thought,² Behold, Marumath

⁶ K 'And he cut the head from a second stone god and fastened it to the god Marumath, who had fallen down; and the head which had fallen off him, and the rest of the second god, he destroyed'.

¹ RJK '... on their way into Egypt to buy there scarlet dye from the Nile. And I asked them, and they told me not (K om.), and I talked with them'. The word *kokūnilū* here translated 'scarlet dye' is obscure. Landsman translates 'papyrus'. It seems more likely to be a corruption of Gk. *κόκκινος* ('scarlet colour') and to mean some kind of scarlet dye, possibly cochineal.

² you had ... bought them = RJK: S om.

³ Lit. 'voice'.

⁴ J 'But give us the remaining gods, and we will pay you a proper price. And I thought about it; and they paid the price of the broken gods *as well as* that for the remaining gods'.

⁵ Lit. 'how I should bring the merchandise'.

⁶ R 'Tur'.

¹ Lit. '... way, my heart was troubled and my thought strayed within me'.

² RJK add verses 3 and 4. 'What is this evil that my father is doing? Is he not *himself*' rather the god of his gods, since they owe their existence to his carving and

fell down and could not get up in his *own* temple, nor could I lift him up on my own, until my father came, and we both lifted him; and while we were unable to do this, his head fell off him, and my father³ put it on another stone of a second god, which he had made without a head. And the other five gods, which were smashed *when they fell* off the ass, were not able either to save themselves, or to do harm to the ass because it had destroyed them; nor did their fragments come up out of the river. And I thought, If this be so, how then shall Marumath, my father's god, with a head made from one stone and a body made from another stone,⁴ be able to save a man, or hear a man's prayer, and reward him?

IV. And as I pondered thus, I came to my father's house; and I watered the ass and put out hay for it. I took out the money and gave it into my father Thara's hands. When he saw it, he was glad and said, Blessed are you, Abraham, of my gods, for you have brought the price of the gods, so that my labour might not be in vain. And I answered and said to him, Listen, father Tera:¹ blessed are the gods of you; for you are their god, inasmuch as you have created them;² for their blessing is destruction and their might³ is vain; and *since* they did not help themselves, how will they help you, or bless me? It is I who have done you service in this transaction, for by my astuteness I have secured you the money for the broken gods⁴ *as well as for the others*. And when he heard what I said, he was furiously angry with me, because I had spoken disparagingly about his gods.

planing and skill? Would it not be rather better for them to worship my father since they owe their existence to his work? What is this delusion of my father in his works?

³ Lit. 'he'.

⁴ Lit. 'having the head of a second stone, and made from a second stone'. The translation attempts to give a sense that is in accordance with what we are told at i.12.

¹ RJK here and subsequently read 'Thara'.

² blessed are the gods ... created them = RJK: S is here corrupt.

³ J 'help'.

⁴ Lit. 'broken ones'.

1,2 V. But I took note of my father's fury and went out.¹ He called me,
 3 saying, Abraham; and I said, Here am I. And he said,² Collect the
 shavings of the wood, from which I was making gods of pine-wood
 4 before you came, and take *them* and make me food for dinner. And
 while I was picking up the wood shavings I found among them a
 little god, lying in the shelter on my left; and on his forehead was
 5 written, God Barisat. And I did not tell my father I had found the
 6 wooden god Barisat among the shavings. And when I put the
 shavings on the fire to make food for my father, before I went away
 7 to ask about the food, I stood Barisat by the fire *I had* made. And I
 gave him instructions and said, Barisat, look after the fire until I
 come back, so that it does not go out: if it is going out, blow on it, so
 8,9 that it burns up. I went away and did what I had intended. When I
 came *back*, I found Barisat lying prostrate, his feet well into³ the
 10 fire, and terribly burnt. And I burst into laughter and said to
 11 myself, Barisat, you can indeed make a fire and cook food! And as I
 was saying this in my mockery,⁴ he was gradually burnt up by the
 12 fire and reduced to ashes. And I took the food to my father, and he
 13 ate it. And I gave him wine and milk, and he drank *it* and was
 14 satisfied; and he blessed his god Marumath. And I said to him,
 Father Tera, do not bless your god Marumath, do not praise him:
 15 praise rather your god Barisat, for he, out of love for you, threw
 himself into the fire to cook your food. And he said to me, Where is
 16 he now? And I said, He has been reduced to ashes by the fury of the
 17 fire and is become dust. And he said, Great is the might of Barisat:
 I will make another today; and tomorrow he shall make my food.

VI. But when I, Abraham, heard words like this from my father, I
 laughed in my mind, yet groaned in the grief *and* anger of my soul.
 2. And I said, How can my father be served by what has been made
 3 by him — *by idols made with his own hands?* Will he subject *his* body to

¹ R 'But I, because of my father's fury, went out'. RJK add 'And after I had gone out'.

² And he said = RJK: S om.

³ Lit. 'surrounded by'.

⁴ RJK 'in my mind': K adds 'and laughed'.

his soul, and then the soul of the spiritual spirit to folly and
 4 ignorance.¹ And I said, It is only right to suffer evil once: I will set
 my mind on what is pure, and I will tell him plainly what I think.
 5 And² I answered and said, Father Tera, whichever of these gods
 6 you praise, you are deluded in your mind. See, the gods of your
 brother Nachor,³ which stand in the holy temple, are more honour-
 7 able than yours. See too, Zuch, your brother Aron's god, is more
 honourable than Marumath your god, for he is made of gold, *which*
 8 *is* highly prized by men. And if he ages with the years, he can be
 remade; but Marumath, if he is smashed⁴ or broken, cannot be
 9 restored, because he is of stone. And it is the same with the god
 10 Avon who stands alongside Zuch. Barisat himself is burnt up in the
 11 fire,⁵ and is reduced to ashes, and is no more. And *yet* you say,
 Today I will make another, and tomorrow he shall make my food.
 12 He has perished utterly.⁶

VII. Fire, I say,¹ is more honourable than images; for even things
 that are *otherwise* unsubdued are subdued by it, and it mocks what

¹ The obscurity here is probably due to dislocation in the text. JK read 'Will he have subjected *his* body to his soul, and the soul to the spirit, and the spirit to folly and ignorance?'

² S om.

³ RK 'my brother Nachor'; J 'your father Nachor'.

⁴ Lit. 'changed'.

⁵ And it is the same . . . fire: RJK 'As for the god Joauv (R 'Jav'), who stands alongside Zuch above the other gods — he is more worshipful than *your* god Barisat, who is made of wood, for *he is* forged of silver: as there is adaptation for him also(?), he is highly prized by men because of the brilliance (lit. 'show') of his appearance. But Barisat, your god, when he was still not made, was rooted in the earth, great and wonderful, with branches and blossoms and praises; and *then* you cut him with an axe, and he was made into a god by your skill. And behold, now he is withered, and his richness has perished (for this clause R reads 'and here is the stump'), and from the height he is fallen to the ground, and from greatness has he come to littleness, and his outward form has disappeared, and he is burnt up in the fire'.

⁶ Lit. 'to destruction'.

¹ He has perished . . . I say: JK 'He has no might left, having perished utterly. And Abraham, having reasoned thus, came to his father, saying, Father Thara, fire . . .' (see above p. 365).

2 perishes so easily in its flames.² But more honourable still are the
 3 waters, for they overcome fire and satisfy the earth. But neither
 would I call them god, for they are subdued, and are inferior to³ the
 4 earth. But I call the earth more honourable still, since it overcomes
 5 the substance and abundance of the waters.⁴ But I would not call it
 god, since it is dried up by the sun, and it is made for the use of
 6 man. I would call the sun more worthy of worship than the earth,⁵
 7 for with its rays it illumines the universe and the several airs. But I
 would not account it god, for by night a cloud obscures its course.⁶
 8 Nor, again, would I call the moon and stars god, for they too in
 9 their season are darkened in their light at night. Listen, Tera, my
 father, I will examine with you the question who is the God⁷ who
 10 created all these gods for whom we care. For who is he, or what is
 he, who has made the heavens purple, who made the sun gold, and
 11 who set light in the moon, and the stars with her? Who is he who has
 made the dry land in between the many waters, and has given you
 12 the power of speech?⁸ Let God himself appear to us.⁹

² images; for . . . flames: RJK 'your gods of gold, silver, stone, and wood, for the fire burns your gods, and the gods it burns are subject to the fire, and the fire mocks them; and it has devoured your gods. But neither would I call it god, for it is subject to the waters'.
³ Lit. 'they are subdued, turning under'.

⁴ SR 'the substance and abundance of the earth': JK 'the substance of water'.

⁵ I would . . . earth = RJK: S om.

⁶ for . . . course: RJK 'for when the night comes it is overcast with darkness'.

⁷ So S: RJK 'I will tell you about the God'.

⁸ Lit. 'and set you yourself in words': RJK add 'and has sought me out in the confusion of my thoughts'.

⁹ RJK add a Christian gloss and then continue 'When his father Thara heard this, he looked at Abraham with bitter eyes, for what Abraham had said displeased him, because he loved the deceit handed down by his father Nachor. Abraham said to himself, I will test my father's gods and see whether they are able to help themselves. And Abraham took fire, and he set light to the temple where his father's gods were. When Aron (K 'Aran'), Abraham's brother, saw this (since he was devoted to the idols) he tried to save the idols from the fire; and so he himself was burned with his father's gods, and died before his father – for before this no son had died before his father, but the father had always died before the son; but after this men began to die before their fathers. And God loved Abraham, and God said to Abraham, Abraham, Abraham! You have sought the God of gods: leave now your father's house, and go into the land I will direct you to, and I will make you into a great nation, and all the generations of the earth shall be blessed from you.' Another Christian gloss follows, and then the text continues with the beginning of chap. viii ('While I was talking . . .').

VIII. And while I was talking¹ in this way to my father Tera in the
 2 courtyard of my house, the voice of the Mighty One fell from
 heaven in a deluge of fire, saying and calling out, Abraham,
 3,4 Abraham! And I said, Here am I. And the voice said, You are
 seeking God,² the Creator, by the understanding of your mind: I
 5 am he. Leave your father, Tera, and leave his house, so that you do
 6 not perish also in the sins of your father's house. And I went out.
 7 And when I had gone out, before I could reach the outer door of the
 court, a thunderbolt dropped from the sky,³ and it burned him and
 his house and all that was in his house to the ground, all forty cubits
 of it.⁴

IX. Then came a voice saying to me twice, Abraham, Abraham!
 2,3 And I said, Here am I. And the voice said, Behold, it is I: do not be
 afraid; for I am the mighty God, who was before the world,¹ who in
 4 the beginning² created the light of the world.¹ And I am your
 5 shield, and I am your helper. Go and get me a calf of three years old,
 6 and a she-goat of three years old, and a ram of three years old, and
 a turtle-dove, and a pigeon, and set out a pure sacrifice for me. And
 in that sacrifice I will set out for you the secrets of the ages, and tell you
 hidden things; and you shall see great things, which you have not
 7 seen; for you have loved me to seek me out, and I have called you
 8 my friend.³ But abstain from all cooked food,⁴ and from drinking
 9 wine, and from anointing yourself with oil for forty days. And then
 set out the sacrifice for me, which I have commanded you, in the
 9 place I will show you – on a high mountain. And there will I show
 you the ages, which have been created and established, made and
 renewed, by my word; and I will tell you the things that will come
 to pass in them, on those who have done evil and those who have done
 righteousness in the human race.

¹ Lit. 'reflecting'.

² RJK 'the God of gods'.

³ Lit. 'a voice of thunder came': K adds 'and fire fell from heaven'.

⁴ Here R ends.

¹ Lit. 'age' or 'aeon'.

² Lit. 'formerly'. K reads the clause 'who formerly created heaven and earth and then the first light of the world and the age'.

³ Lit. 'lover': cp. 2 Chron. xx. 7; Isa. xli. 8; James ii. 23.

⁴ Lit. 'food which comes from fire'.

X. And when I heard the voice speaking words like this to me, I looked this way and that; and behold, there was no sign of anyone.¹
 2 And I was terrified: my senses left me; and I became like a stone
 3 and fell down upon the ground.² And while I was still on my face on
 4 the ground, I heard the voice saying, Go, Naoil,³ and by virtue of
 5 my ineffable name sanctify that man to me, and strengthen him in
 6 his terror. And the angel that he sent to me came, and *he was* in
 7 appearance like a man; and he took me by the right hand and set
 8 me on my feet. And he said to me, Stand up, friend of God, who
 9 loves you; and let no human terror hold you in its grip. For behold,
 10 I am sent to you to strengthen you, and to bless you in the name of
 11 God, the creator of heaven and earth, who loves you. Take courage,
 12 and come with me to meet him with all speed.⁴ I am Ilol,⁵ so
 13 named by him who shakes what is with me on the seventh expanse
 14 above the vault of heaven, a power by virtue of the ineffable name
 15 that dwells in me. I am he who is appointed by his command to
 16 appease the strife the cherubic creatures have with one another,
 17 and to teach those who bear him the song⁶ decreed for the seventh
 18 hour of the human night. I am he who is ordained to restrain
 19 Leviathan; for the attack and threat of every reptile are subdued by
 20 me.⁷ I am he who was commanded to set fire to your father's house,
 21 and to destroy him with it,⁸ for he gave honour to dead things. And
 22 I am sent to you now to bless you and to *bless* the land which the
 23 Eternal One, whom you have invoked, has made ready for you;
 24 and *it is* for your sake that I have made the journey to earth. Stand
 25 up Abraham: take courage and come: rejoice and be glad at heart;
 26 and I *will rejoice* with you; for eternal honour has been prepared for
 27 you by the Eternal One. Come, carry through the sacrifice as you
 28 have been commanded; for behold, I am appointed to *be* with you

¹ Lit. 'no breath of man'.

² JK add 'for there was no strength in me to stand upon the ground'.

³ JK 'Altez'.

⁴ Lit. 'Take courage and hasten to him'.

⁵ J 'Aol'; K 'Jaol'.

⁶ those . . . song = JK: S is corrupt.

⁷ JK add 'I am he who has been commanded to loosen hell and to destroy those who wonder (J 'him who wonders') at dead things'. Landsman translates '. . . destroy him who stareth at (or 'terrifieth') the dead'.

⁸ Lit. 'to your father's house with him'.

17 and with the people who are to spring from you.⁹ And with me
 18 Michael gives you his blessing to eternity. Take courage: come.

XI. And I got up and looked at him who had taken my right hand
 2 and set me on my feet. And his body was¹ like sapphire, and his
 3 face like chrysolite, and the hair of his head like snow; and *there was*
 4 a linen band about his head, and it was like a rainbow, and the
 5 robes he was wearing *were* purple, and *he had* a golden staff in his
 6 right hand. And he said to me, Abraham; and I said, Behold, your
 7 servant. And he said, Do not let what I look like or what I say
 8 frighten² you: do not be upset; but come with me. And I *will go*
 9 with you: you will be able to see me until the sacrifice, but after the
 10 sacrifice you will see me no more.³ Take courage: come.

XII. And we went both together, forty days and nights; and I ate
 no bread, nor did I drink water, for to look upon the angel who was
 with me was food to me,¹ and his conversation with me was my
 2,3 drink. And I² came to the glorious mountain of God, to Horeb. And
 4 I said to the angel, Singer of the Eternal One, behold, I have no
 5 sacrifice with me, nor do I know of any altar on the mountain; and
 6 how shall I make a sacrifice? And he said, Look behind you. And I
 7 looked behind me; and behold, following us were all the prescribed
 8 *victims for the sacrifice* – a calf, a she-goat, and a ram, and a
 9 turtle-dove, and a pigeon. And the angel said to me, Abraham; and
 10 I said, Here am I. And he said to me, Slaughter all these, and
 11 divide the animals into halves, and place each piece opposite its
 12 corresponding piece,³ but do not divide the birds. And give them to
 13 the men, whom I will show you, *who will be* standing by you; for
 14 they are the altar on the mountain, on which you must offer⁴ the

⁹ Lit. 'the people prepared from you'. Cp. xxii. 7.

¹ JK 'And the feet of his body were'.

² So JK: S is corrupt.

³ you will be able . . . no more: lit. 'visible until the sacrifice, but after the sacrifice invisible for ever'.

¹ So JK: S adds 'and drink'.

² J 'we'; K 'they'.

³ and place . . . corresponding piece: lit. 'one against another'.

⁴ Lit ' . . . mountain to offer (or 'bring')'.

9 sacrifice to the Eternal One. *But* the turtle-dove and the pigeon you must give to me; and I will go up on the wings of the birds to show you *what is* in heaven and on earth, and in the sea and the abysses, and in the lowest parts, and in the garden of Eden, and in its rivers, and in the fulness of the universe and its circle: you shall see it all.⁵

XIII. And I did everything the angel had commanded me. And I gave the divided animals to the angels who had come to us; but the
2,3 angel¹ took the birds. And I waited for the evening offering. And an unclean bird flew down upon the carcasses; and I drove it away.
4 And the unclean bird spoke to me and said, What are you doing, Abraham, on the sacred heights, where *men* neither eat nor drink, nor is there human food here: all these things will be consumed
5 with fire, and you will be burnt up *as well*. Leave the man who is with you and make your escape; for if you persist,² you will be destroyed. And when I saw the bird speaking, I said to the angel,
6 What is this, my lord? And he said, This is Wickedness, Azazil; for
7 Abraham's lot is in the heavens, but yours on earth. He said to him, Shame upon you, Zazal;³ for you have chosen and have loved
8 to live in your uncleanness⁴ here. That is why the Eternal Ruler, the Mighty One, has appointed you *to be* a dweller upon earth. And through you the evil *and* deceitful spirit *works among men*, and through you retribution⁵ and misfortunes fall on the generations of
9 the unrighteous. Yet the Eternal Mighty God has not decreed that the bodies of the righteous should be in your hands: for them a
10 righteous life is assured, and perdition for wickedness. Listen, fellow, be ashamed of yourself and go. For you were not appointed
11 to tempt all the righteous. Leave this man alone: you cannot beguile him for he is your enemy, and *the enemy* of those who follow
12 you and dote on what you want. The garment that of old was set apart in the heavens for you, is *now set apart* for him; and the corruption that was his has been transferred to you.

⁵ Lit. 'see in all'.

¹ K adds 'Jaoil'.

² Lit. 'for if you go up into the height'.

³ K 'Azazil': J om. 'He said . . . Zazal', and K places it before 'for Abraham's lot

...'.
⁴ Lit. 'and have loved the dwelling-place of your uncleanness'.

⁵ Lit. 'wrath'.

5 XIV. The angel said to Abraham,¹ Say to him, May you be a burning coal of the earthly furnace. Azazil went into the inaccessible parts of the earth.² And the angel said to me, Do not answer him, for God has given him power³ over those who answer him.⁴
10 And however much he begged me to go down *with him*,⁵ I did not answer him.

XV. And as the sun was setting, behold, smoke as from a furnace.
2 And the angels who had the divided victims rose up from the top of
3 the smoking furnace. And the angel took me by the right hand, and he set me on the right wing of the pigeon, and he himself sat on the left wing of the turtle-dove – neither of which had been slaughtered
4,5 or divided. And he took me up to the edge of a fiery flame. And we went up, as if *borne aloft* by many winds, to the heaven established
6 on the expanses. And I saw in the air, on the height to which we
7 went up,¹ a great light, which is indescribable. And behold, by that light *I saw* a burning fire of people – many people, males all of them, changing *their* appearance and *their* form,² running *hither and*

¹ JK 'The angel said to me, Abraham; and I said, Here am I, your servant. ²And he said, By this will you know that the Eternal One, whom you have loved, has chosen you. ³Take courage, and do with vigour what I tell you against him who maligns the truth. ⁴Shall I not be able to prove him who has betrayed the heavenly secrets and taken counsel against the Mighty One?'

² Azazil . . . earth: JK 'Go, Azazil, into the inaccessible parts of the earth. ⁶For your dominion is over those who are with you, with the stars and the clouds, who give birth (K 'who are born') with the men whose lot is to judge you by your being (K 'whose lot you are, and who exist to you by your being'); and righteousness is your enemy (lit. 'enmity'): ⁷For this reason, because your doom is sealed (lit. 'by your perdition'), get out of my sight! ⁸And I spoke the words that he had taught me. ⁹And he said, Abraham; and I said, Behold, your servant'.

³ Lit. 'will'.

⁴ JK add 'And he spoke to me a second time: and the angel said, Whatever he says to you, do not answer, so that his power (lit. 'will') may not prevail over you. ¹¹For the Mighty One, before the ages, gave him authority and power (lit. 'weight and will'). ¹² I did what the angel commanded me'.

⁵ Lit. 'And however much he said to me that I should go down'. Landsman translates simply 'And however much he spake to me', following Sreznevsky's interpretation.

¹ And we went up . . . we went up = JK: S 'And we went up on the height'.

² changing . . . form = Sinod. 211: S is corrupt.

thither as they changed their form, and worshipping and crying out in a language³ I did not know.

XVI. And I said to the angel, Why¹ have you brought me now to this place; for I cannot now see, my strength is gone, and I am at the point of death.² And he said to me, Stay by me, and do not be afraid: he whom you will see coming straight towards us with a great and holy voice,³ he is the Eternal One, who has set his love on you. (But you will not actually see him⁴). Do not let your spirit fail,⁵ for I am with you to strengthen you.

XVII. And while he was speaking, behold a fire round about, *and it was* coming towards us; and there was a voice in the fire like the sound of rushing waters, like the roaring of the sea. And the angel with me bowed *his head and* worshipped.¹ And I would have fallen prostrate on the ground; but the place on the height, where we were standing, at one moment lifted itself up² *and* at the next sank back *again*. And he said, Only worship, Abraham, and sing the song I have taught you (for there was no ground to fall on). And I worshipped only, and I sang the song he had taught me. And he said, Sing without stopping; and I sang, and he himself also sang the song,³

7 Eternal One, Mighty One, Holy One, El, God, Monarch,
8 Self-begotten, incorruptible, unsullied, unborn, immaculate, immortal, self-perfect, self-illuminated,
9 Without mother, without father, without birth, the High One, the Fiery One,⁴

³ Lit. 'with a voice of words'.

¹ So JK: S 'whither'.

² Lit. 'I am already weakened, and my spirit is departing from me'.

³ So J ('a great voice of holiness'): S is corrupt; K reads 'with a great voice, saying, Holy, holy, holy is the Lord'.

⁴ Lit. 'But himself you will not see'.

⁵ JK add 'for the shouting' (i.e. because of the paean of praise).

¹ So JK: S 'And the angel, bowing more, worshipped'.

² at one . . . up: S om.

³ K adds 'the first song of Abraham, which the holy angel Jaoil taught him, going with him through the air'.
⁴ JK add 'the Righteous One'.

10 Lover of man,⁵ generous, bountiful, my defender, longsuffering, most merciful,

11 Eli (that is my God), eternal, mighty, holy, Sabaoth, most glorious, El, El, El, El, Jaoil.

12 Thou art he whom my soul hath loved, preserver, Eternal One, fire, Shining One, *whose voice is like thunder*,⁶ *whose aspect is like lightning*, many-eyed, who receivest the prayers of those who honour thee.⁷

14 Thou, the Light, shinest before the light of morning on thy creation; and⁸ in the heavenly dwelling places sufficient is the other light from the inexpressible dawn of the lights of thy face.

16 Receive my prayer,⁹ and also the sacrifice which thou hast made for thyself through me who sought thee. Receive me favourably, and show me, and teach me, and tell thy servant what thou hast promised me.

XVIII. And while I was still singing my song, the tongues¹ of fire on the expanse rose up higher. And I heard a voice, like the roaring of the sea; and it was not affected by the strength of the fire.² And as the fire rose up, soaring into the height, I saw beneath the fire a throne of fire, and, round about *it*, a throng of many-eyed ones singing the song, and, beneath the throne, four living creatures of fire singing.³ And they all looked the same: each one had four faces. One face was like a lion's, another like a man's, another like an ox's, *and* another like an eagle's — *each one had four heads*.⁴ And each one had three *pairs of wings*,⁵ *one pair* at their shoulders, and *another*

⁵ JK add 'loving'.

⁶ So JK: S '*whose voice is not like thunder*'.

⁷ JK add 'and turning thyself from the prayers of those who importune thee with their importunities by their provocations. ¹³Resolver of the confusions of the universe in the corruptible age, which are among the unclean and the unrighteous (K 'righteous'), renewing the age of the righteous'.

⁸ JK 'and from thy face it is day on earth. ¹⁵And'

⁹ JK add 'and have pleasure in it'.

¹ Lit. 'lips'.

² Lit. 'and it did not cease because of the strength (JK 'great abundance') of the fire'.
³ K adds 'beautifully and loudly'.

⁴ JK add 'on their bodies, so that there were sixteen (J 'thirteen') faces to the four living creatures'.
⁵ JK 'had six wings'.

7 at their sides,⁶ and *another* at their loins. And with the wings at their shoulders they covered their faces, and with the wings at their loins they covered their feet, and the middle wings they stretched out and flew forward with them. And when they had finished singing, they looked at one another in a threatening manner.⁷ And when the angel who was with me saw them threatening one another, he left me, and hurried towards them, and turned each⁸ face of each living creature from the face opposite it, so that they could not see each other's threatening faces. And he taught them the song of peace which has its origin in the Eternal One. And while I was standing alone and looking, I saw behind the living creatures a chariot with wheels of fire, each wheel full of eyes all round. And over the wheels was the throne that I saw; and it was covered with fire, and fire encircled it all round; and an ineffable light of a fiery host surrounded *it*. And I heard their holy voices⁹ like the voice of one man.

XIX. And the voice from the fire¹ came to me saying, Abraham, Abraham! And I said, Here am I. And it said, Look now at the expanses which God set in order² underneath the firmament on which you are *now* standing; and see how on no expanse is there anyone else but him whom you have sought or has set his love on you. And while he was still speaking, behold, the expanses parted, and beneath me *lay* the heavens. And I saw on the seventh firmament, on which I was standing, a spreading fire, and light, and dew, and a multitude of angels, and a power of invisible glory from above; and I saw the living creatures, but I saw no one else there. And I looked from the height where I stood to the sixth expanse; and there I saw a multitude of spiritual angels, without bodies – those, that is, who do the bidding of the fiery angels on the seventh³ firmament, on the heights of which I stood. And behold,

⁶ and *another* at their sides: S om.

⁷ So JK (Lit. '... another, and threatened one another'): S '... another, and deceived one another'.

⁹ Lit. 'the voice of their holiness'.

¹ JK 'And a voice from the midst of the fire'.

² Lit. 'which are to God'. ³ The MSS read 'eighth'.

there was no power on that expanse either, in any other form, but only *that of the* spiritual angels. And the power which I saw on the seventh firmament ordered the sixth⁴ expanse to remove itself. And I saw there, on the fifth *expanse*, the starry powers, and the commands they are bidden to fulfil, and the elements of earth which obey them.

XX. And the Eternal Mighty One said to me, Abraham. And I said, Here am I. And he said,¹ Look down at those stars that are below you: count them, and tell me how many there are. And I said, How² can I, for I am *but* a man?³ And he said to me, As the number of the stars and their might, so will I appoint [for] your descendants a race of people – a people set apart for me in my heritage with Azazail. And I said, Eternal One, Mighty One, let thy servant speak in thy presence, and may thy fury not be provoked against thy chosen one. Behold, before thou didst raise me up *here*, Azazail reviled me: so how now, when he is not before thee, hast thou joined⁴ thyself with him.⁵

XXI. And he said to me, Look now beneath your feet at the expanse; and consider now the creation foreshadowed of old, the creation on this expanse, and the things that are in it, and the age prepared after it. And I looked at the expanse at my feet; and I saw beneath *what is* on the third heaven and what is in it, and the earth and its fruits,¹ and the things on it that move, and the things on it that have breath, and the might of its men, and its spiritual uncleanness, and its righteousness; and *I saw* its lowest parts and the destruction that is in them, and the abyss and its torments.² I

⁴ So JK: S 'third'.

¹ And he said = JK: S om.; K adds 'to me'.

² Lit. 'when'.

³ J 'for I am *but* dust and ashes'; K 'for I am a man, *but* dust and ashes'.

⁴ Lit. 'established'. ⁵ So JK: S 'them'.

¹ JK 'and I saw beneath the likeness of a heaven (or 'under the seventh heaven') which was with it, and the earth there and its fruit'.

² JK 'and their righteousness, and the beginning of their works; ³and *I saw* the abyss and its torments, and the lowest parts and the destruction which is in them'.

saw there the sea and its islands, and its cattle and its fish, and Leviathan and his realm, and his bed and his caves, and the world which lies above him, and his rollings and the destructions in the world which he causes. I saw there the rivers and their risings and their courses. And I saw there the garden of Eden, and its fruit, the spring and the river that issues from it, and its groves and their flowers, and those who do *what is* right. And I saw in it their food and *their* peace. And I saw there a throng of people, men, women, and children, and half of them *were* on the right side of the picture, and half of them³ on the left side of the picture.

XXII. And I said, Eternal One,¹ Mighty One, what is this picture of creation? And he said to me, This is my will *with regard* to what is in the world, and I was pleased with it; and afterwards I gave command to them by my word.² And everything I had planned to be came into being: it was already pre-figured in this, for all *the things and all the people* you have seen stood before me before they were created. And I said, Mighty and Eternal Ruler, who then are the people³ in this picture on this side and on that? And he said to me, Those on the left side are the many peoples which have existed in the past, and after you are appointed,⁴ some for judgement and restoration, some for vengeance and perdition, until the end of the age. And those on the right side of the picture, they are the people set apart for me from the people with Azazil. These are the people who are going to spring from you⁵ and will be called my people.

XXIII. Look further into the picture and see who it was that beguiled Eve and what the fruit of the tree was, and you will learn what will be and what will happen to your name among the people as this age runs its course. Or, if you cannot understand *it*, I will

³ on the right . . . half of them: S om.

¹ JK 'Pre-existent One'.

² Landsman translates 'This is my will with regard to those who exist in the (divine) world-counsel, and it seemed well-pleasing before my sight, and then afterwards I gave commandment to them through my Word'. *Svět* may mean either 'light' or 'world': *sovět* or *s'vět* is the normal word for 'counsel'.

³ Lit. 'who is this people'. ⁴ Lit. 'prepared'.

⁵ Lit. 'These are they whom I prepared to be born from you'. Cp. x. 16.

explain *it* to you (for I was pleased with it);¹ and I will tell you what is determined.² And I looked into the picture, and my eyes ran to the side of the garden of Eden. And I saw there a man, immensely tall, alarmingly solid, such as I had never seen before,³ who was embracing a woman that was the man's equal *both* in *her* appearance and *her* size. And they were standing under one of the trees in Eden; and the fruit on that tree looked like a bunch of dates. And behind the tree there stood what looked like a snake, with hands and feet like a man's, and wings on its shoulders, three on its right and three on its left.⁴ And they held in their hands a bunch from the tree; and they were eating⁵ – the two I had seen embracing. And I said, Who are these who are embracing each other? Who is it who is between them? And what is the fruit they are eating, Mighty Eternal One? And he said, This is the human world:⁶ this is Adam, and this is their desire upon earth: this is Eve. And what is between them is the wicked path they started on towards perdition, namely Azazil. And I said, Eternal Mighty One, why hast thou granted anyone like him the power to destroy in this way the race of men through what they do on earth? And he said to me, Listen, Abraham, I hate those who desire evil, because of what they do; and I have granted him *authority* over them to rule and to be loved by them. And I answered and said, Eternal Mighty One, why hast thou willed that men should desire evil in their hearts? For thou art angry with what thou hast willed thyself when a man goes after the things that are of no substance in thy world.

XXIV. And he said to me, *It has been arranged* like this as a wound to the nations¹ for your sake, and for the sake of the people of your race

¹ what will happen . . . with it: JK 'what will happen to your descendants in the course of the years.' And what you cannot understand, I will tell you because I have been pleased with you'.

² Lit. 'and I will tell you the things laid up in my heart'.

³ Lit. 'incomparable in aspect'.

⁴ JK 'six wings on its right and six on its left'.

⁵ Or 'having intercourse'. All MSS are corrupt.

⁶ K 'the human counsel'.

¹ Lit. 'near to the nations'. The emendation is obtained by reading *blizna rodom* instead of *bliz narodom*. Landsman and Bonwetsch render 'Being angered at the nations'.

who are set apart after you, *and* whose afflictions you will see in the picture.² And I will tell you what will befall you, and what will happen in the last days. Now look at the picture yourself. And I looked, and I saw there the things in creation that were before me. I saw what looked like Adam, and Eve with him, and with them the wily adversary; and Cain who transgressed through the adversary. *And I saw* the murdered Abel and the violence the transgressor displayed against him.³ I saw there fornication and those who lust after it, and how abominable it is, and how devoted *to it* they are *who practice it*; and *I saw too* the fire of their corruption in the lowest parts of the earth. I saw there theft and those who are concerned in it, and how they go to work.⁴ I saw there naked men, with their foreheads against each other, and their shame, and their passion for one another; and *I saw* their retribution. I saw there Desire, and in her hands the fount of every kind of lawlessness.⁵

XXV. I saw there what looked like the idol of Jealousy,⁶ like one of the carved wooden images my father made. Its body *was* of glittering brass; and before it *stood* a man worshipping it, and *there was* an altar in front of it, with young men slaughtered on it before the idol. And I said to him, What is this idol? What is this altar? Who are the victims? Who is it that is sacrificing? And what is the temple, which I see, so beautifully constructed? Its beauty *is* like thy² glory, which is beneath the throne. And he said, Listen, Abraham: this temple and the altar you have seen, and the fine craftsmanship, are my idea of the sacredness of my glorious name, in which every prayer of men rejoices, and *so too* the kings and prophets who will arise, and whatever sacrifice I command them to make to me among my people who will come from your race. But the idol you have seen is my anger, with which my people, who will come from you, will anger me. And the man you have seen sacrificing, he it is

² Lit. 'as you will see the afflictions on them in the picture'.

³ Lit. 'and the destruction brought upon him and given through the transgressor'.

⁴ JK add '*and I saw* their retribution *and* the judgement of the great judgement'.

⁵ JK add 'and her silence (or 'scorn') and her waste, given over to destruction'.

¹ Cp. Ezek. viii. 3ff.

² So JK: S 'my'.

who angers me *with* murderous sacrifices, *which are* a witness to me of the judgement of the end, even at the beginning of creation.

XXVI. And I said, Eternal Mighty One, why hast thou ordained that it should be like this? Canst thou not change thy mind?¹ And he said to me, Listen Abraham: take in what I am telling you; *and* give me an answer to what I am about to ask you. Your father Tera – why did he not pay any attention to what you said and give up *his* devilish idolatry until his whole house perished with him? And I said, Most Eternal, for no other reason than because he would not listen to me; but I did not do as he did. And he said, Listen, Abraham, As was your father's light² in him, and as is your light² in you, so is the light² of my will in me: it is ready beforehand for the days that are to come. You will not know them, nor will you see with your own eyes what will happen in them: they are for your descendants. Look in the picture.

XXVII. And I looked and I saw; and behold, the picture started to move. And a heathen people ran from the left side of it, and they pillaged those on the right side, men, women, and children. And some they killed,¹ and some they retained *as slaves*. I saw them running towards them for four generations;² and they burned the temple with fire, and they plundered the holy things that were in it. And I said, Eternal One, behold, the hordes of the heathen are pillaging the people thou hast appointed *to be born* from me; and *some of them* they are killing, and some they are keeping to take into exile; and they have burned down the temple with fire, and they are stealing the works of art in it. Eternal Mighty One, if this be so, why hast thou saddened³ my heart, and why must this be so? And he said, Listen Abraham. Everything you have seen must be

¹ Lit. 'turn back this revelation'. Landsman translates 'Wherefore hast thou established that it should be so, and then proclaim the knowledge thereof?'

² Or 'counsel' (so K).

¹ And some they killed: S om.

² *Skhod* (lit. 'descent', 'issue'; hence 'generation'). JK read *ukhod* ('entrance'). Landsman translates 'I saw them run towards them through four entrances'. In any case it is probable that the reference is to the four world empires – Babylon, Media, Greece, and Rome.

³ K 'provoked'.

because your descendants will provoke my anger with the idol and the murder you have seen in the picture – the *idol of Jealousy* in the temple: everything you have seen must be. And I said, Eternal Mighty One, let the evil *done* in ungodliness pass by, and ordain punishments for them, *but show me* rather the righteous deeds of this one;⁴ for this thou canst do. And he said to me, The righteous period will come first, through the holiness of *their* kings; and I will judge truly those whom at the first I chose⁵ to rule among them.

8 From them shall men come forth to care for them, as I have told you and you have seen.

XXVIII. And I answered and said, Mighty One, hallowed by thy strength, be gracious to my request. *And* so tell me, thy beloved, what I ask. Will what I have seen be upon them for long? And he showed me a large group of his people and said to me, For four generations,¹ as you have seen, they will provoke me; and during those *generations* I will bring retribution upon them for what they do. But in the fourth generation² of a hundred years, even³ one hour of the age (that is a hundred years), *they* will be held in oppression among the heathen.⁴

XXIX. And I said, Eternal One, and how long is an hour of the age? And he said, For twelve years of this impious age have I determined to keep *them* among the heathen, and all you have seen shall come upon your descendants right up to the end of *that* time.¹

⁴ This sentence is manifestly corrupt in S. JK read 'let the evil honour and the deeds of those who have fulfilled the ordinances pass by rather than his righteous deeds.' Landsman translates 'May the works of evil (wrought) in ungodliness now pass by, but (show me) rather those who fulfilled the commandments, even the works of his (?) righteousness'.

⁵ Lit. 'created'. JK read 'by the holiness of kings, to those who judge truly (K 'to those who are in truth'), whom I created from them at the first to rule among them'.

¹ *Skhod* (see above, chap. xxvii, n. 2).

² So S, reading *skhod*: JK read *vhod* ('entrance'). Cp. Gen. xv. 16.

³ Lit. 'and'.

⁴ JK add 'but the hour is for their grace, even with reproaches among the heathen'.

¹ to keep . . . time: Landsman translates 'to rule among the heathen and in thy seed; and until the end of the times it shall be as thou sawest'.

3 Now make your calculations and your measurements, and look
4 into the picture. And I saw a man coming out from the left – *from*
the heathen side; *and* a great crowd of people, men, women, and
children, came out from the heathen side *also*, and they worshipped
5 him. And while I was still looking, *others* came out from the right
side; and some of them mocked that man, and some assaulted him,
6 but some of them worshipped him. I saw them worshipping him;
and Azazil ran up and worshipped, and, after kissing his face,
7 turned and stood behind him. And I said, Eternal Mighty One,
who is the man who has been mocked and assaulted, *but yet is*
8 worshipped by the heathen and² Azazil? And he answered and
said, Listen Abraham: the man you have seen mocked and
assaulted, and yet worshipped, he is the respite *granted* by the
heathen to the people who will come from you in the last days, in
9 this twelfth year of the ungodly age. But in the twelfth year of my
age of the end I will raise up this man you have seen from among
10 your descendants – from my *own* people. And they will all imitate
him, and *will realize he has been* called by me and change their
11 minds.³ And those you have seen coming from the left side of the
picture and worshipping him – that is, many of the heathen will
12 trust in him. As you have seen *some* of your descendants on the right
side mocking and assaulting him, *and yet* some worshipping him –
13 many of them will find him a stumbling-block.⁴ But those of your
descendants who worship him he will put to the test in the twelfth
14 hour at the end, so as to shorten the ungodly age. Before the new
growth of the righteous age begins to show, my judgement will be
accomplished on the lawless heathen through your descendants –
15 the people set apart for me. In those days I will bring ten plagues
upon all creatures on the earth; *and they will be afflicted* by mis-
16 fortunes and diseases, and groan in bitterness of soul. I will bring
all this on the generations of men who are upon it, because of the
17 corrupt practices by which they provoke my anger. And then will be
left the righteous from among your descendants, whose numbers are

² Lit. 'with'.

³ The passage is obscure. The emendation is obtained by reading *pričti* for *pričti* (K *pričti*, J *pričti*). Bonwetsch and Landsman translate 'and such as are called by me (will) join, (even) those who change in their counsels'.

⁴ Or 'will be led astray by him'.

safe in my keeping, who press onward in the glory of my name to the place prepared for them beforehand, which you have seen laid waste in the picture. And they will live by the established sacrifices and offerings of righteousness and truth in the righteous age, and they will rejoice in me for ever. And they shall destroy those who destroyed them, and insult those who insulted them with *the words of their own* blasphemies. They shall spit in the face of *those who are* reproved by me; and they shall gaze upon me, rejoicing with my people as they rejoice, and welcoming those who turn to me.⁵ You have seen, Abraham, what you have seen; and ponder⁶ what you have heard. Go to the place allotted you;⁷ and behold, I am with you for ever.

1,2 XXX. And while he was still speaking, I found myself on earth. And
3 I said, Eternal One! I am not now in the glory I was in above, and what my soul desired to understand with my heart I do not understand. And he said to me, I will tell you what your heart desired: you desired to see the ten plagues I have prepared against the heathen, *the plagues* I have prepared after the passing of the twelfth hour on
5 earth. Listen to what I *will* reveal to you. The first *plague* will be great
6 distress through want: the second, the burning of cities by fire: the third, destruction of cattle by pestilence: the fourth, universal starvation:¹ the fifth, destruction among rulers by the ravages of
7 earthquake and sword: the sixth, deluges of hail and snow: the seventh, lethal attacks by wild animals:² the eighth (to vary the mode of destruction), famine and pestilence: the ninth, retribution by the sword and flight in terror: the tenth, crashing thunder and destructive earthquakes.³

XXXI. Then will I sound the trumpet from the air, and I will send

⁵ Lit. 'and receiving those who turn to me'. JK 'and receiving and turning to me in repentance'.

⁶ Lit. 'know'.

⁷ Lit. 'Go to your lot'. JK read verses 21 and 22 'See, Abraham, what you have seen: hear what you have heard *and* what you have known. Go to my lot'. K then adds a brief summary of what has gone before.

¹ Lit. 'starvation of the world *and* their generation'.

² Lit. 'wild animals will be their grave'.

³ Lit. 'the tenth, thunder and voices and earthquakes for destruction'.

2 my Elect One, with a full measure¹ of all my² power. And he shall summon my people *who are* despised among the heathen; *and* those who have reviled them and have had dominion over them in the
3 *present* age will I burn with fire. And I will give those who have
4 poured scorn on me to the scorn of the age to come. For I have appointed them as food for the fire of hell *and to* fly through the air unceasingly in the depths beneath the earth.³

¹ Lit. 'having in him an equal measure'.

² J 'his'.

³ Here S ends. J continues 'the worms' full womb. ⁵And those who have done right, who have chosen *to do* my will, who have openly kept my commandments, shall see *them* there; and K 'the wombs filled with the worms fruit. ⁵And those who have openly kept my commandments shall see in them those who have done right, who have chosen *to do* my will'. Both J and K continue further '⁶And they shall rejoice with joy at the destruction of the remainder (lit. 'the men who remain'), who pursued idols and murder. ⁷For they shall rot in the womb of the cunning worm Azazil, and they shall burn in the fire of Azazil's tongue. ⁸For I hoped they might come to me, but they would not; and they gave their praises to a foreigner and joined themselves to him, for whom they were not intended, and forsook the mighty Lord (lit. 'ruler'). XXXII. ¹And so, Abraham, listen and understand (lit. 'hear and see'). ²Behold, your seventh generation will go out with you into a foreign land, and a *foreign people* will enslave and afflict them, for one hour of the ungodly age. ³But the people they will be subject to will I judge'. K then adds '⁴And the Lord said this also, Listen, Abraham, to what I have told you about what will happen to your race in the last days. ⁵And Abraham heard what God had said and pondered it'.

THE TESTAMENT OF ABRAHAM

INTRODUCTION

The Testament is known from more than thirty Greek MSS, which contain a variety of legends, lives of saints, and other hagiographical material, and date from the 13th to the 17th cents. It is known also from several versions – Coptic (Bohairic), Arabic, Ethiopic, Slavonic, and Rumanian.

The Greek MSS are clearly divisible into two distinct recensions – the longer (= A) and the shorter (= B); and these recensions are distinct in the sense that they represent different arrangements of what is frequently different material, and there are no reasons for thinking either that B is an abridgement of A or that A is an expansion of B. The question to what extent the versions support one or other of these recensions admits of no easy answer. Thus, the Coptic follows neither exactly: it is on the whole much closer to B, but some details in it, which are absent from B, show resemblances to material contained in A. The Rumanian inclines towards A, although it is by no means identical with it. The Slavonic, on the other hand, inclines very definitely towards B, though the situation here is complicated by the fact that, as so often with Slavonic texts, a number of different ‘inner-Slavonic’ recensions have to be reckoned with. Of the Arabic and Ethiopic (which appears to have been made from the Arabic) there are no printed editions; but from what is known of the Arabic it would seem that it, like the Slavonic, also inclines towards B, though again with considerable variations. So also the Ethiopic.

James in his edition printed the Greek text of both recensions one after the other, using six MSS for A and three for B. Vassiliev printed only the text of the A recension, relying on a single MS (Cod. Vind. theol. 237 = James’s E). The Greek text printed opposite Stone’s English translation is a photographic reproduction of James’s text of both recensions. Our own translation follows the A recension, except that four passages which are of more than

ordinary interest and which are lacking in A, have been added from B. These passages will be found in chaps. vii, xi, xii, and xiii; and they are distinguished by a heavy vertical line in the left-hand margin.

About the date and place of origin of the Testament opinions have varied. James styled it 'another fragment of early popular Christian literature' and suggested that it was written as early as the second century (probably in Egypt), that it embodied even earlier legends, and that it received its present form perhaps in the ninth or tenth cent.¹ On the other hand, Kohler, Ginzberg, and Box, all stressed the essentially Jewish character of the work, and argued in one way or another for a Semitic original, though Box noted that our present Greek text does not read like a translation: 'The story in its original (Hebrew) form', he wrote, 'probably grew up in the first half of the first century A.D. . . . This probably formed the basis of a free Greek version, which was embellished with some special features (e.g. in the description of the Angel of Death) which owed their origin to Egypt'.² Against this, Schürer saw no reason for thinking that the story was of Jewish origin, on the ground that many such legends were invented by Christians. Bousset-Gressmann were prepared to compromise and regarded the Testament as an example of Christian adaptation of pre-existing Jewish legend.³ More recently, N. Turner has maintained that James over-emphasized the Christian elements. For Turner the Testament is Jewish in origin, but written in Greek – in all probability in Egypt, though rather earlier than James suggested: it subsequently passed into Christian hands and became very popular in the Church from the fifth century onwards: Recension B may reasonably be dated to the third century, while Recension A, as it stands, cannot be earlier than the fifth or sixth century, and it may well be very much later. Even more recently, M. Delcor has argued along much the same lines: the traces of Christian influence are much fewer and less definite than James and his followers thought: the original Testament, which lies behind both

recensions, was a Jewish work incorporating a variety of traditions, some traceable to the Septuagint, some paralleled in the Palestinian Targum; and it was written in Egypt, perhaps by a member of the sect of the Therapeutae, about the beginning of the Christian era.

As was pointed out in the Introduction to the Apocalypse,⁴ both the pseudo-Athanasian Synopsis and the Stichometry of Nicephorus mention 'Abraham' in their lists of apocryphal books; but whether they are referring to the Apocalypse, or to the Testament, or to some other work bearing Abraham's name and now lost, it is impossible to say. What patristic evidence there is equally ambiguous. Of the nine MSS used by James, four definitely give 'The Testament of Abraham' as the title, and in three of the others the word 'Testament' occurs at some point in more elaborate titles; but of the remaining two MSS, one entitles the work 'The Narrative (*Δήγησις*) concerning the Life and Death of the righteous Abraham', and the other entitles it 'The Account (*Λόγος*) concerning the Death of Abraham'. Among the versions, the Slavonic calls it simply, 'The Death of Abraham', the Rumanian 'The Life and Death of our father Abraham', while the Coptic-Arabic-Ethiopic tradition (in which the Testaments of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, figure as a trilogy) introduces Abraham with a short preface explaining that what follows is an account of 'the going forth from the body of our holy fathers, the three patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob', and goes on to describe it as a 'homily' or 'discourse' of Athanasius, adding that Athanasius had discovered the substance of it in ancient apostolic writings.

In the light of these facts we cannot assume either that 'Testament' was the work's original title, or that it was widely known as a 'Testament' in the early Church. In any event, little attempt seems to have been made to make it look like one. The normal 'Testament' professes to be a record of its hero's last words of instruction and command, delivered in the first person to his family circle gathered round him. But the Testament of Abraham makes no such profession. Instead it provides a plain, factual,

⁴ See above p. 363.

¹ James, p. 29.

² Box, pp. xxviii–xxix.

³ W. Bousset – H. Gressmann, *Die Religion des Judentums im späthellenistischen Zeitalter*³ (Tübingen, 1926), p. 45.

account of the events which led up to Abraham's death, written in the third person. In the circumstances, some such title as 'The Narrative of the Death of Abraham' would seem very much more suitable.

But whatever may have been the original title of the Testament and by whatever titles it may have been known subsequently, the existence of the versions is clear proof of its popularity in certain areas in the Church from the beginning of the mid-patristic period onwards. What is perhaps remarkable is that there is no clear testimony to its existence previously. The absence of a Latin version presumably indicates that it was not as popular in the West as it was elsewhere.

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I. Now Abraham had lived out his life's span of nine hundred and
 2 ninety-five years. All the years of his life he had lived in peace,
 3 gentleness, and righteousness. He was, moreover, very hospitable;¹
 for he pitched his tent at the crossroads by the oak of Mamre and welcomed everyone, rich and poor, kings and rulers,
 4 the maimed and the weak, friends and strangers, neighbours and
 5 travellers. And the pious, all-holy, righteous, and hospitable Abraham
 made them all welcome without distinction. But the bitter
 6 cup of death, which is universal and inevitable, and life's uncertain
 end, overtook even him. So it came about that the Lord God
 7 summoned his archangel Michael and said to him, Prince
 Michael! Go down to Abraham and tell him about his death, so
 8 that he can set his affairs in order. For I have blessed him as the
 stars of heaven and as the sand of the sea shore: throughout his life
 and in his many business concerns he has prospered exceedingly;
 9 and he is very rich indeed. He has been righteous beyond all men in
 10 every good deed, hospitable and loving to the end of his days. Go,
 archangel Michael, to Abraham, my well-loved friend, and inform
 11 him about his death. Give him this assurance, You are going now
 to leave this vain world: you are going to forsake *your* body, and
 amid blessings² come to your Lord.

II. The Prince left God's presence and went down to Abraham at
 2 the oak of Mamre. And he found the righteous Abraham in the
 field nearby, assisting with the yokes of oxen that did the ploughing,
 together with the sons of Masek, and with others of his
 3 servants, twelve in number.¹ The Prince Michael was approaching,
 when lo, Abraham saw him in the distance looking like a most
 4 handsome soldier. So Abraham got up and went to meet him, as it
 5 was his custom to go out and welcome every stranger. But the Prince
 welcomed him first and said, Greetings, most honourable father,
 God's righteous chosen one,² the Heavenly One's true
 6 friend! Abraham said to the Prince, Greetings, most honourable

¹ Lit. 'The righteous one was very hospitable'.

² Or 'among the company of the good'. Lit. 'in good things' or 'in good men'.

¹ Recension B adds 'Abraham looked very old, and he was holding his son in his arms'.

² Lit. 'soul'.

soldier, *whose face* shines like the sun and *whose form is* more handsome than any of the sons of men: you are welcome indeed!
 7 But I must ask your Presence, what is the secret of your youthful
 8 bloom? Tell me, I beg you,³ where *do you come* from, what army *do*
 9 *you belong to*, and what is the purpose of your Grace's journey that
 10 you have come here?⁴ And the Prince replied, I come, righteous
 11 Abraham, from a⁵ great city. I have been sent by the great king of
 12,13 *that city* to arrange for the departure⁶ of a true friend of his; for the
 14 king is calling for him. And Abraham said, Come sir! Come with
 15 me to my field. The Prince replied, I *will* come. They went to the
 16 field where the ploughing was going on and sat down to talk. And
 17 Abraham said to his servants, the sons of Masek, Go to the stable.⁷
 18,19 And fetch two good-natured and gentle horses, that have been
 20 broken in, for me and this *our* guest to ride on. But the Prince said,
 No, my lord Abraham: let them not fetch horses, for I never ride on
 a four-footed beast.⁸ My king is indeed rich, with great commercial
 interests; and he has every kind of man and animal at his com-
 mand. But I myself never ride on a four-footed beast.⁸ So, righte-
 ous one,² let us make our way to your house, without fuss, on foot.
 And Abraham said, Very well: so let it be!

III. And as they were going from the field towards his house, a
 cypress tree¹ by the roadside cried out with a human voice at God's
 bidding and said, Holy, Holy, Holy, is the Lord God who calls to
 2 himself those who love him. Abraham said nothing,² supposing the
 3 Prince had not heard the tree's voice. And when they came to the
 4 house they sat down in the court. And Isaac saw the angel's face
 and said to Sarah his mother, My lady mother, the man sitting
 with my father Abraham is no member of the race that dwells on

³ Lit. 'Tell me, your suppliant'.

⁴ Lit. 'and from what road has your beauty arrived'.

⁵ Lit. 'the'.

⁶ Or 'to take the place'. Lit. 'to procure the succession'.

⁷ Lit. 'the herd of horses'.

⁸ Lit. 'because I refrain from this - namely, from ever sitting on a four-footed
 beast'.

¹ In Recension B the tree is 'like a tamarisk'.

² Lit. 'Abraham hid the mystery'.

5 earth. And Isaac ran out and welcomed him respectfully, falling at
 6 the spirit³'s feet. The spirit³ blessed him and said, The Lord God
 will graciously grant you his promise which he made to your father
 Abraham and his descendants, and he will also graciously grant
 7 you your father's and mother's dear prayer. And Abraham said to
 his son Isaac, Isaac, my child, draw some water from the well and
 bring it to me in a basin, so that we can wash *our* guest's feet; for he
 8 has come to us after a long journey and is tired. So Isaac ran to the
 9 well, drew water in the basin, and brought it to them. Abraham got
 up and washed the Prince Michael's feet; and he⁴ was much moved
 10 and wept over the stranger. Isaac saw his father weeping, and he
 11 wept too. And the Prince saw them weeping, and he also wept with
 12 them. And the Prince's tears fell onto the basin, into the water of
 13 the bowl, and became precious stones. When Abraham saw the
 wonder he was astonished, and he took the stones surreptitiously
 and said nothing⁵ and kept the matter to himself.

IV. Then Abraham said to his son Isaac, Go, my beloved son, to
 2 the dining-room and make it festive. Make up two couches for us
 there, one for me and one for this man, who is our guest to-day; and
 see that there is there a seat for two, a lamp-stand, and a table full
 3 of good things. Make the room festive, my son: lay out the napkins
 4 and the purple cloths and the silk. Burn every *kind of* costly and
 precious incense; and bring in sweet-smelling plants from the
 5 garden and fill our house with them. Light seven oil lamps, so that
 we may make merry, because this guest of ours to-day deserves
 more honour than kings and governors: his very appearance is
 6 superior to that of all other men. So Isaac set everything in excel-
 7 lent order. And Abraham took the Prince Michael and went up to
 8 the dining-room. Both of them took their seats on the couches, and
 Isaac¹ brought forward *the* table full of good things *and put it*
 9 between them. Then the Prince got up and went outside, as if
 wanting to relieve himself; and he went up to heaven in the
 10 twinkling of an eye. He stood before God and said to him,

³ Lit. 'the incorporeal one'.

⁴ Lit. 'Abraham'.

⁵ Lit. 'and hid the mystery'.

¹ Lit. 'he'.

11 Sovereign Lord, thy Majesty must know that I cannot make
 12 mention of *his* death to that righteous man. For I have never seen
 13 upon earth a man like him – merciful, hospitable, righteous, trusty,
 14 religious, *and* incapable of doing anything that is evil.² So now thou
 15 knowest, Lord, that I cannot make mention of *his* death. But the
 16 Lord replied, Go down, Prince Michael, to my friend Abraham;
 17 and whatever he tells you, do it. Whatever he eats, eat *it* also with
 18 him. I will send forth my Holy Spirit upon his son Isaac, and I will
 19 put into Isaac's mind the thought³ of his death, so that he sees his
 20 father's death in a dream. Isaac will recount what he has seen and
 21 you shall interpret *it*. And *then Abraham* himself will recognize that
 22 his end *is near*. The Prince said, Lord, all heavenly spirits are
 23 without bodies and neither eat nor drink, but this man has laid a
 table for me with an abundance of every kind of earthly and
 perishable dainty. What now, Lord, am I to do? How am I to see he
 does not notice when I am sitting at the same table with him? The
 Lord said, Go down to him, and have no anxiety on this score. For
 while you are sitting with him I will send upon you an all-
 devouring spirit, and it will consume from your hands and through
 your mouth everything that is on the table; *and* make merry with
 him in every way. Only you must interpret properly the meaning of
 the vision, so that Abraham can recognize Death's reaping-hook
 and life's uncertain end, and so make a settlement of all his goods.
 For I have blessed him above the sand of the sea and as the stars of
 heaven.

V. The Prince then went down to Abraham's house and took his
 seat with him at the table; and Isaac waited on them. When the
 meal was over Abraham said his customary prayer, and the
 archangel prayed with him. Each was resting upon his couch, and
 Isaac said to his father, Father, I would like to stay¹ with you in this
 room, to listen to your talk; for I think I should gain much profit
 from what this excellent man has to say.² But Abraham said, No,

² Lit. 'abstaining from every evil deed'.

³ Lit. 'mention' Cp. v. 6; vii. 22.

¹ Lit. 'rest'.

² Lit. 'for I love to hear the excellence of the conversation of this all-virtuous man'.

my son: go to your *own* room and rest on your *own* bed: we do not
 want to be a burden to this man. Then Isaac, after being blessed by
 them and having blessed them, went off to his own room and lay
 down upon his bed. And God put the thought³ of death into Isaac's
 mind by means of dreams; and about the third hour of the night
 Isaac woke up. He got up from his bed and went in great haste to
 the room where his father and the archangel were sleeping. When
 he got to the door he cried out, saying, Father Abraham, get up and
 open *the door* for me quickly, so that I can come in and put my arms
 round you and kiss you before they take you away from me. So
 Abraham got up and opened *the door* for him. Isaac went in and put
 his arms round him and began to weep loudly. Abraham was in
 consequence much moved and wept loudly himself in sympathy.
 When the Prince saw them weeping, he wept also. Now Sarah was
 in her tent, and when she heard them weeping, she came running
 to them and found them weeping in one another's arms. And Sarah
 said with tears, My lord Abraham, what does this weeping mean?
 Tell me, my lord: this brother, who is our guest to-day, has he
 brought you news about your nephew Lot, that he is dead, and is
 that why you are making this lamentation? The Prince replied and
 said to her, No, sister Sarah, it is not as you say. Your son Isaac, I
 think, had a dream, and he came to us weeping; and when we saw
 him, we were much moved, and we wept too.

VI. And Sarah recognized something in the way the Prince spoke¹
 and realized immediately that the speaker was an angel of the
 Lord. So Sarah made signs to Abraham to go outside the door;²
 and she said to him, My lord Abraham, do you know who this
 man is? Abraham said, I do not. And Sarah said, My lord, you
 remember the three heavenly beings who were our guests in our
 tent by the oak of Mamre, when you killed the calf without blemish
 and prepared a meal for them? When the meat had been eaten, the
 calf rose up again and joyfully sucked from its mother. You
 remember, my lord Abraham, do you not, that they gave us the

³ Lit. 'mention'. Cp. iv. 15; vii. 22.

¹ Lit. 'And Sarah heard the distinction of the Prince's conversation'.

² Lit. 'to go to the door outside'.

6 promise of a child, Isaac? This is one of those three holy men. And
 7 Abraham said, What you say, Sarah, is true. Praise and glory be to
 8 God the Father.³ Indeed, when I was washing his feet in the bowl
 9 of the washing-basin late this evening, I said to myself, These are
 10 the feet of *one of* the three men that I washed then. And later on his
 11 tears fell into the basin and turned into precious stones. And
 Abraham took the stones⁴ from the fold of his cloak and gave them
 to Sarah saying, If you do not believe me, now look at these. And
 Sarah took them and kissed *them*⁵ and fondled *them*,⁵ saying, Glory
 be to God who shows his wonders to us. You may be certain, my
 lord Abraham, that we are to receive a revelation about something,
 whether for evil or for good.

VII. And Abraham left Sarah and went back inside the room, and
 2 he said to Isaac, Come, dear son: tell me the truth. What was it that
 3 you saw, and what happened to you that you came to us in such a
 4 hurry? And Isaac made answer and began, *In my sleep* to-night, my
 5 lord, I saw the sun and moon over my head. *The sun* encircled me
 6 with its rays and gave me light.¹ And while I was looking on at this
 7 and rejoicing at it, I saw heaven wide open; and I saw a brilliant²
 8 man coming down out of heaven, who shone more brightly than
 9 seven suns. And that man, who was like the sun, came and took the
 10 sun away from my head, and he went back into the heavens, where
 11 he had come from; and I was very upset, because he had taken the
 sun from me. And after a little, while I was still upset and ill at ease,
 I saw that man leave heaven a second time; and he took away the
 moon from my head as well. And I wept bitterly. And I implored
 that brilliant man and said, No, my lord, please do not take my
 glory from me: have pity on me and hear me! Even if you must take
 the sun from me, at least leave me the moon. And he said, You
 must let them be taken up to the King above, for he wills *to have*
 them there. And he took them from me; but the rays he left upon
 me.

³ Lit. 'Glory and praise from God and Father'.

⁴ Lit. 'And he took them'. ⁵ Or '*him*'.

¹ Lit. '... the sun and the moon over my head, and encircling me with its rays and giving me light'. ² Lit. 'light-bearing'. Cp. xii. 7; xiv. 10; xvi. 16.

12 The sun and the moon and the stars mourned, saying, Do not
 13 take away our glorious might. And that radiant man answered and
 14 said to me, Do not weep because I have taken the light of your
 15 house; for he has been removed from toils to rest, and from a
 16 humble state to an exalted one. He is being lifted³ from adversity
 17 into prosperity: he is being lifted³ from darkness into light. And I
 18 said to him, I beg you sir, take the rays with him as well. And he
 19 said to me, There are twelve hours in the day, and then *will* I take
 20 all the rays. And while the radiant man was speaking I saw the sun
 21 of my house going up into heaven; but I saw that crown no more.
 22 And that sun was like you, father.

23 And the Prince said, Listen, righteous Abraham. The sun your
 24 boy has seen is you, his father; and the moon, similarly, is his
 25 mother Sarah. The brilliant man, who came down out of heaven,
 he is a man sent from God, and he is about to take your righteous
 soul away from you. For you must realize, most honoured
 Abraham, that you are now about to leave your earthly life behind
 you and depart to God. Then said Abraham to the Prince, This is
 the most astonishing thing I have ever heard!⁴ So it is you, is it, who
 are to take my soul away from me? The Prince said to him, I am
 Michael, the Prince, who stands in the presence of God, I have
 been sent to you in order to put into your mind the thought⁵ of
 death. After that I shall go back to him, as we were commanded.
 And Abraham said, Now I know that you are an angel of the Lord
 and you have been sent to take away my soul: yet I will not follow
 you. But do whatever he commands.

VIII. And when he heard what Abraham said, the Prince at once
 2 disappeared. And he went up to heaven and stood before God and
 3 gave an account of everything he had seen in Abraham's house.
 4 Furthermore, the Prince also told *his* Lord, Thy friend Abraham
 5 also says this, I will not follow you; but do whatever he commands.
 6 Is there then anything, Almighty Lord, that thy Glory and immortal
 Majesty now commands? And God said to the Prince Michael, Go
 down to my friend Abraham once again and tell him, Thus says the

³ Lit. 'They are lifting him'.

⁴ Lit. 'O, latest wonder of wonders'.

⁵ Lit. 'mention'. Cp. iv. 15; v. 6.

Lord your God, who has brought you into the land of promise, who has blessed you above the sand of the sea and above the stars of heaven, and who granted you the child Isaac, born of the barren Sarah, in your old age: I promise you I will bless you in every way and make your descendants too many to be counted. I will give you everything you can ask of me; for I am the Lord your God and there is none other but me. But why are you resisting me, and why are you distressed? Tell me. And why are you resisting my archangel Michael? Do you not know that all *men who are descended* from Adam and Eve have died? Not one of the prophets has escaped death: no ruler has ever been immortal: none of your ancestors has escaped death's mystery. All have died: all have been received in Hades: all have been gathered by the reaping-hook of Death. But to you¹ I did not send Death. I did not allow any deadly disease to come near you: I did not agree that Death's reaping-hook should visit you; nor did I permit the nets of Hades to enfold you. I willed that no evil should befall you at any time. Instead, I have sent you my Prince Michael for *your* good comfort, to inform you of your departure from the world, so that you can make arrangements about your house and all your goods, and so that you can pronounce a blessing over your dear son Isaac. And you must know that I have done this out of no desire to cause you pain. Why, then, did you say to my Prince, I will not follow you? Why did you say this? Are you not aware that if I were to allow Death to come to you, then I could indeed see whether you would come or not?

IX. After receiving the Lord's instructions the Prince went down to Abraham. And when the righteous *man* saw him, he fell on his face to the ground as *if he were* dead; and the Prince told him everything he had heard from the Most High. Then the pious and righteous Abraham got up and threw himself at the spirit's feet and with many tears made supplication to him, saying, I implore you, Prince of the powers on high, since you yourself have deigned to come to me, your sinful and unworthy servant, I beg you now to take a message for me yet once more to the Most High. Tell him,

¹ Lit. 'upon you'.

¹ Lit. 'the incorporeal one'.

Abraham thy slave has this to say, Lord, Lord, in every deed and word when I besought thee, thou hast heard me and hast brought to completion everything I planned. And now, O Lord, I would not resist thy might, for I know indeed that I am not immortal but must die. And so, just as all things yield to thine ordinance, and shudder and tremble in the presence of thy power, I also am full of fear. Yet one request I would make of thee; and now, O Sovereign Lord, listen to my prayer. I would, while yet in this body, see the whole earth and all created things, which thou didst establish by a single word. When I have seen these, then will I depart from life without regret.

11, 12 So the Prince went away again and stood before God. And he told him everything, saying, Thy friend Abraham has this to say, I would behold the whole earth in my life *here* before I die. And when the Most High heard this he gave instructions to the Prince Michael once again. And he said to him, Take a cloud of light and the angels who are in command of the chariots. Then go down and take the righteous Abraham *and set him* on the cherubim-chariot and lift him up to the heights² of heaven, so that he may see the whole earth.

X. And the archangel Michael went down and took Abraham *and set him* on the cherubim-chariot and lifted him up to the heights¹ of heaven and acted as his guide on the cloud together with sixty angels. And Abraham went up on the chariot over the entire earth; and Abraham looked out on the world just as it was that day. *He saw* some men ploughing, others driving wagons: in one place they were looking after their sheep, elsewhere they were out in the fields, dancing and making merry and playing the kithara: here they were in conflict² and going to law with one another, there they were weeping and then burying *their* dead. He saw too the newly-married being escorted home. In a word, he saw everything that was happening in the world, both good and evil. So, as Abraham journeyed, he saw a *group of* swordsmen brandishing *their* sharpened swords in their hands. And Abraham asked the Prince,

² Lit. 'upper air'.

¹ Lit. 'upper air'.

² Lit. 'they were wrestling'.

8 Who are these? And the Prince said, These are thieves, whose intention it is to commit murder and steal and kill and destroy.
 9 And Abraham said, Sir, could you not bid³ wild beasts come out of the wood and eat them up? And immediately, as he spoke, wild
 10 beasts came out of the wood and ate them up. And in another place he saw a man and a woman in fornication together; and he said,
 11 Sir, bid the earth open and swallow them. And the earth was split in two at once and swallowed them. In another place he saw men
 12 breaking into a house and carrying off another man's property; and he said, Sir, bid fire descend from heaven and consume them.
 13 And immediately, as he spoke, fire descended from heaven and consumed them. And there came at once a voice from heaven to the
 14 Prince, saying, Prince Michael, bid the chariot stand still and stop Abraham from seeing the whole of the earth. For if he sees all those
 15 who are engaged in sin, he will destroy every living thing. For lo, Abraham has not sinned, and he has no pity for sinners. But I have
 16 made the world, and I have no wish to destroy any of the men I have created;⁴ but I put off the sinner's death until he turns again
 17 and lives. Take Abraham up to the first gate of heaven, so that he may view the judgements and the retributions there, and repent for
 18 the sinners' souls he has destroyed.

XI. Michael turned the chariot and brought Abraham eastwards
 2 to the first gate of heaven. And Abraham saw two ways: the first way was narrow and restricted and the second broad and spacious.
 3 (And he saw there two gates: one broad gate) across the broad way, and one narrow gate across the narrow way. And outside the
 4 two gates there, they saw a man seated on a golden throne. And the man's appearance was terrifying, like *that* of the Sovereign Lord
 5 *himself*.¹ And they saw many souls being driven along by angels and herded through the broad gate; and they saw a few other souls
 6 being taken by angels through the narrow gate. And whenever the wondrous being who was seated on the golden throne saw a few
 7 going in through the narrow gate and many through the broad one,

³ Lit. 'Sir, sir, hear my voice and bid'.

⁴ Lit. 'to destroy no one of them'.

¹ So A: D 'the Sovereign Messiah' (or 'Christ'); CE 'our Lord Jesus Christ'.

he² at once tore the hair of his head and his beard, and hurled
 8 himself from his throne to the ground, weeping and wailing. But whenever he saw many souls going in through the narrow gate, then he got up from the ground and he took his seat on his throne
 9 rejoicing and exulting with great gladness. And Abraham asked the Prince, My lord Prince, who is this most wondrous man, who is decked out with so great a glory, and who at one moment weeps
 10 and wails, and at the next rejoices and exults? The spirit³ made answer, This is Adam, the first man to be made,⁴ who is in so great
 11 a glory. He surveys the world, inasmuch as all men owe their origin to him. Whenever he sees many souls going in through the narrow
 12 gate, then he gets up and sits on his throne, rejoicing and exulting with gladness. For this narrow gate is *the gate* of the righteous,
 13 which leads to life, and those who go in by it go to Paradise. That is why the first man⁴ Adam rejoices, because he sees souls being
 14 saved. And when he sees many souls going in through the broad gate, then he plucks at the hair of his head and hurls himself to the
 15 ground, weeping and wailing bitterly. *It is* because the broad gate is the gate of sinners, and it leads to destruction and eternal
 16 punishment. That is why the first man⁴ Adam throws himself⁵ from his throne and weeps and wails at the sinners' destruction, because those who are perishing are many, whereas those who are
 17 being saved are few. For in seven thousand there is scarcely to be found a single soul who is being saved, *who is* righteous and undefiled.

19 And Abraham said, He that cannot enter through the narrow
 20 gate, can he not enter into life? Then Abraham wept and said, Ah me! What shall I do? I am a big man,⁶ and how can I enter through the narrow gate, when a youth of fifteen could not get through it?
 21 And Michael answered and said to Abraham, Do not be afraid, father, and do not worry; for you will go through it without hindrance, and so will all who are like you.

² Lit. 'that wondrous man'.

³ Lit. 'The incorporeal one'.

⁴ Lit. 'the first-formed'.

⁵ Lit. 'Adam falls'.

⁶ Lit. 'a man broad in body'.

XII. While he was still speaking,¹ lo, two angels *came*, fiery in appearance, merciless in purpose, and relentless in expression, and they were driving ten thousand souls along, beating them mercilessly with fiery thongs; †and one soul the angel seized†.² And they directed all the souls through the broad gate for destruction. So we also followed the angels and came inside that broad gate. Now between the two gates stood a fearsome throne,³ flashing like fire. On it sat a wondrous man, bright as the sun, like a son of God; and before him stood a table, all of gold and *covered with* the finest linen, *which shone* like crystal. On the table lay a book, six cubits thick and ten cubits broad, and on its right and on its left were standing two angels holding paper and pen and ink. In front of the table sat a brilliant⁴ angel holding in his hand a pair of scales. On his left sat a fiery angel, entirely without mercy and relentless, and in his hand he held a trumpet that contained all-devouring fire inside it, as a means of testing sinners. And while the wondrous man who sat on the throne was giving his judgements and sentencing the souls, the two angels on his right and on his left were recording. The *angel* on the right recorded the good deeds, the one on the left the sins. And the angel in front of the table, who held the pair of scales, weighed the souls, and the fiery angel, who held the fire, put the souls to the test. And Abraham asked the Prince Michael, What is it we are looking at? And the Prince replied, What you are seeing, holy Abraham, is the judgement and retribution. And lo, the angel who held the soul in his hand *appeared*, and he brought it before the judge. And the judge said to one of the

¹ So D. James's text ('While he was yet speaking these things to me') is a reconstruction based on the untranslatable C. A has 'While he was yet speaking these things to us' (cp. verse 3), and the Rumanian version 'And while they were speaking'.

² So A. The other MSS vary considerably throughout the verse, though the general sense is clear, apart from the details of this final clause. However, there can be no doubt that something very like this must have stood, in the original text because of the references back, both in verse 14 below and at xiv. 1. Furthermore, in the parallel passage in the B recension only one angel figures as the driver instead of two: he is driving sixty thousand souls (not ten thousand); and the soul he is holding in his hand, whose good deeds and evil deeds are of equal weight, is that of a woman.

³ So CDE: AB add 'that looked like fearsome crystal'.

⁴ Lit. 'light-bearing'. Cp. vii. 5; xiv. 10; xvi. 16.

angels that were waiting on him, Open this book for me and find me the sins of this soul. And when he had opened the book he found that its sins and its good deeds balanced evenly. So he neither gave it over to the torturers, nor *did he assign it a place among* those who were being saved, but set it in the middle.

And Abraham said to Michael, Sir, is this the angel that takes souls out of their bodies, or is it not? Michael answered and said, This is Death; and he takes them away to the judgement-place for the judge to pass judgement on them. And Abraham said, My Lord, I beg you to take me up to the judgement-place, so that I can see for myself how they are judged. Then Michael took Abraham on a cloud and brought him to Paradise. And as he came near the place where the judge was, the angel appeared and presented a soul⁵ to the judge; and the soul was saying, Have mercy on me, lord. And the judge said, Why should I have mercy on you, when you yourself had no mercy on your daughter that you had, your own child?⁶ Why did you murder her? And *the soul* made answer, No lord! I am no murderer: my daughter has told lies about me. The judge then ordered the writer of the records to come. And lo, cherubim *came*, carrying two books, and with them was a man of immense size. And he had on his head three crowns: one crown was higher than the other two; and they were called Crowns of Witness. In his hand the man had a pen of gold; and the judge said to him, Let us have the details of the sin⁷ of this soul. And the man opened one of the books belonging to the cherubim, and he searched for the sin of the woman's soul and found *it*. And the judge said, Wretched soul! How *can* you say that you have done no murder? Did you not after your husband's death, go and commit adultery with your daughter's husband and kill your daughter?⁸ And he convicted her of other sins as well, all that she had committed since she was a child. When the woman heard this she cried out, saying, Alas! *While I was* in the world I forgot all the sins that I committed, but here they are not forgotten. Then they took her and handed her over to the torturers.

⁵ Lit. 'that soul'.

⁶ Lit. 'the fruit of your womb'.

⁷ Lit. 'Substantiate the sins'.

⁸ Lit. 'and kill her'.

XIII. And Abraham said, My lord Prince, who is this wondrous judge, and who are these recording angels? And who is the angel like the sun, who holds the scales, and who is the fiery angel who holds the fire? And the Prince said, Most holy Abraham, do you see the terrifying man who is sitting on the throne? He is the son of the first man¹ Adam, and is called Abel, and he was killed by the wicked Cain. He sits here to judge every creature,² examining both righteous and sinners, because God has said, It is not I who judge you, but by man shall every man be judged. For this reason he has committed judgement to him, to judge the world until his *own* great and glorious Coming. And then, righteous Abraham, will follow the final judgement and retribution, eternal and unchangeable, which no one will be able to dispute. For all men have their origin from the first man;¹ and so by his son they are first judged here. At the second coming they and every spirit and every creature² will be judged by the twelve tribes of Israel.³ At the third stage they will be judged by the Sovereign God of all; and then at last will the whole process reach its end.⁴ The sentences will strike terror; and *there will be* no one to rescind *them*. And so through three tribunals the judgement of the world will be accomplished and *its* retribution. (And that is why a matter cannot finally be settled on the evidence of one or two witnesses but 'on the evidence of three witnesses every fact⁵ must be established'.) The two angels, one on the right and one on the left, these record the sins and the good deeds. The one on the right records the good deeds, the one on the left the sins. The angel who is like the sun, who holds the scales in his hand, he is the archangel Dokiell: he preserves an honest balance⁶ and weighs the good deeds and the sins with the justice of God. The fiery and merciless angel, who holds the fire in his hand, he is the archangel Pyruel, who has power over fire, and he tests men's deeds by fire. If the fire burns up a man's deed, the angel of judgement takes him at

¹ Lit. 'the first-formed'.

² Or 'all creation'.

³ So A: with variation in detail, CDE and the Rumanian read 'At the second coming they and . . . will be judged by the twelve apostles': B combines both readings ('At the second coming the twelve tribes of Israel and . . . will be judged by the apostles').

⁴ Lit. 'and then already the end of that judgement is near'.

⁵ Lit. 'word' or 'thing'.

⁶ Lit. '(Dokiell), the just weigher'.

once and carries him off to the sinners' place – a most disagreeable place of punishment. If the fire tests a man's deed and does not touch it, he is accounted righteous and the angel of righteousness takes him and carries him up to be saved among the number of the righteous. And so, most righteous Abraham, all things in all men⁷ are tested by fire and scales.

This one, who presents the souls is the teacher of heaven and earth, the scribe of righteousness, Enoch. For the Lord sent them here that the sins and the good deeds of each might be recorded. And Abraham said, But how can Enoch take responsibility for⁸ the souls, since he has not *himself* experienced⁹ death? How can he pronounce sentence on all the souls? And Michael said, If he were to pronounce sentence on them, *his sentence* would not stand. It is not Enoch's function to sentence: it is the Lord who sentences; and Enoch's only function is to write. For Enoch prayed to the Lord, saying, Lord, I have no wish to sentence souls; in case I might be harsh to any of them. Then said the Lord to Enoch, I shall bid you write the sins of the soul that makes atonement, and it shall enter into life. But if a soul makes no atonement and does not repent, you will find its sins in writing, and *that soul* will be sent off to punishment.

XIV. And Abraham said to the Prince, My lord Prince, the soul that the angel was holding in his hand, how *is it that* it was condemned to *be set in the middle*? And the Prince said, Listen, righteous Abraham: *it was* because the judge found its sins and its good deeds equal. So he consigned it neither to judgement nor to salvation, until the Judge of all shall come. Abraham said to the Prince, What more does the soul require to be saved? The Prince answered, If it can come by one good deed more than its sins, it attains salvation. And Abraham said to the Prince, Come, Prince Michael and let us make intercession on this soul's behalf, and let us see whether God will hear us. And the Prince said, Amen: so let it be! And they made supplication and intercession on the soul's behalf, and God heard them; and when they got up from their

⁷ Or 'in every particular'.

⁸ Lit. 'bear the burden of'.

⁹ Lit. 'seen'.

9 prayer, they did not see the soul standing there. And Abraham said
 to the angel, Where is the soul you were keeping in the middle?
 10 And the angel said, It has been saved by your righteous interces-
 sion; and lo, the brilliant¹ angel has taken it and carried it up into
 11 Paradise. And Abraham said, I will glorify the name of God Most
 12 High and his mercy that is without measure. And Abraham said to
 the Prince, I beg you, archangel, grant me my request, and let us
 beseech the Lord once more and throw ourselves on his compas-
 13 sion. And let us entreat his mercy for the souls of the sinners I once
 cursed in malice and sent to their destruction – *those* that the earth
 swallowed up, and the wild beasts tore to pieces, and the fire
 14 consumed, because of what I said. Now I realize that I sinned
 15 before the Lord our God. Come, Michael, Prince of the powers on
 high: come, let us with tears beseech God to forgive me *my* sin and
 16 grant them to me. And the Prince listened to him, and they made
 17 supplication before God. When they had been praying for a long
 time, there came a voice from heaven, saying, Abraham,
 Abraham, I have heard your voice and your supplication; and I
 18 forgive you *your* sin. And those, whom you imagine I destroyed, I
 have recalled and in my mercy² brought them *back* to life; because
 19 for a time I have requited them in³ judgement. But those whom I
 destroy while they are alive on earth, I will not requite in death.⁴

XV. The voice of the Lord said also to the Prince, Michael,
 2 Michael, my minister, return Abraham to his house. For lo, his end
 3 is near and the span of his life complete. He will thus be able to set
 everything in order; and after that, take him and bring him up to
 4 me. And the Prince turned the chariot and the cloud and brought
 5 Abraham to his house. And *Abraham* went into his dining-room
 6 and sat upon his couch. And Sarah his wife came and flung her
 arms round the spirit's feet,¹ as if she were a suppliant, and said, I

¹ Lit. 'light-bearing'. Cp. vii. 5; xii. 7; xvi. 16.

² Lit. 'through *my* extreme goodness'.

³ Lit. 'into'.

⁴ The text is very uncertain at this point. A omits the last clause in verse 18 altogether and also has variants in verse 19: B reads almost completely differently throughout.

¹ Lit. 'the feet of the incorporeal one'.

thank you, sir, for bringing back my lord Abraham; for lo, we
 7 thought he had been taken up from us. And his son Isaac also came
 8 and put his arms round his neck. And so too all his male and female
 slaves assembled about Abraham and embraced him, praising
 9 God. And the spirit² said to him, Listen, righteous Abraham,
 behold, your wife Sarah; and behold, your beloved son Isaac; and
 10 behold, your men-servants and maid-servants all around you. Set
 everything you have in order, because the day is at hand when you
 11 are to leave *your* body and go once again to the Lord. And Abraham
 12 said, Has the Lord said *this*, or are you saying it yourself? And the
 Prince said, Listen, righteous Abraham: the Sovereign *Lord* has
 13 commanded *it*, and I am telling you *so*. And Abraham said, I will
 14 not follow you. And when the Prince heard that answer he left
 Abraham immediately and went up into the heavens and stood
 15 before God Most High. And he said, Lord Almighty, behold, I
 have listened to everything thy friend Abraham has said to thee,
 16 and I have granted his request. I have shown him *the extent* of thy
 17 dominion, and all the land and sea that is under heaven. Judge-
 ment and retribution have I shown him by means of cloud and
 18, 19 chariot. And yet again he says, I will not follow you. And the Most
 High said to the angel, Does my friend Abraham really say again, I
 20 will not follow you? And the archangel said, Lord Almighty, this is
 21 what he says. And I would not touch him because he has been thy
 friend from the beginning and has done everything that is pleasing
 in thy sight, and there is no man like him on earth, not even Job,
 22 that wondrous man;³ and that is why I would not touch him. So
 may I have instructions, Immortal King, about what should now
 be done?

XVI. Then the Most High said, Call Death here to me – *the one* who
 2 is called The Shameless Face and the Pitiless Look. And Michael
 the spirit¹ went away and said to Death, Come: the Sovereign of
 3 creation, the Immortal King is calling for you. When Death heard

² Lit. 'the incorporeal one'.

³ So D (and, it would seem, the original text). A reads 'Jacob' for 'Job': B omits the negative: CE om. the entire clause.

¹ Lit. 'the incorporeal one'.

this he was much alarmed and shivered and shook; and he came with great trepidation and stood before the invisible Father, shivering, groaning, and trembling, as he awaited his Sovereign's bidding. And the invisible God said to Death, Come, you most bitter and savage name in *all* the world ! Hide your ferocity, cover up your corruption, put off your asperity² from you, and put on your beauty and all your glory, and go down to my friend Abraham. Take him and bring him to me. Yet I tell you now not to frighten him, but win him with gentle guile, for he is my own true friend. Death listened and went out from the presence of the Most High; and he put on a most brilliant robe and made his face shine like the sun. He appeared³ more handsome and beautiful than any human, having assumed an archangel's form, and his cheeks flashed with fire. And so he went off to Abraham. Now the righteous Abraham had left his room and was sitting under the trees of Mamre, his chin on his hand, waiting for the archangel Michael to come *back*, when lo, there came in his direction a pleasant smell and a flashing light. And Abraham turned round and saw Death coming towards him in great glory and beauty. And Abraham got up to meet him, for he thought he was God's Prince. And when Death saw him, he bowed to him and said, Greetings, honoured Abraham, righteous soul, true friend of God Most High, and companion of the holy angels. And Abraham said to Death, Greetings to you. You are like the sun, and you shine as does the sun: most glorious helper, brilliant,⁴ wondrous man! Whence comes your Splendour to us? Who are you? And whence come you? Death said, Most righteous Abraham, lo, I tell you the truth: I am the bitter cup of death. Abraham said to him, No: you are the world's paragon of loveliness: you are the glory and the beauty of angels and of men: you are more nobly formed than any form there is; and *yet* you say you are the bitter cup of death. Should you not rather say, I am more nobly formed than nobility itself?⁵ And Death said, No: I am telling you the truth: *it is* that very name which God has given me that I am telling you. And Abraham said, Why have you come here? And Death said, I have come for your holy soul. So

² Lit. 'bitterness'.³ Lit. 'He became'.⁴ Lit. 'light-bearing'. Cp. vii. 5; xii. 7; xiv. 10.⁵ Lit. 'than every good thing'.

Abraham said, I understand what you are saying; but I will not follow you. And Death was silent and answered him not a word.

1, 2 **XVII.** Then Abraham got up and went into his house. But Death
3 followed him all the way. And Abraham went up to his room; but
4 Death also went up with him. And Abraham lay down on his
5 couch; and Death came and sat at his feet. And Abraham said, Go
6 away, go away from me; for I want to rest on my couch. Death said,
7 I will not go away until I take your spirit from you. Abraham said
8 to him, By God, who is immortal, I bid you tell me the truth: are
9 you Death? Death said to him, I am Death: I am the one who
10 destroys the world. And Abraham said, Since you are Death, I
11 pray you, tell me whether you come to all men in this way, in fine
12 form and glory and beauty like this? And Death said, No, my lord
13 Abraham: your righteous deeds and the boundless ocean of your
14 hospitality and the immensity of your love of God have become a
15 crown upon my head. I approach the righteous in beauty, and very
16 quietly, and with gentle guile; but sinners I approach, stinking of
17 corruption, with the greatest possible ferocity and asperity,¹
18 and an expression that is both savage and without mercy. And
19 Abraham said, I pray you, listen to me, and show me your ferocity,
20 and all *your* corruption and asperity.¹ And Death said, You could
not see my ferocity, most righteous Abraham. And Abraham said,
Yes: I could see all your ferocity, because of the name of the living
God; for the power of my God who is in heaven is with me. Then
Death stripped himself of all his radiance and beauty, and all the
glory and sun-like appearance he had assumed, and he put on a
tyrant's robe. And he gave himself a threatening look, more savage
than any kind of wild beast and fouler than any foul thing known to
man.² He displayed to Abraham seven fiery dragons' heads and
fourteen faces of blazing fire and great ferocity – one dark-looking
face, one viper-like of the blackest kind, one a most horrible cliff,
one fiercer than an asp, one of a fearsome lion, and one of a horned
viper and a basilisk. And he displayed also the face of a fiery sword,
a face bearing a sword, a face of dreadful flashing lightning, and a
sound of fearful thunder. Moreover, he displayed another face of a

¹ Lit. 'bitterness'.² Lit. 'fouler than all foulness'.

21 ferocious raging sea, and a fiercely boiling river, and a terrifying
 three-headed dragon, and a cup of poisons mixed together. In
 short, he displayed to him ferocity in plenty, asperity¹ beyond
 22 endurance, and every kind of deadly disease – the smell of death
 hung about it all.³ And so great was the asperity¹ and ferocity
 displayed that *the* men-servants and maid-servants died, in
 23 number about seven thousand. And even the righteous Abraham
himself came to the brink of death,⁴ and his spirit failed him.⁵

XVIII. And when the all-holy Abraham had seen all this in this
 way, he said to Death, I beg you, all-destructive Death, hide your
 ferocity, and put on the beauty and the form you had before.
 2 Thereupon Death hid his ferocity and put on his beauty he had had
 3 before. And Abraham said to Death, Why have you done this? You
 have killed all my men-servants and maid-servants: did God send
 4 you here to-day for this? And Death said, No, my lord Abraham, it
 5 is not as you suggest: it was because of you I was sent here. And
 Abraham said to Death, And how then was it that these *servants*
 6 died, if the Lord had not given word? And Death said, Believe *me*,
 most righteous Abraham, the marvel is that you too were not taken
 7 off along with them. I am only telling you the truth when I say that
 if the right hand of God had not been with you in that hour, you too
 8 would have had to depart this life. And righteous Abraham said, I
 realize now that I have come to the brink of death,² and my spirit³
 9 fails me. Nevertheless, I beg you, all-destructive Death, since my
 servants have died before their time, come, let us beseech the Lord
 our God to hear us and raise up those who perished before their
 10, 11 time through your ferocity. And Death said, Amen: so let it be! So
 Abraham got up and fell upon his face on the earth in prayer, and
 Death with him; and God sent *the* spirit of life upon those who had

³ Lit. '... death-bearing disease, as of the smell of death'.

⁴ Or 'And righteous Abraham entered the faint of death'. Lit. '... came even to the neglect of death'. Cp. xviii. 8; xx. 12.

⁵ Or 'and his breathing began to fail'. Cp. xviii. 8.

¹ Lit. 'say'.

² Or 'that I have entered the faint of death'. Lit. '... the neglect of death'. Cp. xvii. 23; xx. 12.

³ Or 'breath'. Cp. xvii. 23.

12 died, and they were restored to life. So then the righteous Abraham
 ascribed glory to God.

XIX. And *Abraham* went up to his room and lay down to rest; but
 2 Death came and stood before him. And Abraham said to him, Go
 3 away from me: I want to rest; for I am exhausted.¹ And Death said,
 4 I will not leave you until I take your soul. And Abraham, with a
 sullen face and angry look, said to Death, Who has ordered you to
 5 say this? You are bluffing and saying this on your own; and I will
 not follow you until the Prince Michael comes to me, and *then* I will
 6 go with him. And further,² if you want me to follow you, explain to
 7 me all your changes of appearance – the seven fiery dragons'
 heads, and what the face of the cliff *means*, and the ruthless sword,
 and the great boiling river, and the turbid sea raging furiously.
 8 Explain to me also the insufferable thunder and the terrifying
 lightning, and what the stinking cup of poisons mixed together
 9 *means*: explain them all to me. And Death said, Listen righteous
 Abraham, for seven ages I create havoc in the world and bring all
men down to Hades: kings and rulers, rich and poor, slaves and free
 men, I escort to the depths of Hades; and that is why I showed you
 10 the seven dragons' heads. The face of fire I showed you because
 many are burned to death by fire, and *so it is* through the
 11 face of fire *that* they see death. The face of the cliff I showed you
 because many men fall from the top of trees or fearful cliffs and
 disappear and perish; and *so it is* in the form of a fearful cliff *that*
 12 they see death. The face of the sword I showed you because many
 are killed by the sword in wars; and they see death in *the form of a*
 13 sword. The face of the great boiling river I showed you because
 many are carried off by inundations³ and swept away by mighty
 rivers and die by drowning; and they see death before their time.
 14 The face of the ferocious raging sea I showed you because many
 encounter violent storms at sea, are shipwrecked, and sink beneath
 15 the waves; and they see death as the sea. The insufferable thunder
 and the fearful lightning I showed you because many men come to

¹ Lit. 'my spirit is invested with neglect'.

² Lit. 'But this also I say to you'.

³ Lit. 'by the inrush of many waters'.

a time of wrath,⁴ with insufferable thunder and fearful lightning, and perish suddenly;⁵ and that is the way they see death. I showed you also poisonous creatures,⁶ asps and basilisks, and leopards, and lions, and cubs, and bears, and vipers, and, in short, the face of every beast did I show you, most righteous one, because many men are killed by beasts, and others die after being bitten⁷ by poisonous snakes, (dragons, asps, horned vipers, basilisks),⁸ and the viper. I showed you also deadly cups of poisons mixed together, because many men are given poisons to drink by other men and without *apparent* cause are carried off at once.

XX. And Abraham said, Tell me, I pray you, is *the kind of death that comes to a man* incalculable? Death said, I tell you truly, by God's truth, there are seventy-two deaths. One of these is the righteous death which has its appointed hour;¹ and many men arrive at death and burial within a single hour. Lo, I have told you everything you asked. Now I tell you, most righteous Abraham, have done with all this discussing, and once and for all stop questioning me. Come, follow me, even as God, the Judge of all has directed me. But Abraham said to Death, Leave me yet a little longer to rest on my couch, for I am very feeble.² From the moment I set eyes upon you my strength failed: all my limbs seem like lumps of lead; and I am very short of breath.³ Go away for a little while, for I must confess⁴ I cannot bear the sight of you. And his son Isaac came and fell upon his breast, weeping. And his wife Sarah came too, and she flung her arms round his feet, wailing

⁴ i.e. the Divine wrath. Some emend to 'the time of death'.

⁵ Lit. 'and become in the taking away of men'.

⁶ Lit. 'beasts'.

⁷ Lit. 'having been made to swell'.

⁸ These words were inserted by James. They are found complete only in MS A, where they follow immediately after 'wrath' in verse 15 and must be read there as genitives depending on 'wrath'. A relic of the reading survives in B at the same point in a jumble that makes no sense. Several other details in verses 15 and 16, both of text and interpretation, are also far from certain.

¹ Lit. 'its limit'.

² Lit. 'for want of heart is great upon me'.

³ Or 'and my spirit is much distressed'.

⁴ Lit. 'for I have said'.

bitterly. And all his male and female slaves came as well, and they gathered round his couch; and Abraham came to the brink of death.⁵ And Death said to Abraham, Come, kiss my right hand; and may joy and life and power come to you (for Death was deceiving Abraham). And Abraham kissed his hand, and immediately his soul stuck fast to Death's hand. And at once the archangel Michael was at his side, with a host of angels, and they took his precious soul in their hands, in a sheet divinely woven. And with divinely-scented myrrh and spices they tended righteous Abraham's body until the third day after his death; and they buried him in the land of promise, at the oak of Mamre. And the angels escorted his precious soul and went up into heaven, chanting the Trisagion hymn to God, the Sovereign of all; and they placed it where it could worship God the Father. And when the great hymn of praise and doxology to the Lord was ended, and when Abraham had worshipped, there came the clear voice of God the Father, saying, Take my friend Abraham to Paradise, where are the tents of my righteous ones and the resting-places of my saints[, Isaac and Jacob in his bosom]. There is no toil there, no grief, no sighing, but peace and rejoicing and endless life.⁶

⁵ Or 'and Abraham entered the faint of death'. Lit. '... came to the neglect of death'. Cp. xvii. 23; xviii. 8.

⁶ The following addition is found in all the MSS:

'Let us also, my beloved brethren, imitate the patriarch Abraham's hospitality, and let us attain to his virtuous way of life; so that we may be worthy of life eternal, giving glory to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost. To him be glory and power for ever and ever. Amen'.

THE TESTAMENT OF ISAAC

INTRODUCTION

The Testament of Isaac has survived in Coptic, Arabic, and Ethiopic. Of the Coptic there are two versions, one in Sahidic and one in Bohairic, each extant in only a single MS. The Sahidic version is found as the second of four items in a MS in the Pierpont Morgan collection in New York (M 577, dated AD 894/5), and the Bohairic in Cod. Vat. Copt. 61 (dated AD 961/2) where it is grouped together with the Testaments of Abraham and Jacob as the fifth item in a series of ten. Both the Arabic and Ethiopic versions agree with the Bohairic in offering texts of all three Testaments and also in grouping them together.

Guidi, in the Introduction to his edition of the Bohairic text of the Testaments of Isaac and Jacob,¹ argued that both are imitations of the Testament of Abraham and that both were composed in Coptic. In this case the Arabic and Ethiopic versions will have been derived from the Coptic. And this hypothesis may be supported by the observation that the later versions follow the Bohairic, not only in grouping the Testaments of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, together as a unit, but also in attributing them in their present form to St. Athanasius.²

On the other hand, even if it be conceded that the two later Testaments are imitative, that is no reason why they should not have been composed in Greek, although the Greek originals have not as yet come to light. If the reference to the book, or books, 'of the three Patriarchs' in *The Apostolic Constitutions* (VI.xvi.3) is to our Testaments of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, then there must have been a Greek Isaac and a Greek Jacob as well as a Greek Abraham. Similarly, it might be argued that the enigmatic passage in Priscillian (*tract. lli*) shows that Priscillian knew a Latin version of all three Testaments,³ and that this is further evidence in favour

¹ Guidi, p. 223.

² See above p. 395.

³ What Priscillian says (commenting on an Old-Latin rendering of Tobit iv. 12) is: 'Nos filii prophetarum sanctorum: Noe profeta fuit et Abraham et Isaac et Iacob et omnes patres nostri qui ab initio saeculi profetaverunt. Quando in canone profetae Noe liber lectus est?

of a Greek Isaac and a Greek Jacob. If there was, then various schemes of version descent are possible. But it would be idle to speculate on these possibilities when there are no Greek texts of either Isaac or Jacob actually available.

It would seem therefore, that, so far as date and place of origin are concerned, we can affirm even less about the Testaments of Isaac and Jacob than we can about the Testament of Abraham. The attribution of all three to St. Athanasius in the Coptic-Arabic-Ethiopic tradition must inevitably be suspect; and even if it were not, the further statement in the preface to the Testament of Abraham in the Bohairic that Athanasius 'found' them 'in ancient books of our holy fathers the apostles'⁴ would be too vague to be of any real use (it looks far too much like a pious conjecture on the part of some editor or scribe). Even so, such evidence as there is points to Egypt as the place of origin – the name Athanasius, the geographical distribution of the extant texts, and the similarity of the Testaments of Isaac and Jacob to the Testament of Abraham, which in all probability was itself written in Egypt. This last point is of some importance. If the authors of the Testaments of Isaac and Jacob were not the same as the author or compilers of the Testament of Abraham, they must not only have known Abraham, but also have thought it worth while composing very passable imitations of it. However, it should be noted that although the pattern of the Testament of Isaac follows the pattern of Abraham closely, there is a new element introduced, viz. the moral and religious teaching attributed to Isaac; and it might well be argued that this new element is due to a Coptic author or redactor, since a strong practical and pastoral interest is one of the recurring features in all Coptic literature. The Testament of Jacob is much more imitative than is the Testament of Isaac, but it seems to imitate the Testament of Isaac rather than the Testament of Abraham directly. The outstanding characteristic of this Testament is its dependence throughout on the book of Genesis.

quis inter profetas dispositi canonis Abrahae librum legit? quis quod aliquando Isac profetasset edocuit? quis profetiam Iacob quod in canone poneretur audivit?

⁴ Cp. also Test. Jacob xi. 2 and xiii. 11.

In their present form the Testaments of Isaac and Jacob are certainly Christian. Yet it may be maintained, as it has been maintained in the case of the Testament of Abraham, that they contain Jewish legendary material, even if they were not themselves the work of Jewish authors. In the Testament of Isaac the explicitly Christian elements may have been superimposed, for they appear to be easily detachable. In the Testament of Jacob, on the other hand, they form a more integral part of the whole. But whatever be the truth here, there are signs that our existing texts have a long history behind them, although 'the violent treatment to which the *Testaments* (more especially the *Testament of Jacob*) have been subjected, lies a long way behind their present Coptic form.'⁵

The Sahidic text in the Pierpont Morgan MS has been chosen as the basis for the translation of the Testament of Isaac that follows, as being the most ancient text extant. The Bohairic was almost certainly made from the Sahidic, although as it has come down to us it does not always follow it exactly: it may, therefore, on occasion have preserved some features otherwise lost. In consequence, major divergences between Sahidic and Bohairic, which affect the subject-matter, have attention drawn to them in the notes.

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⁵ So Gaselee in G. H. Box, *The Testament of Abraham*, p. 56.

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This is the going forth from the body of Isaac the patriarch: he died on the twenty-fourth of Mesore,¹ in the peace of God. Amen.

I. Now Isaac the patriarch writes his testament and addresses his words of instruction to his son Jacob and to all those gathered
2 round him. The blessings of the patriarch will be on those who
3 come after us, even those who listen to these words, to these words
4 of instruction and these medicines of life, so that the grace of God
5 may be with all those who believe. This is the end of obedience, as
6 it is written, You have heard a word, let it abide with you¹ – which
7 means that a man should strive patiently with what he hears.² God
8 gives grace to those who believe: he who believes the words of God
9 and of his saints will be an inheritor of the Kingdom of God. God
10 has been with the generations gone by, which have passed away,
11 because of their innocence and their faith towards God. He will be
12 with the generations to come also.

II. Now it came to pass, when the time had come for the patriarch
Isaac to go forth from the body, God sent to him the angel¹ of his
2 father Abraham at dawn on the twenty-second of Mesore. He said
3 to him, Hail, son of promise! (Now it was the daily custom of the
4 righteous old man Isaac to converse with the angels.) He lifted his

¹ i.e. 17 August. Boh. gives 21 August, which is confirmed as the commemoration day of all three patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, at Test. Jacob xiii. 11.

² Probably an adaptation, or variant reading, of Ecclus. xix. 10.

³ From here to the end of the chapter Boh. elaborates without adding anything essentially new.

⁴ Boh. 'archangel Michael'.

face up to the face of the angel: he saw him assuming the likeness of his father Abraham; and he opened his mouth *and* raised his voice *and* cried out in great joy, I have seen your face like someone who has seen the face of God. The angel said to him, Listen, my beloved Isaac: I have been sent for you by God to take you to the heavens *and set you* beside your father Abraham, so that you can see all the saints; for your father is expecting you and is coming for you himself. Behold, a throne has been set up for you close to your father Abraham, and your lot and your beloved son Jacob's lot will surpass that of all others in the whole of God's creation:² that is why you have been given for evermore the name of Patriarch and Father of the World. But the God-loving old man Isaac said to the angel, I am astonished by you, for you are my father. The angel answered, My beloved Isaac, I am the angel that ministers to your father Abraham. But rejoice now, for I am to take you out of sorrow into gladness, out of suffering to rest for ever. I am to transport you from prison to a place where you can range at will – to a place of joy and gladness: I am to take you to *where there is* light and merriment and rejoicing and abundance that never fails. So then, draw up your testament and a statement for your household,³ for I am to translate you to rest for all eternity. Blessed is your father who begot you: blessed are you also: blessed is your son Jacob; *and* blessed are your descendants that will come after you.

² Boh. adds the Trinitarian formula 'in the glory of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit'.

³ Since the word rendered 'testament' here can also mean 'will', the whole sentence can quite properly be understood to mean 'make your will and set your domestic affairs in order'; and this understanding of it is strengthened by the observation that passages in the Testament of Abraham, where Michael is bidden to instruct Abraham (and does instruct him) about what he is to do in preparation for his death, must refer to the disposition of his worldly goods (T. Abr. i.7, viii. 17, xv. 3, 10). On the other hand, T. Isaac x. 8, 15, 20 seem most naturally to refer to the written 'Testament' of Isaac (cp. also i. 1) rather than to Isaac's 'will', just as T. Jacob i. 2 seems to be an even clearer reference to the written 'Testament' of Jacob (in a context and in language very similar to the context and the language of our present passage). If, then, we are to believe, as many do, that T. Abr. served as a model for the authors of the later Testaments, we have to assume also a shift in understanding somewhere along the line: there can be little doubt about the meaning of T. Jacob i. 2; but the meaning of T. Isaac ii. 11 is nothing like so certain.

III. Now Jacob heard them talking together, *but* he said nothing.
 2 Our father Isaac said to the angel with a heavy heart, What shall I do about the light of my eyes, my beloved son Jacob? For I am
 3 afraid of *what Esau might do to him* – you know the situation.¹ The angel said to him, My beloved Isaac, if all the nations on earth were gathered together, they would not be able to bring these
 4 blessings *pronounced* over Jacob to nothing. When you blessed him, the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit² blessed him; and Michael and Gabriel³ and all the angels and all the heavenly ones and the spirits of all the righteous and your father Abraham *all*
 5 answered, Amen. The sword,⁴ therefore, shall not touch his body; but he shall be held in high honour and grow great and spread far
 6 and wide, and twelve thrones shall spring from him. Our father Isaac said to the angel, You have given me much comfort, but do
 7 not let Jacob know in case he is distressed. The angel said to him, My beloved Isaac, blessed is every righteous man who goes forth
 8 from the body: blessed are they when they meet with God. Woe, woe, woe, three times *woe*, to the sinner, because he has been born into this world: great sufferings will come to him, Isaac, beloved of
 9 God. Give these instructions, therefore, to your sons, and the instructions your father has given you. Hide nothing from Jacob,
 10 so that he can write them as instructions for the generations that will come after you, and those who love God may live their lives in
 11 accordance with them.⁵ And take care that I am able to fetch you
 12 with joy, without delay. The peace of my Lord that he has given me, I give to you, as I go to him who sent me.

IV. And when the angel had said this, he rose from the¹ bed on which Isaac was sleeping. He went back to the worlds on high while our father Isaac watched him go, astonished at the vision he had seen. And he said, I shall not see *daylight* before I am sent for.
 4 And while he was thinking this, behold, Jacob got up *and came* to

¹ Lit. 'you know the end of everything'.

² Boh. omits the reference to the Son and the Holy Spirit.

³ Boh. omits the reference to Gabriel.

⁴ Or 'Chains'. ⁵ Lit. 'may work by them'.

¹ Lit. 'his' (i.e. Isaac's bed).

5 the door of the room. The angel had cast a sleep over him so that he should not hear them; and he got up and ran to where his father slept *and* said to him, My father, whom have you been talking to?
 6 Our father Isaac said to him, You have heard, my son: your aged
 7 father has been sent for to be taken from you. And Jacob put his arms round his father's neck *and* wept, saying, Ah me! My strength
 8 has left me: to-day you have made me an orphan, my father. Our father Isaac embraced his son Jacob *and* wept; *and* both wept
 9 together until they could weep no more.² And Jacob said, Take me
 10 with you, father Isaac. But Isaac replied, I would not have it so, my
 11 son:³ wait until you are sent for, my loved one. I remember⁴ on the
 12 day when the whole earth was shaken from end to end⁵ talking to my lord *and* father Abraham, and I had no strength to do *anything*.
 13 What god has ordained, he has ordained for each one by sure authority: his ordinances are immutable. But I know, and I am glad that I am to go to God, and I am strengthened by a guiding⁶
 14 spirit;⁷ for this is a way that no one can escape. Listen, my son, Where is the first creation of the hands of God – our father Adam
 15 and our mother Eve? Where is Abel,⁸ and after him Mahalalel, and Jared, and our father Enoch, and Methuselah,⁹ and our father
 16 Noah, and his sons Shem, Ham, *and* Japheth? After these Arpachshad, and Cainan, and Shelah, and Eber, and Reu, and Serug, and Nahor, and Terah, and my blessed father Abraham,
 17 and Lot his brother? All these experienced death except the perfect
 18 one, our father Enoch.¹⁰ After these, forty-two generations more¹¹

² Lit. 'until they ceased'.

³ Boh. adds 'but thanks be to God that you too are a father, my loved one'.

⁴ Lit. 'I know myself'.

⁵ Lit. 'when the extremity and the edge of the world was moved': alternatively 'when the capital and the pillar of the world was moved'. In Boh. the whole sentence runs 'I also remember a day when the high and flourishing cypress was moved . . .' (cp. T. Abr. iii. 1–2). In either version the argument seems to be that though creation and created matter may be shaken, yet God's ordinances are unshakeable.

⁶ Or 'princely'.

⁷ and I am strengthened . . . spirit: in Boh. Jacob is exhorted to be strong and to stop weeping.

⁸ Boh. adds a reference to Seth and Enosh.

⁹ Boh. adds a reference to Lamech.

¹⁰ Boh. adds an explicit reference to Enoch's translation.

¹¹ Cp. Matt. i. 17. According to Boh., twelve generations.

shall pass until Christ comes, born of a pure virgin called Mary.¹²
 19, 20 He will spend thirty years preaching in the world. At the end of all this, he will choose twelve men and reveal to them his mysteries and teach them about the archetype of his body and his true blood by means of bread and wine; and the bread will become the body of
 21 God and the wine will become the blood of God. And then he will ascend the tree of the cross and die for the whole *creation*, and rise on the¹³ third day and despoil hell, and deliver all mankind from the
 22 enemy. The generations to come will be saved by his body and by
 23 his blood until the end of time. The sacrifices of Christians will not cease until the end of time, whether *offered* secretly or openly; *and* the Antichrist will not appear so long as they offer up *their* sacrifice.
 24 Blessed is every man who performs that service and believes in it, because the archetypal service¹⁴ is in the heavens; and they shall celebrate with the Son of God in his kingdom.

V. While the God-loving old man, our father Isaac, was saying
 2 this, all his household gathered round him and wept. His son told
 3 all his relations, and they came to him in tears. Now our father Isaac had made for himself a bedroom in his house; and when his
 4 sight began to fail he withdrew into it and remained there for a hundred years, fasting daily¹ until evening, and offering for himself
 5 and his household a young animal for their soul. And he spent half
 6 the night in prayer and praise to God. Thus he lived an ascetic life
 7 for a hundred years. And he kept three periods of forty days as fasts each year, neither drinking wine nor eating fruit nor sleeping on *his*
 bed. And he prayed and gave thanks to God *continually*.

VI. Now when it became generally known that the man of God

¹² The rest of this chapter (on Christ's work and the Eucharist), together with v. 1–3a, is lacking in Boh.

¹³ Lit. 'his'.

¹⁴ Lit. 'the archetype, which is done'.

¹ Lit. ' . . . in his house: when the light of his eyes was dim, he withdrew into it until the end of a hundred years, fasting daily'. It is here that Boh. rejoins our text, beginning 'And God was with him until he had completed a hundred years, and he fasted daily'.

had regained his sight,¹ people gathered to him from everywhere, listening to his words² of life; for they realized that a holy spirit of God was speaking in him. The great ones who came said to him, You can *now* see clearly *enough*: how comes it that after your sight had failed you have now regained it? The God-loving old man smiled and said to them, My sons and brothers, the God of my father Abraham has brought this about to comfort me in my old age. But the priest of God said to him, Tell me what I ought to do,³ my father Isaac. Our father Isaac said to him, Keep your body holy, for the temple of God is set in it.⁴ Do not engage in controversy with *other* men in case an angry word escapes your mouth. Be on your guard against evil-speaking, against vainglory,⁵ and against uttering any thoughtless word;⁶ and see that your hands do not reach out after what is not yours. Do not offer a sacrifice with a blemish in it;⁷ and wash yourself with water when you approach the altar. Do not mix the thoughts of the world with the thoughts of God when you stand before him. Do your utmost to be at peace with everyone. When you stand before God⁸ and offer your sacrifice,⁹ when you come to offer it on the altar, you should recite privately¹⁰ a hundred prayers to God and make this confession to God saying,

O God, the incomprehensible, the unfathomable, the unattainable, the pure treasure, purify me in love; for I am flesh and blood, and I run defiled to thee, that thou mayest purify me. I come burdened, and I ask that thou mayest lighten my burden: a fire will burn wood,¹¹ and thy mercy will take away mine iniquities. Forgive me, me that am a sinner: I forgive¹² the whole creation that thou

¹ Lit. 'the man of God saw clearly'.

² Lit. 'teachings'.

³ Lit. 'Tell me a word'.

⁴ In Boh. the allusion to 1 Cor. iii. 16 is clearer and an exhortation to keep the flesh pure and holy is added.

⁵ Boh. adds the warning not to speak alone with a woman.

⁶ Boh. 'idle word'.

⁷ Boh. 'when there is a blemish in you'.

⁸ Lit. 'him'.

⁹ Boh. takes the equivalent of this clause with the preceding verse, which seems preferable.

¹⁰ Lit. 'by yourself'.

¹¹ Or 'matter'. In Boh., which elaborates this passage, the reference is unquestionably to created matter.

¹² Boh. 'do thou forgive' (imperative).

hast made. I have no complaint against anyone: I am at peace with all *that is made* in thine image: I am unmoved by all the evil reasonings that have been brought before me. I am thy servant and the son of thy maidservant: I am the one who sins, thou art the one who forgives: forgive me and enable me to stand in thy holy place.

Let my sacrifice be acceptable before thee: do not reject me because of my sins; but receive me unto thee, in spite of¹³ my many sins, like a sheep that has gone astray. O God, who hast been with our father Adam, and Abel, and Noah, and our father Abraham, and his son Isaac, who hast been with Jacob, be thou with me also, and receive my sacrifice from my hand.

As you recite all this, take your sacrifice *and offer it*; and strive heavenwards because of the sacrifice of God, so that you do not displease him. For the work of the priest is no small thing.

VII. Every priest to-day (and till the end of time) must be temperate as regards his food and drink and sleep:¹ neither should he talk about events connected with this world, nor listen to anyone who is talking *about them*. Rather should he spend his whole life occupied with prayer and vigils and recitation until our God sends for him in peace. Every man on earth, be he priest or monk (for after a long time they will love the life of holy retreat), must renounce the world and all its evil cares and join in the holy service of the angels in purity to God.² And they will be honoured before God and his angels because of their holy sacrifices and their angelic service, which is *like* the archetype that is rendered in the heavens. And the angels will be their friends, because of their perfect faith and their purity; and great is their honour before God.

In a word, whether great or small, sinlessness is required of us. The chief sins worthy of repentance are these: You shall not kill with the sword; You shall not kill with the tongue either: You shall not commit fornication with your body; You shall not commit fornication with your thoughts; You shall not go in to the young to defile

¹³ Lit. 'because of'.

¹ In Boh. the list of prohibitions starts with wine and the reference to sleep is omitted.

² Lit. 'and be in the holy service of the angels of the pure God'.

9 them: You shall not be envious; You shall not be angry until the
 10 sun has set; You shall not be proud in disposition; You shall not
 rejoice over your neighbour's fall: You shall not slander; You shall
 not look at a woman with a lustful eye; and, Do not readily listen to
 11 slander.³ We need to beware of these things, and of others like
 them, till each one of us is secure from the wrath that shall be
 revealed from heaven.

VIII. Now when the people gathered about him heard him, they
 2 cried out aloud saying, *This is meet and right: Amen.* But the
 God-loving old man was silent: he drew up his blanket: he covered
 3 his face. And the people and the priest were silent, so that he could
 rest himself a little. But the angel of his father Abraham came to
 4 him and took him up into the heavens. He saw terrors and tumults
 spread abroad on this side and on that; and it was a terror and a
 5 tumult fearful to behold. Some had the face of a camel, others had
 the face of a lion: some had the face of a dog, others had *but* one eye
 7 and had tongs in their hands, three ells long, all of iron.¹ I looked,
 and behold, a man was brought, and those who brought him went
 8 with him.² When they reached the beasts, those who went with him
 withdrew to one side: the lion advanced towards him, tore him
 apart into little pieces, and swallowed him: it *then* vomited him up,
 and he became like himself again; and the next *beast* treated him in
 9 just the same way. In short, they passed him on from one to the
 other:³ each one would tear him into pieces, swallow him, and *then*
 10 vomit him up; and he would become like himself again. I said to
 the angel, What sin has this man committed, my lord, that all this
 11 is done to him? The angel said to me, This man you are looking at
 now had a quarrel with his neighbour,⁴ and he died without their
 12 being reconciled. See, he has been handed over to five chief⁵

³ In this catalogue Boh. adds a reference to blasphemy and omits the last clause: there are also other minor differences.

¹ In the list of animals Boh. adds hyenas and leopards and omits the reference to tongs.

² Lit. 'and behold, one they brought him, they going with him'.

³ Lit. 'they gave him into one another's hand'.

⁴ According to Boh. the quarrel had lasted for five hours.

⁵ Boh. has no equivalent for this word.

tormentors: they spend a year tormenting him for every hour⁴ he
 13 spent quarreling with his neighbour. The angel also said to me, My
 beloved Isaac, do you think these are the only ones? Believe me,
 Isaac, beloved of God, there are six hundred thousand⁶ tormentors.
 14 They spend a year tormenting a man for every hour that he spends
 sinning – if he did not repent, *that is*, before he went forth from the
 body.

IX. He led me on and brought me to a fiery river, the waves of
 which were an ell¹ high, and its noise like the noise of heaven's
 2 thunder. *And I saw a host of souls submerged in it;*² and those who
 were in that river cried out and wept aloud, and there was a *great*
 3 commotion and *much* groaning. But it is a discerning fire that does
 not touch the righteous, yet burns up sinners and boils them in the
 4 stench that surrounds them. I saw also the pit of the abyss, the
 smoke of which went up in clouds:³ I saw men sunk in it grinding
 their teeth, crying out and wailing, and each one was groaning.
 5,6 The angel said to me, Look and see these others too. And when I
 had looked at them, the angel said to me,⁴ These⁵ are those who
 have committed the sin of Sodom: these are indeed in great distress.
 7 I saw also pits full of worms that do not sleep: I saw Abdemer-
 ouchos,⁶ who is in charge of the punishments, made all of fire,
 threatening the tormentors in hell and saying, Beat them until they
 8 know that God is. I saw a house *built* of fiery stone,⁷ and there were
 9 grown men underneath it, crying out and wailing. The angel said
 10 to me, Look with your eyes and contemplate the punishments. I
 said to the angel, My eyes could not endure it:⁸ for how long must

⁶ Boh. 'seventy thousand'.

¹ Boh. 'thirty ells'.

² Boh. adds 'nine ells deep'.

³ Lit. 'the smoke of which was very high'.

⁴ So Boh.: Sah. 'him'.

⁵ According to Boh. they were submerged in the cold.

⁶ Boh. 'Abtelmouchos'. Probably a corruption of the adjective *τημελοδχος* ('care-taking'), applied to a 'tutelary' or 'guardian' angel, and then taken as an individual angel's name. See M. R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford, 1924), p. 507.

⁷ Boh. 'I saw another abyss that was all fire'.

⁸ Lit. 'behold them'.

11 these *punishments* go on? He said to me, Until the merciful God has pity.

X. After this the angel took me up into the heavens: I saw my father Abraham and I made obeisance to him. He saluted me, with all the saints, and the saints honoured me because of my father: they walked with me and took me to my Father. I worshipped him with all the saints. Songs of praise rang out, Thou art holy, thou art holy, thou art holy, King, Lord Sabaoth: the heavens and the earth are full of thy holy glory. The Lord said to my father from the holy place,¹ It is good that you have come, Abraham, you righteous root and faithful saint: it is good that you have come to our city. Whatever you may want to ask now, make your requests in the name of your beloved son Isaac, and they shall be yours indeed.² My father Abraham said, Thine is the power, O Lord Almighty. The Lord said to Abraham, As for all those who are given the name of my beloved Isaac, let *each one* of them copy out his testament³ and honour it, and feed a poor man with bread in the name of my beloved Isaac on the day of his holy commemoration: to you will I grant them as sons in my kingdom. Abraham said, My Lord Almighty, if a man cannot copy out his testament,³ can'st thou not in thy mercy accept him, for thou art merciful and compassionate? The Lord said to Abraham, Let him feed a poor man with bread, and I will give him to you as a gift and as a son in my kingdom, and he shall come with you to the first hour of the thousand years. Abraham said, Suppose he is poor and has no means of getting⁴ bread? The Lord said, Let him spend the night of my beloved Isaac's commemoration without sleep, and I will give him to you as a gift and an inheritor in my kingdom. My father Abraham said, Suppose he is weak and has no strength, can'st thou not in thy mercy accept him in love. The Lord said to him, Let him offer up a little incense in the name of your beloved son Isaac, and I will give him to you as a son in my kingdom. If he has no means of getting⁴ incense, let him seek out a *copy* of his testament and read it on my

¹ Boh. adds 'Every man who shall give the name of my beloved Isaac to his son, my blessing shall be on his house for ever'.

² Lit. 'yours for a covenant'. Cp. xii. 10.

³ Lit. 'write his testament'. ⁴ Lit. 'has not found'.

16 beloved Isaac's day. If he cannot read it, let him go and listen to others who can. If he is unable to do any of these things, let him go into his house and say a hundred prayers, and I will give him to you as a son in my kingdom. But the most essential thing of all is that he should offer a sacrifice in my beloved Isaac's name, for his body was offered as a sacrifice.⁵ Yet not only will I give you everyone called by my beloved Isaac's name as a son in my kingdom: *I will give you* also everyone who does one of the things I have mentioned. And *I will give you* everyone who concerns himself about Isaac's⁶ life and his testament, or does any compassionate act, such as giving someone a cup of water to drink, or who copies out his testament⁷ with his own hand, and those who read it with all their heart in faith, believing everything that I have said. My power and the power of my beloved Son and⁸ the Holy Spirit shall be with them, and I will give them to you as sons in my kingdom. Peace to all of you, all my saints.

XI. Now when he had said this, songs of praise rang out, Thou art holy, thou art holy, thou art holy, King, Lord Sabaoth: the heavens and the earth are full of thy holy glory. The Father said to Michael from the holy place, Michael, my steward, go quickly and gather together the angels and all the saints, so that they may come and meet my beloved Isaac. And Michael sounded the trumpet at once. All the saints gathered with the angels and came to the couch of our father Isaac:¹ the Lord mounted his chariot,² and the seraphim went in front of him with the angels.³ And when they came to our father-Isaac's couch, our father Isaac beheld our Lord's face immediately, *turned* towards him full of joy. He cried out, it is good that thou hast come, my Lord, and thy great archangel Michael: it is good that you have come, my father Abraham, and all the saints.

⁵ Boh. omits the reference to the sacrifice of Isaac.

⁶ Lit. 'his'.

⁷ Lit. 'writes his testament'.

⁸ Boh. omits 'my beloved Son and'.

¹ Boh. omits the references to Michael sounding the trumpet and to the assembling of the saints and angels.

² Boh. 'the chariot of the cherubim' (cp. Eccclus. xlix. 8—also T. Abr. ix. 15 and x. i).

³ Boh. omits from here to the end of the chapter.

XII. Now when he had said this, Jacob embraced his father: he
 2 kissed his mouth and wept. Our father Isaac fixed his eyes on him¹
 3 and motioned to him to be silent.² Our father Isaac said to the
 4 Lord, Remember my beloved Jacob. The Lord said to him, My
 power shall be with him; and when the time comes and I become
 man and die and rise from the dead on the third day, I will put your
 name in everyone's mind, and they will invoke you as their father.³
 5 Isaac said to Jacob, My beloved son, this is the last commandment
 6 I give you to-day: keep a sharp eye on yourself. Do not dishonour⁴
 the image of God; for what you do to the image of man, you do to
 the image of God, and God will do it to you too in the place where
 7,8 you will meet him. This is the beginning and the end. Now when he
 had said this, our Lord brought his soul out of his body, and it was
 9 white as snow. He greeted it: he set it on the chariot with him: he
 took it up into the heavens, with the seraphim making music before
 10 him, and all the angels and the saints. He freely granted him the
 good things of his kingdom for ever, and all the requests our father
 Abraham had asked of the Lord he freely granted him as a
 covenant for ever.

XIII. This is the going forth from the body of our father Isaac, the
 2 patriarch, on the twenty-fourth of the month Mesore.¹ And the day
 on which his father Abraham offered him as a sacrifice is the
 3 eighteenth of Mechir.² The heavens and the earth were full of the
 soothing odour of our father Isaac, like choice silver: this is the
 4 sacrifice of our father Isaac the patriarch. When Abraham offered
 him as a sacrifice to God, the soothing odour of Isaac's sacrifice
 5 went up into the heavens. Blessed is every man who performs an
 act of mercy in the name of these patriarchs, for they will be their
 6 sons in the kingdom of the heavens. For our Lord has made with

¹ Lit. 'gave him a sign by winking with his eyes'.

² Boh. adds a request from Abraham asking the Lord to remember his son.

³ Boh. omits the Christological reference and has a more detailed promise for
 Jacob only.

⁴ Lit. 'afflict'.

¹ See p. 427, n. 1. Boh. adds a reference to Abraham's death on the same day and
 gives Isaac's age as a hundred and eighty years.

² i.e. 12 February.

7 them a covenant for ever, that everyone who performs an act of
 mercy on the day of their commemoration shall be given to them as
 a son in the kingdom of the heavens for ever. And they shall come
 to the first hour of the thousand years, in accordance with the
 promise of our Lord, even our God and our Saviour Jesus Christ,
 through whom every glory is due to him and his good Father and
 the Holy Spirit, the giver of life to all *creation* and one in being with
the Father and the Son, now and always, for ever and ever.³ Amen.⁴

³ Boh. has a less elaborate form of doxology with no reference to the Holy Spirit.

⁴ In Boh. there follows a colophon asking prayer for the scribe, Macarius.

THE TESTAMENT OF JACOB

INTRODUCTION

The text of the Testament of Jacob here translated is the Coptic (Bohairic) text contained in Cod. Vat. Copt. 61. There are also versions extant in Arabic and Ethiopic. For particulars about these versions, their interrelationship, and for some views on the relationship of the Testament of Jacob to the Testaments of Abraham and Isaac, reference should be made to the prefatory remarks on the Testament of Isaac (above, pp. 423-425).

To what is said there only one further observation need be added. The distinguishing marks of the Testament of Jacob, i.e. its essentially derivative character (especially its dependence on the book of Genesis) and the impression that the Christian elements in it are less easily detachable than in the Testament of Isaac, coupled with the fact that no Sahidic text of it has been preserved (as is the case with the Testament of Isaac), might suggest an origin independent of both the Testaments of Abraham and of Isaac. It might be argued, for example, that the Testament of Abraham was written first, in Greek; that the Testament of Isaac came later as an independent work (though whether written in Greek, or Sahidic, or anything else, it is impossible to say); and that later still the Bohairic translator of these two Testaments put them together and himself composed (in Bohairic) a Testament of Jacob to make a trilogy.

At the other extreme, though perhaps with less cogency, it might be argued that the three Testaments were designed as a trilogy from the start, and that all three, therefore, were originally written in Greek. In this case, it will be pure accident that only the Testament of Abraham has survived in Greek, that there are no surviving Sahidic texts of either it or the Testament of Jacob, and that the Bohairic is the first extant text to group all three together.

And there are, of course, several intermediate possibilities, such as the view of Guidi already referred to.¹

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TRANSLATIONS

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German

- E. ANDERSSON, *Sphinx*, vii (Uppsala, 1903), pp. 129–142 – from the Coptic.

¹ See above p. 423.

GENERAL

- S. GASELEE [as above], pp. 55–56.
 I. GUIDI [as above], p. 223.
 M. R. JAMES, *The Testament of Abraham . . .* [as above], pp. 155–161.

This again is the going forth from the body of our father Jacob the patriarch, who is called Israel, on the twenty-eighth of the month Mesore,¹ in the peace of God. Amen.

- I. Now it came to pass when the time had come for our beloved father Jacob the patriarch, the son of Isaac, the son of Abraham, to go forth from the body (and the God-loving Jacob was well on in years), the Lord sent Michael the archangel to him. And he said to him, Israel, my beloved, you righteous root, write your words of instruction for your sons, and draw up your testament for them,¹ and concern yourself about those of your household, for the time has come *for you* to go to your fathers and rejoice with them for ever.
- 3 And when the God-loving Jacob heard this from the angel, he answered and said to him, My lord – for it was his daily custom to
- 4 talk to angels. He said to him, May the will of the Lord be done.
- 1,2 II. And God blessed our father Jacob. He made for himself a place apart, to which he withdrew and offered his prayers to God day and night, while the angels visited him and guarded him and kept
- 3 him safe and gave him strength in everything. God blessed him; and his people increased greatly in numbers in the land of Egypt.
- 4 For at the time he went down to Egypt to his son Joseph, his sight was failing as a result of continual weeping and worrying over his son Joseph; but after he arrived in Egypt and had seen his son
- 5 Joseph's face, he saw *everything* clearly *again*. And Jacob Israel flung

¹ i.e. 21 August.

¹ See note on T. Isaac ii. 11 (p. 428 above).

himself on¹ his son Joseph's neck: he greeted him with tears and said, Now let me die, for I have seen your face once more while you are still alive, my beloved. And Joseph ruled over the whole of Egypt. Jacob lived in the land of Gashen for seventeen years. He became very old and attained a great age: he kept all the commandments and *lived always* in the fear of the Lord; and his sight failed so that he could see no one because of extreme old age.

III. He lifted his eyes towards the radiance of the angel who was speaking to him, who was in appearance and in face like his father Isaac: he was afraid and troubled. The angel said to him, Do not be afraid, Jacob: I am the angel who has been¹ with you from your youth. I chose you to receive your father Isaac's blessing, and your mother Rebecca's. I am with you, Israel, in everything you do and everything you have seen. It was I who delivered you from Laban when he pursued you: I blessed you, and all your wives, and your sons, and all your cattle. It was I too who rescued you from Esau. It was I too who brought you down into the land of Egypt, Israel; *and* I have spread you out far and wide. Blessed is your father Abraham, for he became a friend of the Most High God because of his hospitality. Blessed is your father Isaac who gave you life, for his sacrifice was perfect *and* pleasing to God. Blessed are you too, Jacob, for you saw God face to face and beheld the host of the angels of the Most High God. You saw the ladder set up on the earth with its top reaching to heaven. You also saw the Lord set on the top of it in power too great for words. You cried out saying, This is the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven. Blessed are you, for you have found strength in God and *are* strong among men. Now, therefore, do not be troubled, beloved of God. Blessed are you, Israel, and blessed are all your descendants, for you shall be called patriarchs until the end of this age; for you are my people, and you are the root of the servants of God. Blessed is every nation which emulates your purity, and your virtues, and your righteousness, and your good works. Blessed is the man who commemorates you on your honoured festival. Blessed is he who does a charitable

¹ Lit. 'cast himself upon his face on'.

¹ Lit. 'walked'.

deed in your name, or gives a man a cup of cold water, or brings a perfect offering to your place,² or to any place, in your name, or receives a stranger, or visits the sick, or comforts an orphan, or clothes someone who is naked, in your name. He shall lack no good thing in this world; and in the world to come (he shall have)³ eternal life. And further, whoever writes an account of your life with its⁴ labours, or whoever makes a copy of it⁵ with his hands, or whoever reads it attentively, and whoever listens to it with faith and a resolute heart, and whoever emulates your manner of life – they shall be forgiven all their sins, and they shall be freely granted you in the kingdom of the heavens. So get up now, for you are to exchange trouble and sorrow for eternal rest, and you are to be borne away to a repose that never ceases, to a rest that never ends, and to a light that never sets, and to pleasure and gladness and spiritual joy. So now, give your commands to your sons, and peace be with you; for I am about to go to him who sent me.

IV. And when he had said this to him, the angel left him in peace and returned to the heavens, while Jacob¹ gazed after him. And those who were in the house heard him giving thanks to the Lord *and* glorifying him with praises. And all his sons gathered round him, from the youngest to the eldest of them, all in tears and in great distress, saying, He is about to go away and leave us. And they said to him, What shall we do, beloved father, for we are aliens in a foreign land? And Jacob said to them, Do not be afraid, for God appeared to me in Mesopotamia saying, I am the God of your fathers: do not be afraid: I am with you for ever, and with your descendants that shall come after you for ever: the land on which you are standing I will give to you and your descendants for ever. And again he said to me, Do not be afraid to go down into Egypt: I will go with you down to Egypt; and I will increase your numbers, and your descendants shall flourish for ever, and Joseph shall lay

² Either Jacob's burial place, or (more probably) a shrine dedicated to him.

³ These words were perhaps omitted under the influence of Mark x. 30 || Luke xviii. 30.

⁵ Lit. 'whoever writes it'.

⁴ Or 'his'.

¹ Lit. 'he'.

7 his hands upon your eyes. And your people shall increase greatly in Egypt; and then they shall return to me here, and I will do them good because of you. But now you must leave this place.

V. And after this the time drew near for Jacob Israel to go forth
2 from the body. He called Joseph and spoke to him as follows, If I
have found favour with you, then put your blessed hand upon my
thigh and swear to me on oath before the Lord to lay my body in
3 my fathers' grave. And Joseph said to him, I will do as you ask, my
4 God-loving father. His father said to him, I would have you swear;
and Joseph swore the oath to Jacob his father that he would take¹
5 his body to his fathers' grave. And Jacob bowed himself upon his
son's neck.

VI. Now after this it was reported to Joseph, Behold, your father is
2 in a sorry state. He took his two sons, Ephraim and Manasseh, and
3 came to his father Israel. When Israel saw them, he said to Joseph,
4 Who are these,¹ my son? Joseph said to his father Jacob Israel,
These are my sons that God has given me in the land of my
5,6 humiliation. Israel said, Bring them near to me. Now Israel's sight
7 had failed because of his great age, and he could hardly see. And
8 Joseph² brought them close to him; and he kissed them. When
Israel had embraced them, he said, God will add to your descend-
9 ants.³ And Joseph made his two sons, Ephraim and Manasseh, do
obedience to him on the ground: Joseph put Manasseh under his
10 right hand and Ephraim under his left hand. But Israel changed
his hands: he laid his right hand on Ephraim's head and his left

¹ Lit. 'And Joseph swore to Jacob his father according to these words to take'.

¹ Lit. 'these of yours'.

² Lit. 'he'.

³ A rather abrupt and truncated echo of Jacob's words at Gen. xlviii. 11 in the Septuagint ('Behold, was I not *for a time* deprived of your person? And behold, *now* God has let me see your children too' – lit. 'God has shown me your seed also'). It is tempting to suppose there has been at some stage in the tradition some textual corruption, either through omission or misunderstanding – perhaps both. If we are to think in terms of misunderstanding, it may be that Sahidic *touo* ('show') has been confused with Bohairic *touho* ('add'), and that the sense originally intended was the same as that of the final clause in the Septuagint (i.e. 'God has let me see your children').

11 hand on Manasseh's head. And he blessed them: he gave them
their patrimony, saying,

12 The God who approved my fathers Abraham and Isaac,
The God who has looked after me from my childhood till
to-day,
The angel who rescues me from all my tribulations,
Bless these lads who are my sons,
With whom is left my name,
And the name of my holy fathers Abraham and Isaac.
They shall multiply: they shall increase:
They shall become a great people on the earth.

13 Afterwards Israel said to Joseph, I am dying; but you⁴ will return
14 to the land of your⁴ fathers, and God will be with you.⁴ Behold, you
have been more favoured than your brothers, for I have taken the
Amorites with my bow and my sword.

VII. Jacob called all his sons and said to them, Come to me, all of
you, so that I can tell you what will happen to you, and also what
2 will happen to each one of you at the end of time. All Israel's sons
3 gathered round him, from the youngest to the eldest of them. Jacob
Israel answered and said to his sons, Listen, sons of Jacob, listen to
4 Israel your father, from Reuben my first-born unto Benjamin. He
told his sons what would happen to all twelve of them, name by
5 name and tribe by tribe, with heaven's blessing. Then all¹ kept
silence so that he might rest a little.

VIII. He was taken up into the heavens to visit the resting-places.
2,3 And behold, a host of tormentors came out. The appearance of
each one was different; and they were ready to torment the sinners
– that is the fornicators, and the harlots, and the catamites, and the
sodomites, and the adulterers, and those who have corrupted
God's creation, and the magicians, and the sorcerers, and the
unrighteous, and the idol-worshippers, and the astrologers, and
4 the slanderers and the double-tongued. In short, many are the

⁴ Lit. 'you . . . your . . . you' (plural).

¹ Lit. 'the multitude of men'.

punishments for all the sins we have mentioned: the unquenchable fire, the outer darkness, the place where there shall be weeping and grinding of teeth, and the worm that does not sleep. And it is a terrible thing for you to be brought before the judge, and it is a terrible thing to come into the hands of the living God. Woe to all sinful men for whom these tortures and these tormentors are prepared. And again afterwards he took me and showed me the place where my fathers Abraham and Isaac were,¹ a place that was all light; and they were glad and rejoiced in the kingdom of the heavens, in the city of the beloved. And he showed me all the resting-places and all the good things prepared for the righteous, and the things that eye has not seen nor ear heard, and have not come into the heart of men, that God has prepared for those who love him and do his will on earth (for, if they end well, they do his will).

IX. After this, Jacob said to his sons, Behold I am about to be taken away and laid *to rest* with my people: lay my body with my people in the double grave in the field of Ephron the Hittite, where Abraham and his wife Sarah were buried, where Isaac was buried, in the path of the field and the grave that is in it, which was bought from the sons of Heth. And when Jacob had finished saying this, he drew his feet up on to his bed: he went forth from the body like every man. And the Lord came from heaven with Michael and Gabriel accompanying him, and many legions of angels singing before him. They took the soul of Jacob Israel to abodes of light with his holy fathers Abraham and Isaac. Such was¹ the life of Jacob Israel the patriarch. Joseph presented him to Pharaoh when he was a hundred and thirty years old, and he spent another seventeen years in Egypt: together this makes a hundred and forty-seven years. He went to his rest in a ripe old age, perfect in every virtue and spiritual grace; *and* he glorified God in all his ways, in the peace of God. Amen.

¹ Lit. 'the place where my fathers were, Abraham and my father Isaac'.

¹ Lit. 'Now these are the years of'.

X. Joseph threw himself upon his father, kissing him and weeping for him. And Joseph instructed his servants, the embalmers, saying, Embalm my father in accordance with the best Egyptian practice. They spent forty days embalming Israel; and when the forty days of Israel's embalming were over, they spent another eighty days mourning for him. And when the days of Pharaoh's mourning were over (for he had been weeping for Jacob because of his love for Joseph), Joseph spoke with Pharaoh's great ones and said to them, If I may claim this favour from you, speak on my behalf to Pharaoh the king saying, My father made me take an oath when he was about to go forth from the body, saying, Bury my body in my fathers' grave in the land of Canaan. So now I ask to be allowed to go and¹ bury my father there and come back again. Pharaoh the king said to Joseph the wise, Go in peace and bury your father as he made you swear to do: take with you chariots and wagons, and all the great ones of my kingdom, and as many of my servants as you need. Joseph worshipped God in Pharaoh's presence and went out from him. *And* Joseph set out to bury his father. Many of² Pharaoh's servants went with him, and the elders of Egypt, as well as all Joseph's household, and his brothers, and the whole of Israel's household. And there went up with him chariots and horsemen: they were a very great company. And they stopped at the threshing floor of Gadad, which is on the bank on the other side of Jordan. They mourned for him there with a great and bitter mourning; and they mourned for him for seven days. Those in the lowland heard the mourning at the threshing-floor of Gadad, *and* they said, This great mourning is a mourning of the Egyptians, so that that place is called 'The Mourning of Egypt' to this day. They took Israel and buried him in the land of Canaan in the double grave that Abraham had bought as a burial-place³ for silver from Ephron the Hittite, opposite Mamre. And Joseph returned to Egypt together with his brothers and the party from Pharaoh's household. After his father's death Joseph lived for many more years and was king over Egypt. But Jacob Israel died and was laid with his people.

¹ Lit. 'Now, therefore, let him bid me that I'.

² Lit. 'All'.

³ Lit. 'property, possession'.

XI. Behold now, we have told *you* these things as best we could¹ in order to instruct you about the going forth from the body of our father the patriarch Jacob Israel. ²It is written in the divinely inspired scriptures and the ancient books of our fathers the apostles, even I, Athanasius your father. If you want confirmation of this testament of the patriarch Jacob, take the *book* Genesis of the prophet Moses, the lawgiver, and read *what is* in it: your mind will be enlightened: you will find this, and more, written about it. And again, you will find mention of God and his angels, for God³ was a friend to the patriarchs³ while they were yet in the body and spoke with them many times in many passages of scripture. And you will find that he spoke too in many passages in scripture with the patriarch Jacob, saying, I will bless your descendants *and make them as many* as the stars of heaven. And again, Jacob spoke with his son Joseph saying, My God appeared to me in the land of Canaan at Luz: he blessed me saying, I will bless you and make you too many to be counted, and peoples and nations shall spring from you: I will give this land to your descendants after you as a possession for all time.

XII. See, then, my beloved, we have heard these things about our fathers the patriarchs. Let us therefore emulate their deeds and their virtues, and their love of God and their love of men, and their hospitality, that we may be worthy to become their sons in the kingdom of the heavens, and that they may pray for us to God that he may save us from punishments in hell which the holy patriarch Jacob spoke about in his words full of all sweetness, when he taught his sons about the punishments and called them the sword of the Lord God. These are the river of fire that is prepared, and which engulfs sinners in *its* waves and those that have defiled themselves. These are the things the patriarch Jacob revealed when he taught the rest of his sons, that those that love instruction should listen *to him* and do what is good at all times, and love one another, and

¹ Lit. 'according to the measure to which we have attained' (or 'we could attain').

² The sequence would be clearer if, with Andersson (n. 32), we were to supply some such verb as 'I have found' and continue 'it written . . . , even I, Athanasius your father'. ³ Lit. 'he . . . them'.

5 strive after love and pity. For pity triumphs over judgement and love covers a multitude of sins;¹ and again, He who has pity on a poor man lends on usury to God.²

XIII. So now, my sons, let neither prayer nor fasting (be lacking), and persist in them continually; for they drive away the demons. My sons, keep yourselves from fornication, and anger, and adultery, and every evil thing, and especially *from* violence, and blasphemy, and theft. For no *man of* violence will inherit the kingdom of the heavens, neither *will any* fornicator, nor catamite, nor sodomite, nor blasphemer, nor covetous *man*, nor curser, nor anyone who is defiled. In short, *these* and the others we have mentioned will not inherit the kingdom of God. My sons, honour the saints, for it is they who pray for you, that your descendants may prosper¹ and that the land may be yours as an inheritance for ever. My sons, be hospitable, that you may share the lot of our father Abraham, the great patriarch. My sons, love the poor, that, as you do to the poor man here, so God may give you the bread of eternal life in the heavens unto the end. He who feeds a poor man with bread here, God will feed him from the tree of life. Clothe the poor man who is naked here on earth, that God² may put on you a robe of glory in the heavens, and so you may become a *true* son of our holy fathers the patriarchs, Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, in the heavens for ever. Call to mind the word of God here and remember the saints, *and take care* that *copies* of their memoirs and their hymns are made³ for the encouragement of those who hear them, so that your name also may be written in the book of life in the heavens, and you *too* may be numbered with the number of God's⁴ saints who have pleased him in their generation, and take part in the chorus with the angels in the land of the living. We commemorate the saints, our fathers the patriarchs, at this very

¹ Lit. 'covers their many sins'. Cp. Prov. x. 12; James v. 20; 1 Pet. iv. 8.

² Prov. xix. 17.

¹ Lit. 'may increase in numbers'.

² Lit. 'he'.

³ Lit. ' . . . saints, that they may write their memoirs and their hymns'.

⁴ Lit. 'his'.

time every year: our father Abraham the patriarch on the twenty-eighth of Mesore, also our father Isaac the patriarch on the twenty-eighth of Mesore, and again our father Jacob on the twenty-eighth of this same month Mesore, as we have found it written in the ancient books of our holy fathers who were pleasing unto God.

12 Through their supplication and their prayers may all of us together be granted to share their lot in the kingdom of our Lord and our God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, through whom is the glory of the Father with him and the Holy life-giving Spirit now and always and for ever. Amen.

Remember me, that God may forgive me all my sins and give me understanding and give me stability without sin. Amen.⁵

⁵ This last sentence is the scribe's colophon.

THE LADDER OF JACOB

The Ladder of Jacob is extant only in Slavonic, in two distinct recensions, preserved in several MSS of the *Palaea interpretata*.¹

About its origin nothing whatever is known. According to Epiphanius² the Ebionites possessed an apocryphal work called 'Αναβαθμοὶ Ἰακώβου ('Jacob's/ James's Steps'); but the contents of the work as described by Epiphanius in no way correspond with the contents of the Ladder. Moreover, both the literary context in which Epiphanius places it ('... other Acts of apostles'), and the fact that he uses the declinable form of the proper name (Ἰάκωβος) strongly suggest that it was a New Testament apocryphon to which he was referring and that it was concerned with James, the Lord's brother.³

The central feature of the Ladder is Jacob's dream at Bethel. It begins as an amplification of Gen. xxviii. 10–12 after the manner of Jewish *haggada*. Then an angel appears, in typical apocalyptic style, to interpret Jacob's dream and goes on to prophesy his descendants' future suffering and their ultimate vindication.

That a Greek text lies behind the Slavonic is not only probable in itself, but it is also rendered more probable by certain points of contact between chap. vii in the 'longer' recension and one of the sources of the *Narrative concerning things done in Persia*, a 5th (?) cent. Greek work, first published in full in a critical edition by Bratke in 1899. If there was a Greek text of the Ladder, it will doubtless have formed part of the Greek *Palaea*; and since the Greek *Palaea* is usually dated in the 8th or 9th cents., a Greek Ladder must be pushed back into the 7th or 8th cents. at the latest, and it may well be very much earlier. There are no sound arguments for suggesting a Semitic original, though obviously such a possibility cannot be altogether excluded.

Since the Ladder is relatively brief it has been thought worthwhile to print translations of both the available Slavonic recen-

¹ On the *Palaea* see above, p. 364, n. 5.

² Epiph. *Haer.* XXX. xvi. 7.

³ The normal Christian Greek for the patriarch Jacob is the indeclinable form, Ἰακώβ, following the Septiagint (e.g. John iv. 5; *Ep. Barn.* viii. 4).

sions one after the other. First is printed the 'shorter' recension from the *Palaea* in the Rummyantsev collection (= Rum. 453: AD 1494), published by A. N. Pypin in 1862, and designated by the symbol 'R'. Then follows a translation of the 'longer' recension from the *Palaea* of the Solovetski Library (= Sol. 431) published by I. Ya. Porfir'ev in 1877: this last MS is designated by the symbol 'S'; and in the apparatus are added certain readings from the *Palaea* of the Troitse-Sergieva monastery (no. 38), written in Kolomna in AD 1406, published by N. S. Tikhonravov in 1863, and designated 'K'. The chapter and verse numerations are so far as possible the same in both recensions.

The reader can thus study the differences between the recensions for himself and appreciate the problems that their existence raises. The 'longer' recension not only offers a more satisfactory opening, but also in chaps. v-vii goes into far greater detail about Israel's vindication (in particular there is a full description of the accompaniments of the coming of the 'man from the Most High', much of it, if not all, manifestly Christian). On the other hand, the 'shorter' recension offers in chap. ii a longer version of Jacob's prayer. And both recensions have suffered from having interpretations of the *Palaea* incorporated into the text (see especially the addition in chap. i). In these circumstances it would be hazardous to affirm simply that one recension is to be preferred and that the other is either an 'expansion' or an 'abbreviation'. And it would be equally hazardous to pick out passages here and there and stigmatize them as 'later additions' or 'interpolations' – unless, of course, they are very evidently pieces of *Palaea* interpretation. In a situation like this such terms as 'original' and 'interpolation' tend to lose their meaning. In both recensions, it seems, we are dealing with a document in an almost permanent state of literary flux.

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TRANSLATIONS

English

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German

G. N. BONWETSCH, *Die apokryphe "Leiter Jakobs"* (= *Nachrichten von der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philolog.-hist. Kl.*, 1900: Heft i; Göttingen, 1900, pp. 76–87.). [A translation of both recensions with a brief Introduction.]

GENERAL

A. VASSILIEV, *Anecdota Graeco-Byzantina*, i (Moscow, 1893), pp. xxx–xxxii.

E. BRATKE, *Das sogenannte Religionsgespräch am Hof der Sasaniden* (= *TU N.F.* iv. 3; Leipzig, 1899), pp. 101–6.

H. WEINEL in *EUX*, pp. 172–3.

1. And behold, a ladder was set up on the earth, whose top reached to heaven; and the top of the ladder was in form like a man,
- 2 hewn out of fire. It had twelve steps to the top of the ladder, and on each step, up to the top, were two human forms, one on the right and one on the left: there were twenty-four¹ forms on the ladder, visible as far as their breasts. But the central form, which I saw, was of fire as far as the shoulders and arms and much more terrifying than those
- 3 twenty-four forms. And while I was looking, behold, the angels of

¹ Emended in the light of verse 3 below: the MS reads 'four'. Cp. also the reading of K at i. 2 in the 'long recension' (p. 460 below).

God were ascending and descending on it; and the Lord had taken his stand upon it.

5 ²For so it is to be understood, as when a man leans on his staff. Of
6 the angels we understand: those who were ascending are a figure of
this – when the tree of the Cross was fixed in the earth at the Lord's
passion, as the ladder was fixed in Jacob's sight, and the Lord
received the heathen who were baptized, and they ascended into
heaven; but those who were descending – *they are* the disobedient,
7 perverse ones. For Moses prefigured *this*, and said to them, Deceit-
ful and perverse generation! Is this your thanksgiving to the Lord?
8 In this, then, we see the heathen ascending, but the Jews descend-
ing . . . ²
9 . . . ³ on the highest form. And from there he called to me, saying,
10,11 Jacob, Jacob. And I said, Here am I, Lord! And he said to me, The
land on which you are sleeping, to you will I give it, and to your
descendants after you; and I will multiply your race as the stars of
12 heaven and as the sand of the sea. Through your descendants will
the whole land be blessed, and those who live in it, until the last
times, *even* the years of the end: my blessing, with which I have
13 blessed you, shall go forth from you to the last generation. And the
East and West shall all be filled with your race.

II. And as I heard *his voice* from the height, fear and trembling fell
2 on me. And I got up from my sleep; and while the voice was still
speaking, and the word of God *was* in my ears, I said, How awesome
is this place! this is none *other* but the house of God; and this is the
3 gate of heaven. And the stone, which had been my pillow, I set up
as a pillar, and I poured oil¹ on the top of it; and I called the name of
4 that place the house of God . . . ² O Lord God of Adam, thy . . . ,³ and
Lord God of Abraham and Isaac my fathers, *who* were righteous in
5 all their ways before thee, who sittest in might upon the cherubim

²⁻² Obviously an interpretative Christian gloss.

³ Lacuna in the MS.

¹ Oil from trees (not animal oil).

² Lacuna in the MS. We must supply at least 'And I prayed to God and spoke as follows' (or something similar) as in SK: cp p. 460 below.

³ Lacuna in the MS: Pypin suggests 'creature'.

and on the fiery throne of glory and the many-eyed ones (as I saw
6 in my dream), *thou who* sustainest the four-faced cherubim,
who bearest also the many-eyed seraphim, who bearest the age of
7 all beneath thine arm and art supported by nothing; thou hast
established the heavens to the glory of thy name and stretched out
8 on the clouds of heaven the shining heaven beneath thee, that thou
mightest move the sun below it, and hide it in the night, that it
9 should not be taken for God. Thou hast set on them a course for the
moon and the stars: the former thou makest to wane and to wax;
and the stars thou commandest to pass by, that they too should not
10 be taken for gods. Of the face of thy glory the six-winged seraphim
are afraid; and they hide their feet and their faces with their wings.
11 And, as they fly with the others, they sing . . . ⁴ High One, with
twelve faces, many-named, Fiery One, in form like lightening,
Holy One, holy, holy, holy, Jao, Jaova, Jaoil, Sabakdos, Chabod,
12 Sabaoth, Omlelech, Ilabir, ⁵Amis'mi, Barech,⁵ Eternal King,
Strong One, Mighty One, Most Great, longsuffering, blessed, who
fillest the heavens and the earth and the sea and the abyss and all
13 the ages with thy glory. Hear my song which I have sung to thee,
and grant me my request which I shall ask of thee; and tell me the
interpretation of my dream, as thou art God, mighty, powerful,
and glorious, holy God, Lord of my fathers and my *God*.

III. And while I was still making my prayer, a voice spoke¹ before
my face, saying, Sarekl, elder of the joyful ones, *you who* are over
dreams, go and explain to Jacob the dream that he has seen, and
tell *him* everything that he has seen; but first give him a blessing.
2 And the archangel Sarekl came to me, and I looked *upon him*: there
3 was a face. . . ² But I was not afraid of his glance, for the face I had
seen in my dream³ was more terrifying than this; and I was not
4 afraid of the angel's face. And the angel said to me, What is your
5,6 name? And I said, Jacob. *And he said*, Your name shall be called

⁴ Lacuna in the MS.

⁵⁻⁵ Bonwetsch 'Ame (?), S'me Barech'.

¹ Lit. 'saw': Bonwetsch translates 'appeared'.

² Lacuna in the MS.

³ The MS adds *privanie* which appears to be both superfluous and corrupt.

- 7 Jacob no longer, but your name shall be like my name – Israel. And when I was coming from Fandana⁴ in Syria to meet Esau my brother, he⁵ came to me and blessed me and called my name Israel.
8 And he did not tell me his name until I adjured him; and then he told me, As you have prevailed.⁶

IV. Then he said to me, The ladder which you have seen, having twelve steps, and each step having two human forms *on it*, changing their shape – the ladder is this age, and the twelve steps are the times of this age; but the twenty-four forms are the kings of the heathen tribes of this age. Under those kings . . .¹ of your sons. They will rise against the heathenness of your children's children; and he will lay waste this place through four generations² of the sins of your children's children. And from the wealth of *their* forefathers will be built a sacristy in the temple to the name of your God and *the* God of your fathers. And because of the provocation of your children it will lie waste until the fourth generation³ of this age, for you have seen four forms. The first – him *whom you saw* stumbling upon the step (the angels ascending and descending, and the forms in the midst of the steps) – *that is*, the Most High will raise up a king from the descendants⁴ of your brother Esau, and they will receive all the rulers of the races of the earth, who have done evil to your descendants⁵. And they will be given into his hand; and *they* will suffer *him* unwillingly. He will hold them by force and rule them; and they will not be able to resist him until the day he decides⁶ *that they should serve idols . . .⁷ and sacrifice to dead things. And he will command that all the people in his kingdom be forced to do this. And of those who will*

⁴ i.e. Paddan-aram (Gen. xxxv. 9).

⁵ i.e. the angel.

⁶ The MS reads *kop-zul*, which is unclear: the translation 'prevailed' is derived from Gen. xxxii. 28. The remainder of the sentence has presumably been lost.

¹ Lacuna in the MS: cp. the text of K in the 'long recension' at iv. 3.

² Lit. 'ends', 'descents'.

³ Lit. 'end', 'descent'.

⁴ Lit. 'children's children'. ⁵ Lit. 'seed'.

⁶ Lit. 'until the day when his intention goes out over them'.

⁷ Lacuna in the MS. The words in italics are taken from the *Palaea* interpretation, where they are quoted as coming from the text.

be guilty of such an offence, some *will serve the greatest*⁸ of your race, and some Falkonargail.⁹

V. And your descendants, Jacob, will be like strangers in a foreign land; and they will be ill-treated, and made slaves of, and flogged daily. But the heathen, to whom they will be subject, God will judge. When a king shall rise up and execute judgement, then will there be a place for him: then will your descendants, Israel, be delivered from the oppression of the heathen, who have held them by force, and they will be free from every reproach of *their*¹ enemies; for the king will be *the source*² of all *vengeance*³ and retribution upon those who have afflicted you, O Israel. And at the end of the age, those who have suffered bitterly⁴ will rise up and cry out, and the Lord will hear them, and be moved,⁵ and the Mighty One will feel compassion for their suffering. For the angels and archangels pour out their prayers⁶ before him *for the sparing*⁷ of your tribe.⁷ Then will their women be fruitful; and then will the Lord protect your race.⁸

JACOB'S VISION OF A LADDER

I. Now Jacob was going to Laban his uncle; and he found a place and fell asleep there, having laid his head on a stone. Now the sun had gone down, and he saw there a dream; and behold, a ladder was fixed on the earth, and it reached to the heavens. And at its top there was a form, like a man, hewn out of fire. Now it had twelve steps; and on every step there were two human forms, *one* on the

⁸ R is here corrupt: the restoration is from S and K.

⁹ Porfir'ev suggests this is a corruption of Greek *χαλκός* (a bronze statue) and Hebrew *Nergal* (the Mesopotamian idol mentioned at 2 Kings xvii. 30).

¹ So S and K in vi. 1 of the 'long recension' (below), where much of the material in this chapter is found in a different order: R reads 'your'.

² Lit. 'head'.

³ Reading *m'stenie* for the *kreštenie* ('baptism') of the text as in S and K.

⁴ Lit. '... the age, the bitter ones'.

⁵ Lit. 'be entreated'.

⁶ So S and K: R 'lightnings'.

⁷⁻⁷ Lacuna in the MS: the words in italics are from the *Palaea* interpretation.

⁸ Here follows the *Palaea* interpretation.

right and *one* on the left: *there were* twenty-four¹ forms on the ladder.

- 3 And the central form, which I saw, *was* of fire as far as the shoulders and the arms, *and* much taller than all *the others*: he was very terrifying, much more *terrifying* than the other twenty-four forms.
- 4-7 And while I was looking, behold, the angels of God were ascending and descending on it; *and* the Lord had taken his stand upon it.²
- 8,9 God stood, as it were, above the highest form. And from there he called to me, saying, Jacob, Jacob, And I said, Here am I. And he
- 10,11 said to me, The land on which you are sleeping, to you will I give it, 12 that it may be filled with your descendants. My blessing, with which I have blessed you, shall go from you to the last generation.
- 13 And the East and the West shall all be filled with your race.

II. And as I heard *his voice* from the height, trembling and terror fell on me. ¹After getting up, *I*, Jacob, from my sleep, *I* said (the voice was still in my ears) – after getting up, *I* said, to my feet, *I* prayed to God¹ and spoke thus, Lord, the Creator, Lord of all Creation. And again *I* said, God of Abraham and of Isaac my father, and God of all who have walked before thee in righteousness: behold, I saw a terrifying vision, and trembling fell on me.

5 But remember, O Lord, Abraham my forefather, how he walked before thee in innocence and was perfect in all the ways of thy commandments. So also my father, thy servant Isaac, did not

6 disobey thy commandments. Therefore, O Lord, look mercifully upon me also, on thy servant, and tell me *what is the interpretation* of

7 this terrifying vision I have seen.

III. And while the voice and prayer were still on Jacob's lips, behold, an angel of God stood before him, saying, Jacob, I am sent

2 by the Creator of all to you to explain your dream to you. So pay attention to the explanation of your dream.

¹ So K: S 'two and four'.

² Here follows an interpretative gloss similar to that in R: see above (p. 456).

¹⁻¹ There is obviously some confusion here about whether the narrative should be in the first person or the third, and presumably also some dittography or dislocation of the text.

- IV. The ladder which you have seen, having twelve steps, and
- 2 each step having two human forms *on it*, changing their shape – the ladder is this age, and the twelve steps are the times of this age, and the twenty-four¹ forms are the rulers of the tribes of the heathen
- 3,4 age. By those tribes will your children's children² be tried. And they will rise against the heatheness of your children's children, and they will make this place desolate for four generations³ of your
- 5 children's children. And in the name of *their* forefathers a temple
- 6 will be built in your name *and* that of your fathers. And the provocation of your children will cause *it* to lie waste for four
- 7 generations⁴ of this age, for you have seen four forms. The first,
- 8 who stumbled on the step – *that is*, there will be a ruler from your
- 9 kin, and he will do evil to your descendants; and he will be suffered
- 10 unwillingly by them. And he will hold them by force to rule them; and they will not be able to resist⁵ him; and he will decide⁶ that
- 11 they should serve idols and sacrifice to dead things. And he will command that all the people in his kingdom be forced to do *this*.
- 12 *And of those* who will be guilty of such an offence, some will serve the greatest of your race, and some Falkonagargail.⁷

V. Know, Jacob, that your descendants will be strangers in a foreign land; and they will be ill-treated, and made slaves of, and

2 flogged daily. But that people, whose slaves they are, the Lord will judge; for the Mighty One will feel compassion for their suffering.

3 For the angels and archangels pour out their prayers before him for the deliverance of your race, and that the Most High should have

4 mercy. Then will their women be fruitful; and after that the Lord will defend your race with terrifying and mighty signs against

5 those who enslaved them. Their storehouses, which were full, will be found empty of wine and of every kind of corn: their land will seethe with reptiles and all kinds of deadly things; and there will be many earthquakes and catastrophes.

¹ So K: S 'two and four'.

² K adds 'and the family of your sons'.

³ Lit. 'ends', 'descents'.

⁴ Lit. 'ends', 'descents'. Bonwetsch translates the whole phrase 'at the fourth end of this age'.

⁵ Lit. 'and his intention will go out upon them'.

⁵ So K: S is corrupt.

⁷ K 'Kalkonagargail'. See note 9 to chap. iv on p. 459 (above).

VI. Then will the Most High execute judgement on that place and deliver your descendants from *their* servitude to those peoples who rule over them by force; and they will be saved from the reproach of their enemies. For the king will be the source of vengeance, and will rise up in bitterness against them. And they will cry out, and the Lord will hear them; and he will pour out his anger on Leviathan the sea-monster and kill the heathen Falcon¹ with the sword, for against the God of gods he will exalt his pride. Then, Jacob, will come your vindication,² and *that* of your forefathers; and others, too, will come after you and share also in your prosperity.³ And then will your descendants blow the trumpet, and the whole kingdom of Edom will perish together with all the rulers and the tribes of the Moabites.

VII. And as you saw angels¹ ascending on the ladder—*that is* in the last years there shall be a man from the Most High, and he will join the higher things with the lower. Of him before² his coming shall your sons and daughters prophesy and³ see visions about him. And there shall be these signs at the time of his coming — a tree felled with the axe will drip blood: three-month old babies⁴ will speak rationally: a child in his mother's womb will proclaim his way; and a young man will be like an old man. And then will come the Awaited One, whose path will be found by none.⁵ Then will the earth rejoice, having received the glory of heaven; and what was above will be below also. And from your descendants will sprout a kingly shoot;⁶ and he will rise up and overthrow the power of evil. He will be the saviour of *all* lands, peace to those who labour, and a cloud protecting the whole world from the heat. Otherwise what was in disorder could not be *put into order*,⁷ if he did not come:

¹ Or 'idol'. See iv. 12 and the note in the 'short recension' (p. 459 above).

² Lit. 'Then, Jacob, will your righteousness appear'.

³ Lit. 'and after you there will be those who will go out in your righteousness'.

¹ K adds 'descending and'.

² So K: S om.

³ K adds 'your young men'.

⁴ So S: K 'a three-month old baby'.

⁵ So S: K 'whose precursor you are'.

⁶ Lit. 'root'.

⁷ So S: K 'Otherwise the ordered will not be put in order'. Cp. the *Palaea* interpretation in R ('otherwise what was spoken would not be fulfilled').

9 otherwise the lower things could not be joined to the higher. When he comes the bulls of brass and stone and all the carved images will give tongue for three days and they will tell the news to certain wise men, *that they may* know what is to be on earth, and they will find their way to him by a star. On earth will they see him whom the angels do not see. Then will the Almighty be found with a body on earth, and be embraced by mortal arms; and he will renew humankind and give life to Adam and Eve — dead through the fruit of the tree. Then will the deceit of the impious be uncovered, and all idols will fall down and be put to shame before his face, clothed, as he will be, in splendour; for they thought only how they might deceive,⁸ but they will be able to rule no longer, nor *will they be able* to give prophecies. *Their* splendour will be taken from them, and they will be left without *their* glory; for he who is to come will take *their* power and *their* might from them, and he will give the truth to Abraham, which he promised to him before. Then will he make all sharp things blunt and the rough smooth, and he will cast all unrighteousness into the depths of the sea and perform miracles in heaven and on earth. And he will be wounded inside the house of the Beloved;⁹ and when he is wounded, then comes salvation and the end of all corruption. And those who have wounded him will receive a wound themselves, from which they will never be healed. And all creation will bow down to the Wounded One, and many will put their trust in him; and everywhere, and in all lands, he will be known. Those who have known his name will not be ashamed; and his power and years will never fail.

⁸ Lit. S 'for they imagined in deceit': K 'for they are lying of imaginations'.

⁹ Cp. Zech. xiii. 6.

JOSEPH AND ASENETH

INTRODUCTION

On two occasions Origen quotes from a work entitled 'The Prayer of Joseph'.¹ On the former occasion he describes it as 'one of the apocrypha current among the Hebrews'; and this would seem to identify it with 'The Prayer of Joseph' mentioned in the lists of apocryphal books.² Yet this work can hardly be identical with our Joseph and Aseneth inasmuch as: (1) neither of Origen's quotations (and the first is of some length) occur in any known recension of Joseph and Aseneth, and (2) the long prayer in the middle of Joseph and Aseneth (chaps. xii-xiii) is a prayer of Aseneth and not of Joseph.

The first certain notice of Joseph and Aseneth in the West is to be found in the *Speculum* of Vincent of Beauvais (c.1250). At the appropriate point in his narrative in the *Speculum Historiale*³ Vincent gives a Latin version of the story, introducing it with the words 'Ex historia Assenech'. This Latin version was reprinted by Fabricius in the first volume of his *Codex Pseudepigraphus Veteris Testamenti*⁴ and in his second volume⁵ he added a fragmentary Greek text (corresponding to something like the first third of Vincent's Latin version), which had been copied for him by J.-C. Wolff from the mutilated Bodleian Cod. Gr. Barocc. 148.

To-day some twenty or more MSS containing the Greek text are known: they date from the 10th to the 19th century; and in all of them Joseph and Aseneth appears as one of a number of miscellaneous items – mostly lives of saints and passions. Two quite distinct Latin versions have come to light, and it seems that Vincent's extract represents an abridgement of one of them. A Syriac version

¹ Orig. *Comm. in Ioann.* ii. 31 (on John i. 6); *Philoc.* xxiii. 15 (from the lost commentary on Genesis, quoted in Eus. *Praep. Evang.* VI. xi. 64).

² For a full discussion see Jonathan Z. Smith, 'The Prayer of Joseph' in *Religions in Antiquity: Essays in Memory of Erwin Ramsdell Goodenough* (= *Studies in the History of Religions: Supplements to Numen*, xiv; Leiden, 1968), pp. 251-294.

³ ii (118-124).

⁴ i, pp. 774-784.

⁵ ii, pp. 85-102.

is preserved as the sixth chapter of the first book of the anonymous *Ecclesiastical History* attributed to Zacharias Scholasticus: there are Armenian, Slavonic, and Rumanian versions; and there was probably also at one time a version in Ethiopic, and perhaps versions in Coptic and Arabic as well, although these are no longer extant.

The titles given to the work in the different authorities vary a good deal. Thus, one Greek MS gives 'The Confession and Prayer of Aseneth, the daughter of Pentephres, the priest', another 'The wholesome Narrative concerning the corn-giving of Joseph, the all-fair, and concerning Aseneth, and how God united them', while the Syriac has more simply 'The History of Joseph the just and Aseneth his wife'. The popular modern title, 'Joseph and Aseneth', is found in none of the authorities.

Similarly, there is considerable variation between the authorities in text. Throughout the work the Greek MSS differ widely in their wording (as in the choice of synonyms, or whether an idea is expressed by a participle or by a main verb with 'and'): phrases, and sometimes whole clauses, appear in different places; and there are continual minor additions, or omissions, which sometimes affect the sense, but more often do not. In some cases these differences are confined to the Greek, in other cases they are reflected in one or other of the versions, or in one or more MSS of a version. From time to time the differences are more substantial: in chap. xix, for example, the dialogue between Joseph and Aseneth is much longer in some authorities than in others: between chaps. xxi and xxii some authorities have an additional prayer of Aseneth; and there are several different endings to the book, one of which gives a brief summary of the subsequent history of Joseph and Aseneth, and records their deaths, mainly in the form of an extract from Gen. i. 22-26. From all this it is clear that the text was treated with the greatest freedom, and it seems to have been so treated from the very beginning.

The first critical edition was Batiffol's, published in 1889-90. Batiffol used four Greek MSS - Vat. Gr. 803 (11th-12th cent.: A), Vat. Palat. Gr. 17 (11th-12th cent.: B), Bodl. Gr. Barocc. 148 (15th cent.: C - the fragment published already by Fabricius), and Bodl. Gr. Barocc. 147 (15th cent.: D). Batiffol's text is based on A (with which C generally agrees where it is available) rather than

on B (with which D generally agrees). A full conspectus of variants is given in the apparatus, together with the evidence of the Syriac (quoted from Oppenheim's Latin rendering). There is a 37-page Introduction. And at the end is printed, as an appendix, the text of one of the Latin versions from two Cambridge MSS which had been collated for Batiffol by M. R. James.

Philonenko's edition of 1968 contains not only a text with apparatus, but also a French translation, notes, and a very full Introduction. When one compares his edition with Batiffol's, one becomes aware how much of the material now available for the reconstruction of the text has only become available since Batiffol's day. But, in ordering and controlling it, Philonenko had the advantage of being able to profit from several critical studies which had appeared in the interval - notably Burchard's masterly *Untersuchungen zu Joseph und Aseneth*, published in 1965.

Following Burchard, Philonenko divided the Greek MSS into four groups (designated *a b c d*). But whereas Burchard had maintained that the most reliable text was to be found in the witnesses to *b*, and had held that *d* was an abbreviated text, *a* and *c* being in their different ways 'improved' texts, Philonenko preferred *d* ('the short recension') and explained *b c* and *a* as expansions of it ('the first long recension', 'the second long recension', and 'the third long recension', respectively). Batiffol's MSS A and C belong to the *a* group, his B and D to the *d* group. And among the versions, the Slavonic is allied with the *d* group and all the rest with the *b* group.

Accordingly, in contrast with Batiffol, whose edition was (in Philonenko's terms) an edition of 'the third long recension' (*a*), Philonenko himself set out to produce an edition of 'the short recension' (*d*). His primary authorities were the MSS B and D and the Slavonic version; and all the variants of B and D are recorded in his apparatus. In addition to these two MSS he used also five other MSS - A (Batiffol's primary authority), representing *a*; E (Athos Vatopedi 600: 15th cent.) F (Bucharest Gr. 966: 17th cent.) and G (Chillicothe, Ohio: 16th cent.), representing *b*; and H (Jerusalem, St. Sepulchre 73: 17th cent.), representing *c*. However, readings from AEFHG are only cited in the apparatus spasmodically. The result is that, while the reader is left in no

doubt about Philonenko's views about what the true text of the short recension is, and the evidence on which those views are based, he gains little or no idea of the text of any of the three long recensions. For the text of the *a* recension he must still go to Batiffol: for the text of *b* he must rely on the versions (other than the Slavonic);⁶ while so far as the text of *c* is concerned, he is left almost completely in the dark.

In spite of its limitations, however, it has been thought best to take Philonenko's text as the basis of the translation which follows. E. W. Brooks's translation, published in 1918 was, of course, based on Batiffol's text. Consequently, anyone who is so minded can, by the simple expedient of comparing the two translations, at least introduce himself in a rudimentary way, in English, to some of the textual complexities with which the work abounds.

As regards the origin of Joseph and Aseneth, the earliest fixed point is provided by the Syriac version. The Syriac, as already mentioned, is preserved in Pseudo-Zacharias's *Ecclesiastical History*, where we are told, not only that it was made from the Greek, but also that the Greek text used by the translator was found in 'a very ancient manuscript'. The *Ecclesiastical History* itself, on internal evidence, cannot have been put together later than AD 570. This would seem to carry back the date of the 'very ancient' Greek text to the mid-fifth century at the latest. And if Philonenko is right in thinking that the *b* recension (to which the Syriac belongs) is secondary, then the *d* recension, of which it is an expansion, must be still earlier.

But further back than this it is impossible to go with any degree of certainty. The work is patently a romance based on the three passing references to Aseneth at Gen. xli. 45, 50-52, and xlvi. 20. The Rabbinical literature shows that there were legends about Aseneth circulating in Jewish circles in the first centuries of the Christian era - in particular, a legend that she was only the foster-child of Potipherah, being in fact the daughter of Dinah, born after the rape by Shechem and spirited away to Egypt by an angel, and therefore not an Egyptian at all. But these legends have

⁶ This is particularly unfortunate inasmuch as Burchard was of the opinion that *b* offered the best text of all.

no direct contact with Joseph and Aseneth in the form in which we know it.

Yet traces of Jewish influence and Jewish interests are clear enough - for example, the statement in chap. i that Aseneth 'was quite unlike the daughters of the Egyptians, but in every respect like the daughters of the Hebrews', and that her charms were similar to those of Sarah, Rebecca, and Rachel,⁷ or, again, Joseph's expostulation in chap. viii, when Aseneth advanced to kiss him, that 'it is not right for a man who worships God . . . to kiss a strange woman. . . . So too it is not right for a woman who worships God to kiss a strange man, because this is an abomination in God's eyes'.⁸ On the other hand, the description of 'the man who worships God' in the passage in chap. viii just quoted as one who 'eats the blessed bread of life and drinks the blessed cup of immortality and is anointed with the blessed unction of incorruption'⁹ seems just as clearly to betray Christian interest and influence, and the same may be said about the incident of the angel and the honeycomb in chap. xvi.

According to Batiffol the work originated in Asia Minor in the 4th or 5th cent. AD, and the author was a Christian, though he was dependent for much of his subject-matter on Jewish traditions and legends. Burchard, representing a contrary point of view, was of the opinion that Batiffol and those who followed him had not merely over-emphasized the importance of the so-called 'Christian elements' in the work, but had also radically misunderstood them. For Burchard there is nothing in it, anywhere, that cannot quite satisfactorily be explained as Jewish; and Burchard took the view that the author was a Jew of the Dispersion, who wrote in Egypt, either in the last century BC or the first century AD. Other views have been that the author was a nationalist and orthodox Jew of Palestine (Aptowitz), or that he was an Essene (Riessler), or that he belonged to the Therapeutae (K. G. Kuhn).

Philonenko, in the Introduction to his edition, attacked the problem in the light of his analysis of the textual evidence. The primary *d* recension, he argued, is unquestionably Jewish: it was

⁷ i. 7-8.

⁸ viii. 5-7.

⁹ viii. 5; cp. xv. 4.

designed partly as a missionary tract, aimed at potential Gentile converts, and partly as a defence of mixed marriages between Jews and Gentiles, aimed at those Jews who were unable to see the obvious proselytizing possibilities in such marriages; and it is a product of the Dispersion in Egypt, written probably about AD 100–110. About the origin, date, and purpose, of the *b* recension Philonenko was more doubtful: it may have been made by a Jew much given to mystic speculation, or by a Gnostic Christian. But about the *c* and *a* recensions being due to Christians Philonenko had no doubts at all.

Whatever may be thought about the details of this exposition (and it would be a mistake to press the details), the great merit of it is that it takes into account, and considers together, all the separate issues involved – historical, theological, literary, and textual. If a generally agreed solution of the problem is ever arrived at, it is likely to be along the lines that Philonenko has laid down.

But one thing is certain: Joseph and Aseneth was written in Greek. The text of the Old Testament presupposed is that of the Septuagint, and the language and style are Septuagintal throughout. There are no grounds at all for regarding the Greek as a translation of either a Hebrew or an Aramaic original.

As previously indicated, the Greek text here translated is Philonenko's. The symbols for the MSS are his; and the majority of the variants recorded in his apparatus, which are capable of being differentiated in translation, have been noted.

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- , *AjSAB*², p. 1303–1304.
- E. SCHÜRER, *GjVZJC*⁴ iii, pp. 399–402.

- I. It came to pass in the first year of the seven years of plenty, in the second month, that Pharaoh sent out Joseph to go round the whole land of Egypt. And Joseph came,¹ in the fourth month of the first year, on the eighteenth day of the month,² into the district of Heliopolis. And he was collecting all the corn of that land, as the sand of the sea. Now there was in that city a man, a satrap of Pharaoh; and this man was the chief of all Pharaoh's satraps and lords.³ And he⁴ was very rich, and wise, and generous, and he was Pharaoh's counsellor, and his name was Pentephres; and he was the priest of Heliopolis.⁵ And Pentephres had a virgin daughter of about eighteen years of age, tall and beautiful and graceful, more beautiful than any other virgin in the land.⁶ And she was quite unlike the daughters of the⁷ Egyptians, but in every respect like the daughters⁸ of the Hebrews. And she was as tall as Sarah, and as beautiful as Rebecca, and as fair as Rachel; and this virgin's name was Aseneth. And the fame of her beauty spread through all that

¹ to go round . . . came: B om.

² in the fourth . . . month: Slav. om.

³ and this man . . . lords: B om.

⁴ Lit. 'this man'.

⁵ B 'and Pentephres was the first man of Heliopolis'; D om.

⁶ Or 'upon the earth'.

⁷ d. of the: D om.

⁸ but . . . daughters = HA: BD Slav. 'and'.

land, even to its remotest corners;⁹ and all the sons of the lords and of the satraps and of the kings sought her hand in marriage, young men all *of them*. And there was great rivalry between them because of her, and they began to fight among themselves¹⁰ because of Aseneth. And Pharaoh's eldest son heard about her, and he begged his father to give her to him as *his* wife. And he said to him, Give me Aseneth the daughter of Pentephres the priest¹¹ of Heliopolis as *my* wife. And his father Pharaoh said to him, Why should you want a wife of lower station than yourself? Are you not king¹² of all the earth¹³? No! See now,¹⁴ the daughter of King Joakim¹⁵ is betrothed to you, and she is a queen and very beautiful indeed: take her as your wife.

II. Now Aseneth despised all men and regarded them with contempt; yet no man had ever seen her, for Pentephres had a tower in his house, and it was large and very high. And the top storey had ten rooms in it. The first room was large and pleasant; and it was paved with purple stones, and its walls were faced with precious stones of different kinds. And the ceiling of that room was of gold; and within it¹ were ranged the innumerable gods of the Egyptians, in gold and silver. And Aseneth worshipped all these; and she feared them and offered sacrifices to them.² The second room contained all *the finery for Aseneth's adornment and her treasure-chests*.³ And there was much gold in it, and silver, and garments woven with gold, and precious stones of great price, and fine linens. And all her girlish ornaments were there.⁴ The third room contained all the good things of the earth;⁵ and it was Aseneth's

⁹ even to . . . corners: Slav. om.

¹⁰ among themselves: B om.

¹¹ B 'the first man'.

¹² So D: BE 'king as you are'; G 'For you are king'.

¹³ Or 'land'.

¹⁴ See now: D om.

¹⁵ So BD Slav.: FH 'of the king of Moab'; A 'of king Joachim of Moab'.

¹ Lit. 'that room'. ² FH add 'daily'.

³ In this verse the authorities differ not a little among themselves over the details, though without any change in the general sense.

⁴ Lit. 'And there was all the adornment of her virginity'.

⁵ Or 'land'.

store-house. And seven virgins had the remaining seven rooms, one each. And they used to wait on Aseneth, and were of the same age as she was, for they were all born on the same night as Aseneth; and they were very beautiful, like the stars of heaven, and no man or boy had ever had anything to do with them. And Aseneth's large room, where she spent her time,⁶ had three windows. One window looked out over the courtyard to the east: the second looked to the north, onto the street; and the third to the south. And a golden bed stood in the room, facing the east. And the bed had a coverlet of purple woven with gold, embroidered with blue, and fine linen. In this bed Aseneth used to sleep alone, and no man or woman ever⁷ sat upon it, except Aseneth only. And there was a great court all round the house, and a wall round the court, very high *and* built of great rectangular stones. And there were four gates to the court, overlaid with iron; and eighteen strong young men-at-arms used to guard each of them. And along the wall inside the court every kind of beautiful tree that produces fruit had been planted; and the fruit on every one of them was ripe, for it was harvest time. And on the right of the court there was an ever-bubbling⁸ spring of water, and beneath the spring a great cistern⁹ that received the water from the spring *and* out of which a river flowed through the middle of the court and watered all the trees in it.

III. And it came to pass¹ in the fourth month, on the eighteenth² day of the month, that Joseph came into the district of Heliopolis.³ And as he approached the city, Joseph sent twelve men in front of him to Pentephres, the priest of Heliopolis, saying, May I be your guest to-day,⁴ for it is near noon and time for the mid-day meal? The sun's heat is overpowering, and I would enjoy some refreshment under your roof. When Pentephres heard this, he was over-

⁶ Lit. 'where her virginity was nurtured'.

⁷ So BH Slav.: D om.

⁸ Lit. 'rich': D om.

⁹ Slav. adds 'of marble'.

¹ BH Slav. add 'in the first year of the seven years of plenty'.

² So H Slav. Syr. Arm. Lat.: B DFA 'twenty eighth'.

³ B Slav. add 'and he was gathering the corn of that land' (Slav. + 'as the sand of the sea').

⁴ Lit. 'I will stay with you to-day'.

5 joyed and said, Blessed be the Lord, the God of Joseph. And
 6 Pentephres called his steward⁵ and said to him, Make haste and
 get my house into order, and prepare a great feast, because Joseph,
 7 the mighty man of God, is coming to us to-day. And Aseneth heard
 that her father and mother had come back from their family estate
 8 in the country.⁶ And she rejoiced and said, I will go and see my
 father and my mother⁷ for they have come back from our estate in
 9 the country. And Aseneth hurried⁸ and put on a fine linen robe of
 blue woven with gold and a golden girdle round her waist, and she
 put⁹ bracelets round her hands and feet, and she put on golden
 10 trousers and a necklace round her neck. And there were precious
 stones all about her, with the names of the Egyptian gods inscribed
 on them everywhere, on the bracelets and on the stones; and the
 11 names of the idols were stamped on the stones. And she put a tiara
 on her head and bound a diadem round her temples and covered
 her head with a veil.

IV. And she hurried and came down by the staircase from her
 storey at the top; and she came to her father and mother and
 2 greeted them. And it gave Pentephres and his wife great joy to see
 3 their daughter Aseneth adorned as the bride of God. And they took
 out all the good things they had brought from their estate in the
 4 country, and they gave them to their daughter.¹ And Aseneth
 rejoiced at the good things, and at the fruit, the grapes and the
 dates, and at the doves and at the pomegranates and the figs, for
 5 they were all delightful. And Pentephres said to his daughter
 Aseneth, *My child*: she said, *Lo, here I am, my lord*. And he said to
 6 her, Sit down, please,² between us: I want to talk to you.³ And
 7 Aseneth sat down between her father and her mother. And her

⁵ Lit. 'him who was over his house'.

⁶ Lit. 'the field of their inheritance'. And so similarly at iii. 8, iv. 3, xvi. 2, xx. 5, xxiv. 14, and xxvi. 1.

⁷ and my mother: BF om.

⁸ B adds 'into the room where her robes lay'.

⁹ she put = Slav.: BD om.

¹ and they gave . . . daughter: B om.

² So BH: D om.

³ Lit. 'and I will speak my words to you'.

father Pentephres⁴ took her right hand in his right hand⁵ and said
 8 to her, *My child*; and Aseneth said, What is it, father?⁶ And
 Pentephres said to her, See, Joseph, the mighty man of God, is
 coming to us to-day, and he is ruler of all the land of Egypt, for
 Pharaoh has appointed him ruler of all our land;⁷ and he is the
 distributor of corn throughout the country and is to save it from the
 9 famine that is to come upon it. And Joseph is a man that worships
 God: *he is* discriminating, and a virgin (as you are to-day), and a
 man of great wisdom and knowledge, and the spirit of God is⁸ upon
 10 him, and the grace of the Lord *is*⁹ with him. So come, my child, and
 I will give you to him as *his* wife: you shall be his bride, and he shall
 11 be your bridegroom for ever. And when Aseneth heard what her
 father said, a great red sweat came over her, and she was furious¹⁰
 12 and looked sideways at her father.¹¹ And she said, Why should my
 lord and my father speak like this and talk as if he would hand me
 over like a prisoner to a man of another race, a *man who was a*
 13 fugitive and was sold *as a slave*? Is not this the shepherd's son from
 14 the land of Canaan, and he was abandoned by him? Is not this the
 man who had intercourse with his mistress,¹² and his master threw
 him into prison where he lay in darkness,¹³ and Pharaoh brought
 15 him out of prison, because he interpreted his dream? No! I will
 16 marry the eldest son of the king, for he is king of all the earth.¹⁴ On
 hearing this, Pentephres thought it wiser to say no more to his
 daughter about Joseph, for she had answered him arrogantly and
 in anger.

V. And behold, one of the young men from Pentephres's retinue
 2 burst in and said, Lo, Joseph is at the gates of our court. And

⁴ So D: B om.

⁵ in his right hand = B Slav.: D om.

⁶ Lit. 'Let my lord and (B om. 'my lord and') my father speak'.

⁷ of all our land: DF om.

⁸ So FA: BD 'was'; EH om.

⁹ BD 'was'.

¹⁰ Lit. 'she was angry with a great wrath'.

¹¹ at her father: B om.

¹² Is not . . . mistress = D Slav.: B om.

¹³ Lit. 'into the prison of darkness'.

¹⁴ Or 'land': D adds 'of Egypt'.

Aseneth quickly left her father and her mother and ran upstairs and went into her room and stood at the big window that looked towards the east, so as to see *Joseph* as he came into her father's house. And Pentephres and his wife and all his relations went out to meet Joseph. And the gates of the court that looked east were opened, and Joseph came in, sitting in Pharaoh's viceroy's chariot. And there were four horses yoked *together*, white as snow, with golden reins; and the chariot was covered over¹ with gold. And Joseph was wearing a marvellous white tunic, and the robe wrapped round him was purple, made of linen woven with gold: *there was* a golden crown on his head, and all round the crown were² twelve precious stones, and above the stones twelve golden rays; and a royal sceptre *was* in his right hand. And he held an olive branch stretched out, and there was much fruit on it. And Joseph came into the court, and the gates were shut. And strangers, whether men or women, remained outside, because the gatekeepers had shut the doors.³ And Pentephres came, and his wife, and all his relatives, except their daughter Aseneth; and they made obeisance to Joseph with *their* faces to the ground. And Joseph got down from his chariot and extended his right hand to them.

VI. And Aseneth saw Joseph and she was cut to the quick, her stomach turned over,¹ her knees became limp, and her whole body trembled. And she was much afraid and cried out and said, Where shall I go, and where can I hide myself from him? And how will Joseph, the son of God, regard me, for I have spoken evil² of him? Where can I flee and hide myself, for he sees everything, and no secret is safe from him, because of the great light that is in him? And now may Joseph's God be propitious to me³ because I spoke evil in ignorance. What can I hope for,⁴ wretch that I am? Have I

¹ Lit. 'shaded over'. Is the reference to a golden awning over the chariot, or was the chariot itself overlaid with gold?

² the crown were: B om.

³ D adds 'and all strangers were shut out'.

¹ Lit. 'and she was strongly pricked in the soul, and her inwards were broken'.

² D om. ³ D 'have mercy on me'.

⁴ Lit. 'What then shall I see (= DF: BA 'follow')'.

not spoken, saying, Joseph is coming, the shepherd's son from the land of Canaan? And now, behold, the sun is come⁵ to us from heaven in his chariot and has come into our house to-day. But I was foolish and reckless to despise him, and I spoke evil of him and did not know that Joseph is the son of God. For who among men will ever father such beauty, and what mother⁶ will *ever* bear such a light? Wretch that I am and foolish, for I spoke evil of *him* to my father. Now let my father give me to Joseph⁷ as a maidservant and a slave, and I will serve him for ever.

VII. And Joseph came into Pentephres's house and sat down on a seat; and he washed his feet, and he placed¹ a table in front of him separately, because he would not eat with the Egyptians, for this was an abomination to him. And Joseph spoke to Pentephres and all his relations, saying, Who is that woman standing in the solar² by the window? Tell her to go away.³ (*This was* because Joseph was afraid she too might solicit him;⁴ for all the wives and daughters of the lords and satraps of all the land of⁵ Egypt used to solicit him to lie with him.⁶ And many of the wives and daughters⁷ of the Egyptians suffered much, after seeing Joseph, because he was so handsome; and they would send emissaries to him with gold and silver and valuable gifts.⁸ And Joseph would reject them out of hand,⁹ saying, I will not sin before the God of Israel. And Joseph kept his father Jacob's face before his eyes continually,¹⁰ and he remembered his father's commandments; for Jacob used to say to Joseph and his brothers, Be on your guard, my children, against the strange woman, and have nothing to do with her, for she is ruin

⁵ B 'like the sun is he come'.

⁶ Lit. 'what kind of womb'.

⁷ to Joseph: B om.

¹ So BEA: D 'they placed'.

² So BD: EFHA 'top storey'.

³ Lit. 'Let her leave this house'.

⁴ she . . . him: D om.

⁵ the land of: BF om.

⁶ DE 'them'.

⁷ D adds 'of the potentates'.

⁸ gold . . . gifts: B 'many gifts'.

⁹ Lit. 'would send them back with threats and insults'.

¹⁰ DH Slav. om.

7 and destruction. That is why Joseph said, Tell that woman to go
8 away.¹¹) And Pentephres said to him, *My* lord, the woman you
have seen in the storey at the top is no stranger: she is our daughter,
a virgin, who detests men; and no other¹² man has ever seen her,
9 apart from you to-day. And if you wish it, she shall come and speak
10 with you; for our daughter is your sister. And Joseph was overjoyed
11 because Pentephres said, She is a virgin who detests men. And
Joseph answered Pentephres and his wife and said, If she is your
daughter, then let her come, for she is my sister, and I will regard¹³
her as my sister from to-day.

VIII. And Aseneth's mother went up to the top storey and brought
Aseneth *down* to Joseph; and Pentephres said to his daughter
Aseneth, Greet your brother, for he too is a virgin as you are
to-day, and he detests all strange women just as you *detest* all
2 strange men. And Aseneth said to Joseph, May you have joy, *my*
lord, blessed *as you are* of God Most High; and Joseph said to her,
3 May God, who has given all things life, bless you. And Pentephres
4 said to Aseneth, Come near and kiss your brother. And when she
came near to kiss Joseph, Joseph stretched his right hand out, and
5 laid it against her breast, and said, It is not right for a man who
worships God, who with his mouth blesses the living God, and eats
the blessed bread of life, and drinks the blessed cup of immortality,
and is anointed with the blessed unction¹ of incorruption, to kiss a
strange woman, who with her mouth blesses dead and dumb idols,
and eats of their table the bread of anguish,² and drinks of their
libations the cup of treachery,³ and is anointed with the unction of
6 destruction. A man who worships God will kiss his mother and his
sister that is of his *own* tribe and kin,⁴ and the wife that shares his
7 couch, who with their mouths bless the living God. So too it is not
right for a woman who worships God to kiss a strange man,
8 because this is an abomination in God's eyes. And when Aseneth

¹¹ Lit. 'Let that (DFH 'the') woman leave this house'.

¹² B 'strange'. ¹³ Lit. 'love'.

¹ of life . . . unction = HA: BD Slav. om.; cp. xv. 4.

² Lit. 'strangling'; D 'shame'.

³ Lit. 'ambush'. ⁴ and kin: BE om.

heard what Joseph said, she was most distressed and cried out
aloud; and she fixed her gaze on Joseph, and her eyes were filled
9 with tears. And Joseph saw her and his heart went out to her – for
Joseph was tender-hearted and compassionate and feared the
10 Lord.⁵ And he lifted up his right hand above her head and said,

O Lord, the God of my father Israel, the Most High, the
Mighty One,
Who didst quicken all things, and didst call *them* from
darkness into light,
And from error into truth,⁶ and from death into life;
Do thou, O Lord, thyself quicken and bless this virgin,
11 And renew her by thy spirit,⁷ and remould her by thy secret
hand,
And quicken her with thy life.
And may she eat the bread of thy life,⁸
And may she drink the cup of thy blessing,
She whom thou didst choose before she was begotten,⁹
And may she enter into thy rest, which thou hast prepared
for thine elect.

IX. And Aseneth was filled with joy at Joseph's blessing, and she
went up¹ in haste to her storey at the top and fell on her couch
exhausted, because she felt *not only* happy, *but also* disturbed and
very frightened;² and she had been bathed in perspiration from the
moment she heard Joseph speaking³ to her in the name of God
2 Most High. And she wept bitterly, and she repented of her gods she
3 used to worship; and she waited for evening to come. And Joseph
ate and drank; and he said to his servants, Yoke the horses to the

⁵ for Joseph . . . Lord: D om.

⁶ And from . . . truth = HA: BD Slav. om.

⁷ DA 'holy spirit'.

⁸ and remould . . . thy life = F Lat.: BD Slav. om. (A om. 'and remould . . . hand').

⁹ She . . . begotten = BD Slav.: FA 'And number her with thy people which thou didst choose before all things came into being'.

¹ So BEA Slav.: DFH 'away'.

²⁻³ Lit. 'and a continual (D om.) sweat was poured about her (= D: BFA om. 'was poured about her') when she heard these words from Joseph who had spoken'.

chariot (for he said, I must depart and go round the whole city and the district⁴). And Pentephres said to Joseph, Stay the night here, my lord, and to-morrow go your way. And Joseph said, No! I must be going *now*, for this is the day when God began his works: in eight days time I will come back again⁵ and stay the night here with you.

X. Then Pentephres and his relations went away to their estate. And Aseneth was left alone with the¹ virgins, and she was listless and wept until sunset: she ate no bread and drank no water; and while all slept she alone was awake. And she opened *the door* and went down to the¹ gate; and she found the portress asleep with her children. And Aseneth quickly took down the leather curtain from the door, and she filled it with ashes and carried it up to the top storey and laid it on the floor. And she secured the door and fastened it with the iron bar from the side; and she groaned aloud and wept. And the virgin that Aseneth loved most of all the virgins² heard her mistress groaning, and she roused the other virgins³ and came⁴ and found the door shut. And she listened to Aseneth groaning and weeping and said, Why are you so sorrowful, my lady? What is it that is troubling you? Open *the door* for us, so that we can see you. And Aseneth said to them from inside (shut in *as she was*), I have a violent headache and am resting on my bed; and I have no strength left to open to you now,⁵ for I am utterly exhausted;⁶ but go each of you to her room. And Aseneth got up and opened her door quietly, and went into her second room, where *her treasure-chests and the finery* for her adornment were, and she opened her wardrobe and took out a black and sombre tunic. (And this was her mourning tunic, which she had worn for mourning when her eldest⁷ brother died). And Aseneth took off her royal robe and put on the black *one*, and she untied her golden

⁴ Lit. 'land'.

⁵ So D Slav.: BEFA om.

¹ D 'her'. ² most of . . . virgins: D om.

³ and . . . virgins = EFA: BDGH Slav. om.

⁴ B 'made haste'. ⁵ BF om.

⁶ Lit. 'for I am grown weak in all my limbs'.

⁷ So BDA Slav.: EFG 'younger'.

girdle and tied a rope round her waist *instead*, and she took her tiara off her head and the diadem, and the bracelets from her hands. And she took her best robe, just as it was,⁸ and threw it out of the window, for the poor. And she took all her innumerable gold and silver gods and broke them up into little pieces, and threw⁹ them *out of the window* for the poor and needy.¹⁰ And Aseneth took her royal dinner, even the fatted beasts and the fish and the meat, and all the sacrifices for her gods, and the wine-vessels for their libations; and she threw them all out of the window as food for the dogs. And after this she took the ashes and poured them out on the floor. And she took sackcloth and wrapped it round her waist, and she removed the fillet from her hair and sprinkled herself with ashes; and she fell down upon the ashes. And she beat her breast repeatedly with her two¹¹ hands and wept bitterly and groaned all night until the morning. And in the morning Aseneth got up and looked, and lo, the ashes underneath her were like mud because of her tears. And again Aseneth fell down on her face upon the ashes until sunset. And so Aseneth did for seven days; and she tasted neither food nor drink.¹²

XI. And it came to pass on the eighth day that Aseneth¹ looked up from the floor where she was lying (for she was losing the use of her limbs as a result of her great affliction).

XII. And she¹ stretched her hands out towards the east, and her eyes looked up to heaven,² and she said,

⁸ Lit. 'all her chosen robe'. Is the reference to the 'royal robe' of verse 11 – as we have assumed? Or ought we to take *στολή* ('robe') here in the more general sense of 'equipment' and translate 'all her choice apparel'? If so, the girdle, the tiara, the diadem, and the bracelets, which Aseneth had just taken off, will also be included (as the editors of the *a* recension distinctly state), and perhaps some other items as well – though xiv. 15 and xviii. 3 make it clear that Aseneth did not empty her wardrobe completely!

¹⁰ and needy: D om.

¹¹ B om.

¹² Lit. 'and she tasted nothing at all'.

¹ So D: B Slav. 'she'.

¹ D 'Aseneth'. B prefixes to this chapter the title 'Prayer and Confession of Aseneth', which is found also in A between verses 1 and 2.

² looked up to heaven: BD Slav. om.

- 2 O Lord, God of the ages, that didst give to all the breath of life,
That didst bring into the light the things unseen,
That hast made all things and made visible what was invisible,
3 That hast raised up the heaven and founded the earth upon the waters,
That hast fixed the great stones upon the abyss of water,
Which shall not be submerged,
But to the end they do thy will.³
- 4 O Lord, my God, to thee will I cry: hear my supplication;⁴
And⁵ unto thee will I make confession of my sins,
And unto thee will I reveal my transgressions of thy law.
5 I have sinned, O Lord, I have sinned:
I have transgressed thy law and acted impiously,
And I have spoken things evil before thee.
My mouth, O Lord, has been defiled by things offered to idols,
And by the table of the gods⁶ of the Egyptians.
6 I have sinned, O Lord, before thee; I have sinned and acted impiously,
Worshipping idols, dead and dumb,
And I am not worthy to open my mouth unto thee, wretch that I am.
7 I have sinned, O Lord, before thee,
I, the daughter of Pentephres the priest,
I, the haughty and arrogant *Aseneth*.
To thee, O Lord,⁷ I present my supplication, and unto thee will I cry:
Deliver me from my persecutors, for unto thee⁸ have I fled,
Like a child to his father and *his* mother.
8 And do thou, O⁹ Lord, stretch forth thy hands over me,

³ D 'ordinance'.⁴ hear my supplication: B om.⁵ D om.⁶ to idols . . . the gods: D 'to the idols'.⁷ O Lord = D Slav.: B 'also'.⁸ will I cry . . . unto thee = B Slav.: D om.⁹ B 'my'.

- As a father that loves his children¹⁰ and is tenderly affectionate,¹¹
And snatch me from the hand of the enemy.
9 For lo, the wild primaeval Lion pursues¹² me;
And his children are the gods of the Egyptians that I have abandoned and destroyed;
And their father the Devil is trying to devour me.
10 But do thou, O Lord, deliver me from his hands,
And rescue me from his mouth,
Lest he snatch me like a wolf and tear me,
And cast me into the abyss of fire, and into the tempest of the sea;
And let not the great Sea-monster swallow me.
11 Save me, O Lord, deserted *as I am*,
For my father and mother denied me,
Because I destroyed and shattered their gods;
And now I am an orphan and deserted,
And I have no other hope save in thee, O Lord;
For thou art the father of the orphans, and the champion of the persecuted,
And the help of them that are oppressed.
- 12 For⁵ lo, all the gods¹³ of my father Pentephres are but for a season and uncertain; but the habitations of thine inheritance, O Lord, are incorruptible and eternal.

XIII. Look upon my orphanhood, O Lord, for unto thee did I flee,
2 O Lord.¹ Lo, I took off my royal robe interwoven with gold and put
3 on a black tunic *instead*. Lo, I loosed my golden girdle and girt
4 myself with a rope and sackcloth. Lo, I threw off my diadem from
5 my head and sprinkled myself with ashes. Lo, the floor of my room
once scattered with stones of different colours and of purple, and

¹⁰ over . . . children = B Slav.: D om.¹¹ and is . . . affectionate = B: D Slav. om.¹² the wild . . . pursues = B: D 'as a lion he pursues'.¹³ So B Slav.: DFH 'habitations'.¹ O Lord . . . O Lord = D: B 'O Lord'; Slav. om. altogether.

besprinkled with myrrh,² is now sprinkled with my tears³ and⁴
 6 scattered with ashes.⁵ Lo, Lord, from the ashes and from my tears
 there is as much mud inside my room as there is on a public⁶
 7 highway. Lo, Lord,⁷ my royal dinner and my fatted beasts have I
 8 given to the dogs.⁸ And lo, for seven days and seven nights⁹ I have
 neither eaten bread nor drunk water; and my mouth is dry like a
 drum, and my tongue like horn, and my lips like a potsherd, and
 my face is shrunken, and my eyes are failing as a result of my
 9 incessant tears.¹⁰ But do thou, O Lord, pardon me, for in ignorance
 did I sin against thee and uttered calumnies against my lord
 10 Joseph. And I did not know, wretch that I am, that he is thy son, O
 Lord; for they told me that Joseph was a shepherd's son from the
 land of Canaan, and I believed them; but I was wrong, and I
 despised Joseph, thine elect one, and I spoke evil of him, not
 11 knowing that he is thy son. For what man ever was so handsome,
 and who else is as wise and strong as Joseph? But to thee, my Lord,
 12 do I entrust him; for I love him more than mine own soul. Preserve
 him in the wisdom of thy grace, and give me to him as a servant, so
 that I may wash his feet and serve him and be his slave for all¹¹ the
 seasons of my life.

XIV. And as Aseneth finished her confession to the Lord, lo, the
 2 morning star rose in the eastern sky. And Aseneth saw it and
 rejoiced and said, The Lord God has indeed heard me, for this star
 3 is a messenger and herald of the light of the great day. And lo, the
 heaven was torn open near the morning star and an indescribable
 4 light appeared, And Aseneth fell on her face upon the ashes; and
 there came to her a man from heaven¹ and stood at her head;² and

² and bespr. with m.: B om.

³ with my tears: D om.

⁴ BD om.; Slav. adds 'to-day'.

⁵ scattered with ashes: D om.

⁶ Lit. 'broad'.

⁷ B 'my Lord'.

⁸ So BA: DFH Slav. 'the strange dogs'.

⁹ and seven nights: Slav. om.

¹⁰ Lit. 'as a result of the inflammation of my tears'.

¹¹ B om.

¹ So FG: B 'a man of light from heaven'; D 'the man of God'.

² Lit. 'over her head'.

5 he called to her, Aseneth.³ And she said, Who called me? For the
 door of my room is shut and the tower is high: how then did anyone
 6 get into⁴ my room? And the man⁵ called her a second time and said,
 Aseneth, Aseneth; and she said, Here am I, my lord, tell me who
 7 you are. And the man said, I am the commander⁶ of the Lord's
 house⁷ and chief captain⁸ of all the host of the Most High:⁹ stand
 8 up,¹⁰ and I will speak to you. And she looked up and saw a man like
 Joseph in every respect, with a robe and a crown and a royal staff.
 9 But his face was like lightning, and his eyes were like the light of the
 sun,¹¹ and the hairs of his head like flames¹² of fire, and his hands
 10 and his feet like iron from the fire. And Aseneth looked *at him*, and
 11 she fell on her face at his feet in great fear and trembling. And the
 man said to her, Take heart, Aseneth, and do not be afraid; but
 12 stand up,¹³ and I will speak to you. And Aseneth got up, and the
 man said to her, Take off the black tunic you are wearing and the
 sackcloth round your waist,¹⁴ and shake the ashes off your head,
 13 and wash your face with water. And put on a new robe that you
 have never worn before,¹⁵ and tie your bright girdle round your
 14 waist – the double girdle of your virginity. And *then* come back to
 15 me, and I will tell you what I have been sent to you to say. And
 Aseneth went into the room where *her treasure-chests and the finery for*
 her adornment were;¹⁶ and she opened her wardrobe and took *out* a
 new, fine, robe, and she took off her black robe and put on the new
 16 and brilliant *one*. And she untied the rope and the sackcloth round
 her waist;¹⁷ and she put on the brilliant double girdle of her

³ So B: D Slav. om.

⁴ Lit. 'and how did he come into' (= B Slav.: D 'and how did you come here into').

⁵ B 'And he'.

⁶ So BD: A 'chief captain'; EFG 'ruler'.

⁷ So BEF Slav.: G 'of the Lord'; D 'of glory of the Lord'; A 'of the Lord God'.

⁸ So D: EFGA 'and commander'.

⁹ So GA Slav.: D 'of all the host of the Lord Most High'; F 'of all the heavenly host'; B om. 'and chief . . . High' altogether.

¹⁰ Lit. 'stand upon your feet' (D 'stand up from the floor').

¹¹ B 'his eyes like the sun'.

¹² Lit. 'a flame'.

¹³ Lit. 'stand upon your feet' (D om. 'upon your feet').

¹⁴ round your waist (lit. 'from your loins') = FGA: B 'from you'; D Slav. om.

¹⁵ Lit. 'a new robe, undefiled'.

¹⁶ where . . . were: B om.

¹⁷ And . . . waist: D om.

virginity – one girdle round her waist and the other round her
17 breast. And she shook the ashes off her head, and washed her face
with pure water, and covered her head with a fine and lovely veil.

XV. And she came *back* to the man; and when the man saw her he
said to her, Take now the veil off your head, for to-day you are a
2 pure virgin and your head is like a young man's. So she took it off
her head; and the man said to her, Take heart, Aseneth,¹ for lo, the
3 Lord has heard the words of your confession. Take heart, Aseneth:²
your name is written in the book of life, and it will never be blotted
4 out. From to-day you will be made new, and refashioned, and
given new life; and you shall eat the bread of life and drink the cup
of immortality, and be anointed with the unction of incorruption.³
5 Take heart, Aseneth:⁴ lo, the Lord has given you to Joseph to be his
6 bride, and he shall be your bridegroom. And you shall no more be
called Aseneth, but 'City of Refuge' shall be your name; for many
nations shall take refuge in you, and under your wings shall⁵ many
7 peoples⁶ find shelter,⁷ and within your walls those who give their
allegiance to God in penitence will find security. For Penitence is
the Most High's daughter and she entreats the Most High on your
behalf every hour,⁸ and on behalf of all who repent;⁹ for he is the
father of Penitence¹⁰ and she the mother of virgins, and every hour
she petitions him for those who repent; for¹¹ she has prepared a
heavenly bridal chamber for those who love her,¹² and she will look
8 after them for ever. And Penitence is *herself* a virgin, very beautiful

¹ BFHA Slav. add 'you pure virgin'.

² Take heart Aseneth: D om.; BA add 'you (A + 'pure') virgin'.

³ The authorities differ not a little in detail here. All, however, refer to Aseneth's eating of the bread and all except F to her drinking of the cup. Her anointing with the unction appears in HGA Arm., but not in BDEF Slav. Cp. viii. 5.

⁴ BA add 'you (A + 'pure') virgin'.

⁵ under . . . shall: D om.

⁶ B 'nations'; G om.

⁷ find shelter (lit. 'shelter themselves') = EGH: B 'lodge and sh. th.'; D om.

⁸ on your b. every hour: B om.

⁹ and (B om.) on b. of all (BG om.) who r.: D om.

¹⁰ for . . . Penitence: D om.

¹¹ she the mother . . . for: B om.

¹² B 'him'.

and pure and chaste and gentle; and God Most High loves her, and
9 all his angels do her reverence. And lo, I am on my way to Joseph,
and I will talk to him about you, and he will come to you to-day
and see you and rejoice over you; and he shall be your bridegroom.
10 So listen to me, Aseneth, and put on your wedding robe, the
ancient¹³ robe,¹⁴ the first¹⁵ that was stored away in your room, and
deck yourself in all your finest jewelry, and adorn yourself as a
11 bride, and be ready to meet him. For lo, he is coming to you to-day;
12 and he will see you and rejoice. And when the man had finished
13 speaking Aseneth was overjoyed. And she fell at his feet and said to
him, Blessed be the Lord God¹⁶ that sent you out to deliver me
from darkness and bring me into light; and blessed be his name for
14 ever. Let me speak now, *my* lord, if I have found favour with you: sit
down a little on the bed, and I will get a table ready and food for
you to eat;¹⁷ and I will bring you good wine, of the finest flavour, for
you to drink;¹⁸ and *then* you shall go your way.

XVI. And the man said to her, Bring me, please, a honeycomb too.
2 And Aseneth said, Let me send someone, *my* lord,¹ to my family
3 estate in the country, and I will get you a honeycomb. And the man
said to her, Go into your *inner* room and you will find a honeycomb
4 *there*. And Aseneth went into her *inner* room and found a honey-
comb lying on the table; and the comb was as white as snow and
5 full of honey, and its smell was like the breath² of life. And Aseneth
took the comb and brought *it* to him; and the man said to her, Why
did you say, There is no honeycomb in my house? And lo, you have
6 brought me this. And Aseneth said, *My* lord, I had no honeycomb
in my house, but it happened just as you said: did it perchance
7 come out of your mouth, for it smells like myrrh?³ And the man

¹³ So BEFHA: D om.

¹⁴ So BFA: DEH om.

¹⁵ So BD: HA 'even the first'; EF om.

¹⁶ B om.

¹⁷ Lit. ' . . . and bread, and eat' (imperative).

¹⁸ Lit. 'wine, whose savour reaches to the heavens, and drink' (imperative).

¹ So D: B Slav. om.

² Lit. 'smell'.

³ D adds 'from your mouth'.

stretched his hand out and placed it on her head and said, You are blessed, Aseneth, for the indescribable things⁴ of God⁵ have been revealed to you; and blessed *too* are those who give their allegiance to the Lord⁶ God in penitence, for they shall eat of this comb. The bees of the Paradise of Delight⁷ have made this honey, and the angels of God eat of it, and no one who eats of it shall ever die. And the man stretched his right hand out and broke off a *piece* of the comb and ate it; and he put a *piece* of it⁸ into Aseneth's mouth. And the man stretched his hand out and put his finger⁹ on the edge of the comb that faced eastwards; and the path¹⁰ of his finger became like blood. And he stretched his hand out a second time and put his finger on the edge of the comb that faced northwards; and the path¹⁰ of his finger became like blood. And Aseneth was standing on the left and watching everything the man was doing. And bees came up from the cells of the comb, and they were as white as snow, and their wings were *iridescent* – purple and blue and gold;¹¹ and they had golden diadems on their heads and sharp-pointed stings. And all the bees flew in circles round Aseneth, from her feet right up to her head; and yet more bees,¹² as big as queens, settled on Aseneth's lips. And the man said to the bees, Go, please, to your places. And they all left Aseneth and fell to the ground, every one of *them*,¹³ and died. And the man said, Get up now, and go to your place; and they got up¹⁴ and went, every one of *them*, to the court round Aseneth's *tower*.

XVII. And the man said to Aseneth, Have you observed this? And

⁴ So BDH: G 'the hidden things'; F 'the mysteries'; A 'the indescribable mysteries'.

⁵ So BDA: FGH 'the Most High'.

⁶ BF add 'your'.

⁷ i.e. the Garden of Eden (cp. the LXX at e.g. Gen. iii. 23 and Ezek. xxxi. 9).

⁸ Lit. 'and he gave of the comb with his hand'.

⁹ B Lat. 'his forefinger'.

¹⁰ So D Lat.: B Slav. 'appearance'.

¹¹ Lit. 'and their wings were as purple, and hyacinth, and as threads of gold' (= B: A '... hyacinth, and as scarlet': D Slav. om. 'and as threads of gold').

¹² Aseneth ... bees: D om.

¹³ every one of *them* = B: D Slav. om.

¹⁴ And they got up = BFG A Slav.: D om.

2 she said, Yes,¹ *my* lord, I have observed it all. And the man said, So
3 shall be the² words I have spoken to you. And the man touched the
comb, and fire went up from the table and burnt up the comb; and,
as it burned, the comb gave out a refreshing fragrance that filled
4 the room. And Aseneth said to the man, There are, *my* lord, seven
virgins with me, who have been brought up with me, and who wait
upon me: they were born in the same night as I was and I love
them: let me call them,³ so that you can bless them as you have
5 blessed me. And the man said, Call *them*;⁴ and Aseneth called
them, and the man blessed them and said, God,⁵ the Most High,
6 will bless you⁶ for ever. And the man said to Aseneth, Take this
table away; and Aseneth turned to move the table, and⁷ the man
vanished out of her sight, and Aseneth saw what looked like a
7 chariot of fire being taken up into heaven towards the east. And
Aseneth said, Be merciful, O Lord, to thy maidservant, because it
was in⁸ ignorance that I spoke evil⁹ before thee.

XVIII. And while this was happening,¹ behold,² a young man, one
of Joseph's³ servants, came and said, Lo, Joseph, the mighty man
of God is coming to you⁴ to-day. And Aseneth called her steward⁵
and said, Get ready a special dinner for me, because Joseph, the
3 mighty man of God, is coming to us. And Aseneth went into her
room and opened her wardrobe, and she took out her finest⁶ robe
4 that shone like lightning, and she put it on. And she tied a resplendent
royal girdle round her waist – and this girdle was⁷ of precious

¹ Lit. 'Lo'. ² B 'my'.

³ Lit. 'Pray, I will call them = DGA: B om.

⁴ And the man ... *them* = BG: Slav. 'And he said, Call *them*'; D om.

⁵ So DEFG Slav.: A 'the Lord God'; B om.

⁶ E adds 'and you shall be seven pillars of the City of Refuge'.

⁷ B adds 'immediately'.

⁸ D adds 'my'. ⁹ B 'this word'.

¹ So B: D Slav. 'and when Aseneth said this'; F 'and Aseneth was saying these things to herself'; A 'and while Aseneth was yet saying these things to herself'.

² So B Slav.: D 'immediately'.

³ So BDA Slav.: EFG 'Pentephres's'.

⁴ So D Slav. (plural): B 'you' (sing.).

⁵ Lit. 'first'.

⁶ and this g. was: B om.

5 stones. And she put golden bracelets round her hands, and golden
boots on her feet, and a costly necklace about her neck; and she put
a golden crown upon her head, and in the crown, in front, were the
6,7 costliest of stones. And she covered her head with a veil. And she
said to her maidservant, Bring me pure water from the spring. And
Aseneth bent down to the water in the basin [on the cockle-shell];⁸
and her face was like the sun, and her eyes like the rising morning
star.

XIX. And a little slave came and said to Aseneth, Lo, Joseph is at
the gates of our court; and Aseneth went down with the seven
2 virgins to meet him.¹ And when Joseph saw her, he said to her,
Come to me, pure virgin, for I have had good news about you from
3 heaven, explaining everything about you.² And Joseph stretched
his hands out and embraced Aseneth, and Aseneth *embraced*
Joseph,³ and they greeted each other for a long time and received
new life in their spirit.⁴

XX. And Aseneth said to him, Come, *my* lord, come into my
house; and she took his right hand and brought him¹ inside her
2 house. And Joseph sat down on her father Pentephres's seat, and
she brought water to wash his feet; and Joseph said to her, Let one
3 of *your* virgins come, and let her wash my feet. And Aseneth said to
him, No, *my* lord, for my hands are your hands, and your feet my
feet,² and no one else shall wash your feet; and so she had her way

⁸ Philonenko would exclude these words on the ground that they make no sense. He interprets the verse as a description of a rite of divination (lecanomanancy): Aseneth, therefore, could not bend over both a basin and a shell at the same time. It is worth noting, however, that Batiffol's much fuller text, not only makes no mention of a shell, but also leaves no room for doubt that Aseneth's purpose in sending for the water was 'to wash her face', and that it was only when she saw her reflection in the water that she desisted ('Lest I wash off this great and welcome beauty').

¹ So D: BFA 'Joseph'. ² from heaven . . . you: D om.

³ and embraced As . . . Joseph = DA: B om.

⁴ Or 'by their breath': D om. 'and rec. . . spirit'.

¹ So B: D 'and hand in hand (lit. 'holding each other's right hands') they entered'. ² So DFA Slav.: B 'my feet your feet'.

4 and washed his feet. And Joseph took her by the right hand and
5 kissed it,³ and Aseneth kissed his head. And Aseneth's parents⁴
came back from their country estate, and they saw Aseneth sitting
with Joseph and wearing a wedding⁵ robe; and they rejoiced and
6 glorified God, and they ate and they drank. And Pentephres said to
Joseph, To-morrow I will invite the lords and satraps of Egypt,
and I will celebrate your wedding, and you shall take Aseneth as
7 *your* wife. And Joseph said, First I must tell Pharaoh about
Aseneth, because he is my father; and he will give me Aseneth as *my*
8 wife himself. And Joseph stayed that day with Pentephres; and he
did not sleep with Aseneth, for he said, It is not right for a man who
worships God to have intercourse with his wife before their
marriage.

XXI.¹ And Joseph got up early in the morning, and he went away
2 to Pharaoh and told him about Aseneth.² And Pharaoh sent and
3 called³ Pentephres and Aseneth.⁴ And Pharaoh was astonished at
her beauty and said, The Lord will bless you, *even* the God of⁵
Joseph,⁶ who has chosen you to be his bride, for⁷ he is the first-born
son of God, and⁸ you will be called the daughter of the Most High,
4 and Joseph shall be your bridegroom for ever. And Pharaoh took
5 golden crowns and put them on their heads and said, God Most
6 High will bless you and prosper your family⁹ for ever. And

³ Or 'her'.

⁴ B adds 'both her father and her mother'.

⁵ So BA Slav.: D 'bright'.

¹ Philonenko's text of this chapter is for the most part a reconstruction from the Slavonic, B and D having a number of omissions. A, on the other hand, agrees in the main with the Slavonic apart from a few small variations, expansions, and additions.

² and told . . . Aseneth; BD om.

³ And Phar. . . called = Slav.: D 'And Phar. called'; B om.

⁴ Pent. and As. = D: Slav. 'Pent. and his daughter'; B om.

⁵ And Phar. . . God of = (A) Slav.: BD om.

⁶ So A: Slav. 'Israel'; BD om.

⁷ who . . . for = (A) Slav.: BD om.

⁸ he is . . . and = F(A) Syr.: BD Slav. om.

⁹ Lit. 'and multiply you'.

Pharaoh turned them towards each other, and they kissed each other. And Pharaoh celebrated their wedding with a banquet and much merry-making¹⁰ for seven days; and he invited all the chief
7 men in the land of Egypt.¹¹ And he issued a proclamation, saying,¹²
8 Any¹³ man who does any work during the seven days of Joseph and
Aseneth's wedding¹⁴ shall die. And when the wedding was over
and the banquet ended, Joseph had intercourse with Aseneth; and
Aseneth conceived by Joseph and bore Manasseh and his brother
Ephraim in Joseph's¹⁵ house.

XXII. And after this the seven years of plenty came to an end, and
2 the seven years of famine began. And when Jacob heard about his
son¹ Joseph, he came into Egypt, with all his family, in the second
month, on the twenty-first *day* of the month; and he settled in the
3 land of Goshen.² And Aseneth said to Joseph, I³ will go and see
your father, because your father Israel is my father; and Joseph
4 said to her, Let us go together. And Joseph and Aseneth came into
the land of Goshen, and Joseph's brothers met them⁴ and made
5 obeisance to them upon the ground. And they came to Jacob and
he blessed them and kissed them;⁵ and Aseneth hung upon his
6 father⁶ Jacob's neck and kissed him. And after this they ate and
7 drank. And Joseph and Aseneth went to their house, and Simeon
and Levi escorted them, to protect them:⁷ Levi was on Aseneth's
8 right hand and Simeon⁸ on the left. And Aseneth took Levi's hand
because she loved him as a man *who was* a prophet and a worshipper

¹⁰ Lit. 'drinking'.

¹¹ you will be called . . . Egypt = (A) Slav.: BD om.

¹² And . . . saying = (D) (A) Slav.: B om.

¹³ So BFGA Slav. (lit. 'every'): D 'if any' ('man does . . . he shall die').

¹⁴ B Slav. add 'that man'.

¹⁵ So DFA Slav.: BG 'Pharaoh's'.

¹ his son: Slav. om.

² So BA Slav.: D 'Egypt'.

³ So BEFGA Slav.: D 'we'.

⁴ into . . . them = BA Slav.: D 'and Joseph's brothers'; B adds 'in the land of Goshen'.
⁵ and kissed them = B Slav.: D om.

⁶ his father: D om.

⁷ Lit. 'escorted them because their enemies were envious of them'.

⁸ So B: DFA Slav. 'Joseph'.

of God and a man *who* feared the Lord. And he used to see letters written in the heavens, and he would read them and interpret them⁹ to Aseneth privately; and Levi saw the place of her rest in the highest heaven.

XXIII. And as Joseph and Aseneth were passing by, Pharaoh's
2 eldest son saw them¹ from the wall.² And when he saw Aseneth³ he
was driven to distraction by her because she was so beautiful; and
Pharaoh's son sent messengers³ and summoned Simeon and Levi
3 to him, and they came to him and stood before him.⁴ And Pharaoh's
son said to them, I have heard⁵ that you are better soldiers than
any others there are on earth, and *that* with your *own* right hands
you destroyed the city of Shechem and with your *own* two swords
4 you cut to pieces thirty thousand fighting men.⁶ I need your help:
let us get together without delay;⁷ and I will give you gold and
silver in abundance, and menservants and maidservants, and
houses and great estates.⁸ Make a compact with me,⁹ and shew
kindness to me; for I was greatly wronged by your brother Joseph,
because he married Aseneth although¹⁰ she was originally pledged
5 to me. And now come with me, and I will take up arms against
Joseph and kill him with my sword, and I will marry Aseneth; and
6 you shall be my brothers and¹¹ my friends for ever. But if you will
not listen to me, I will kill you with my sword (and as he said this he
7 bared his sword and showed it them). Now Simeon was a brave but
impetuous man, and he drew his sword from its scabbard and
8 made a rush at Pharaoh's son, as if to strike him. And Levi was

⁹ So B (lit. 'he would reveal them'): D 'he would reveal all things'.

¹ D 'her'.

² from the wall = BEA: DFG Slav. om.

³ So BFA Slav.: DG om.

⁴ and stood before him = BFG: D Slav. om.

⁵ Lit. 'I know'.

⁶ Lit. 'thirty thousand men of war' (D om. 'of war').

⁷ So Slav. (lit. 'I call you to my aid: make haste. Lo, I will take you as companions'): D 'I call you to my aid: make haste'; B 'And lo, I will take you to my aid this day'; A 'And I this day will take you to myself as companions'.

⁸ Lit. 'inheritance'.

⁹ So G: B 'swear to me'; D 'listen to me'; A 'strive together with me'.

¹⁰ Lit. 'and'.

¹¹ my brothers and: D om.

aware of what Simeon was about to do, for Levi was a prophet and foresaw everything that was to happen; and Levi trod hard on Simon's right foot as a sign to him to curb his wrath. And Levi said to him, Why so angry with him? For we are the children of a man who worships God, and it is not right for a man who worships God to repay his neighbour evil for evil. And Levi said to his neighbour,¹² Pharaoh's son, respectfully and in good humour, *My lord*, why do you speak to us like this? For¹³ we are men who worship God, and our father is the servant of God Most High, and our brother Joseph is loved by God: how could we do¹⁴ anything so wicked in God's eyes? And now, listen to us, and be careful you never repeat what you have just said about our brother Joseph. If, however, you persist in this wicked plan, see, our swords are drawn against you. And they¹⁵ drew their swords from their scabbards and said, Do you see these swords? It was with them that the Lord¹⁶ God avenged the outrage on the sons of Israel, which the men of Shechem committed in the affair of our sister Dinah, whom¹⁷ Shechem, Hamor's son, defiled. And Pharaoh's son saw their drawn swords, and he was afraid and trembled and fell on his face to the ground at their feet. And Levi stretched his hand out and lifted him up, saying, Do not be afraid: only be careful you say nothing against our brother. And they went out from him, leaving him trembling and afraid.

XXIV. And Pharaoh's son was in much affliction and torment because of Aseneth, and he was greatly distressed. And his servants whispered in his ear, Lo, the sons of Bilhah and Zilpah, the maidservants of Leah and Rachel, Jacob's wives, hate Joseph and Aseneth and are jealous of them, and they will do what you want. And Pharaoh's son sent messengers¹ and summoned them, and they came to him by night; and Pharaoh's son said to them, I have heard² that you are good soldiers. And Gad and Dan, the elder

¹² his neighbour: D om.¹³ Lit. 'And'.¹⁴ Lit. 'and how (D om.) shall we do'.¹⁵ D 'Simeon and Levi'.¹⁶ the Lord: D om.¹⁷ BD Slav. add 'in'.¹ So BGA Slav.: DF om.² Lit. 'I know'.

brothers, said to Pharaoh's son, Let our lord tell his servants what it is he wants, and we will do it.³ And Pharaoh's son was overjoyed, and he said to his servants, Go away and leave us alone, for I have something to say to these men privately. And all the servants went out; and Pharaoh's son told them lies, saying, I offer you a choice between prosperity and death:⁴ so choose prosperity⁵ and not death. I know that you are good soldiers, and *that* you will not die as women *die*; but act like men and take vengeance on⁶ your enemies. I heard (he continued⁷) your brother Joseph say to my father Pharaoh, Dan and Gad are the children of maidservants⁸ and are not my brothers. And I am only waiting for my father to die to take action against them and all their progeny, so that they will not share the inheritance with us, for they are the children of maidservants, and it was they who sold me to the Ishmaelites. When my father is dead I will repay them for the wrong they did me. And my father Pharaoh commended Joseph and said to him,⁹ What you have said is quite right, *my* son; and now¹⁰ take some of my soldiers¹¹ and proceed against them as they did against you, and I will help you. And when the men heard what Pharaoh's son told them they were much¹² troubled and distressed, and they said to him, We appeal to you, *our* lord, to help us; and whatever you tell your servants to do, we will do it. And Pharaoh's son said to them, To-night I will kill my father, for my father Pharaoh is like¹³ a father to Joseph; and¹⁴ do you also kill Joseph,¹⁴ and I will marry Aseneth. And Dan and Gad said to him, We will do everything you have told us to. We overheard Joseph say to Aseneth, Go tomorrow to our country estate, for it is vintage-time; and he has arranged for six hundred armed soldiers to go with her and fifty

³ Lit. 'his (= B: DEGA Slav. 'your') will'.⁴ Lit. 'Blessing and death are before your face (= BFG(A): D Slav. 'before the face of God')'.
⁵ Lit. 'the blessing'.⁶ and . . . on = DA Slav.: B 'and greet'.⁷ Lit. 'he says'.⁸ B 'a maidservant'.⁹ to him: B om.¹⁰ Lit. 'for the rest'.¹¹ D Slav. add 'with you'.¹² DF Slav. om.¹³ D om.¹⁴ and . . . Joseph = D Slav.: BF om.

15 outrunners.¹⁵ And when Pharaoh's son heard this, he¹⁶ gave the
 16 four men five hundred men each and appointed them their officers
 and commanders. And Dan and Gad said to him,¹⁷ We will go by
 night and lie in wait at the brook and hide in the woods on the
 17 banks.¹⁸ And as for you, take fifty men with you, archers on
 horseback, and go on ahead,¹⁹ some distance in front; and Aseneth
 will come and fall into our²⁰ hands,²¹ and we will cut down the men
 18 who are with her.²² And Aseneth will flee in her chariot and fall
 into your hands and you will *be able* to deal with her as you wish.
 19 And afterwards we will kill Joseph while he is fretting about
 20 Aseneth; and we will kill his children before his eyes. And Pharaoh's
 son was delighted when he heard this, and he sent two thousand
 21 soldiers after them. And they came to the brook and hid in the
 woods on the banks, and five hundred men took up their position in
 front; and in between them was a highway.²³

XXV. And Pharaoh's son went to his father's room to kill him; but
 2 his father's guards would not allow him¹ to go in to him. And
 Pharaoh's son said to them, I want to see² my father because I am
 3 going off to gather the grapes from my newly planted vine.³ And
 the guards said to him, Your father is in pain, and he has been
 awake all night; but he is resting *now*; and he said to us, Do not let
 4 anyone in to me, not even my eldest son. And he went away in
 anger; and he took fifty mounted archers, and he went in front of
 5 them as Dan and Gad had told him to. And Naphtali and Asher⁴
 said to Dan and Gad, Why must you plot⁵ again against our father
 Israel and against our brother Joseph? For God looks after him as if

¹⁵ and fifty outrunners = (F)A Slav: BD om.

¹⁶ when . . . he: D 'the son of Pharaoh'.

¹⁷ D 'the son of Pharaoh'.

¹⁸ Lit. 'in the wood of reed(s)' (and so subsequently at xxiv. 21; xxvii. 7; xxviii.
 5, 7).

¹⁹ BA add 'of her'.

²⁰ So EFA Slav.: B 'your' (plur.): DG 'your' (sing.).

²¹ EF 'ambush'.

²² who are with her: B om.

²³ Lit. 'a wide (B om.) road'.

¹ B adds 'to kill him or'.

² Lit. 'I will see'.

³ D 'vineyard'.

⁴ and Asher: B om.

⁵ Lit. 'work evil'.

6 he were the apple of his eye. Did you not once sell Joseph *as a slave*,
 and to-day he is king of the whole earth,⁶ and *its* saviour,⁷ and gives
 7 us corn? And now, if you make plots against him again, he will call
 upon the God of Israel,⁸ and he will send fire from heaven,⁹ and it
 will burn you up, and the angels of God will fight against you.¹⁰
 8 And their elder brothers Dan and Gad were angry with them,
 saying, Are we then to die like women? God forbid! And they went
 out to encounter Joseph and Aseneth.

XXVI. And Aseneth got up early *in the morning* and said to Joseph, I
 am going to our estate in the country; but I am frightened because
 2 you are not coming with me. And Joseph said to her, Take heart
 and do not be afraid, but go; for the Lord is with you and he will
 3 keep you from all evil¹ as the apple of an eye. And I will go and
 distribute my corn, and give corn to all the men in the city,² so that
 4 no one dies of famine in the land of Egypt.³ And Aseneth departed
 5 on her journey and Joseph to the distribution of the corn. And
 Aseneth came to where the brook was with *her* six hundred men;
 and suddenly⁴ the men that were with Pharaoh's son leaped out
 from their ambush⁵ and joined battle with Aseneth's soldiers, and
 they cut them down with their swords and killed all⁶ Aseneth's
 6,7 outrunners. And Aseneth fled⁷ in her chariot. And Levi, the son of
 Leah, was informed about all this (for he was a prophet), and he
 told his brothers⁸ about Aseneth's danger; and they took, each one

⁶ BGA 'land of Egypt'.

⁷ and *its* saviour: B om.

⁸ the God of Israel = BD: A 'the Most High'; Slav. 'heaven' (cp. EG Syr. 'he will
 go up into heaven').

⁹ from heaven: Slav. om.

¹⁰ and the angels . . . you: Slav. om.

¹ B 'danger'.

² all . . . city = FA: BD 'those in the city'; Slav. 'all men'.

³ So DA: Slav. 'in all the land'; B 'in Egypt, in all the land which is under it'.

⁴ Slav. om.

⁵ from their ambush: Slav. om.

⁶ killed all: B om.

⁷ And As. fled = EFGA Slav.: D 'And As. was distressed and fled'; B om.

⁸ And Levi . . . brothers = B: D 'And Levi was informed about . . . told the men of
 his counsel'; Slav. 'And Levi told his brothers'.

of them,⁹ his sword on his thigh, and their shields on their arms,¹⁰ and their spears in their right hands,¹¹ and they went after Aseneth with what speed they could.¹² And Aseneth fled, and lo, Pharaoh's son met her, and fifty men with him; and Aseneth saw him, and she was afraid and trembled.¹³

1,2 **XXVII.** And Benjamin was sitting with her in the chariot. And Benjamin was a sturdy¹ lad, about eighteen years old, indescribably
3 handsome,² and as strong as a young lion; and he feared God. And Benjamin jumped down from the chariot, and he took a round stone from the brook and hurled it with all his might³ at Pharaoh's son and hit him on his left⁴ temple and wounded him severely,⁵ and
4 he fell from his horse half-dead. And Benjamin clambered up on a rock and said to the driver of Aseneth's chariot, Give me fifty
5 stones from the brook; and he gave him fifty stones. And Benjamin hurled the stones and killed the fifty men that were with Pharaoh's
6 son; and the stones sank into the temples of each one of them. Then the sons of Leah, Reuben and Simeon, Levi and Judah, Issachar⁶ and Zebulun, went after the men who had lain in ambush; and they fell upon them suddenly, and cut down⁷ the two thousand men,
7 and the six of them⁸ killed them. And their brothers, the sons of⁹ Bilhah and Zilpah, fled; and they said, We have been ruined through our brothers;¹⁰ and¹¹ Pharaoh's son is dead, killed by

⁹ of them = BA Slav.: DEFG om.

¹⁰ and . . . arms = DA Slav.: BF 'and their shields'.

¹¹ and . . . hands = EA Slav. (cp. F 'and their spears in their hands'): B 'and their spears on their arms'; D om.

¹² with what speed they could (lit. 'at a swift run') = EF(A) Slav.: BD om.

¹³ A Slav. add 'and she called upon the name of (A + 'the Lord') her God'.

¹ So BA: the others vary not a little here.

² D adds 'beyond the nature of man'.

³ Lit. 'filled his hand and hurled it': cp. 2 Kings ix. 24.

⁴ BD om.

⁵ Lit. 'and wounded him with a great and grievous wound' (= G Slav.: EFA 'and wounded him with a grievous wound'): BD om.

⁶ Slav. om. ⁷ D adds 'all'.

⁸ Lit. 'the six (D add 'hundred') men'.

⁹ the sons of: D om.

¹⁰ Lit. 'We are perished from out of our brethren'.

¹¹ D 'for'.

Benjamin, and all those with him have perished at his hand:¹² come now, let us kill¹³ Aseneth [and Benjamin],¹⁴ and let us make
8 for the woods. And they came, with their swords drawn, covered in blood; and Aseneth saw them, and she said, O Lord my God, that didst quicken me from death, that didst say to me, Thy soul shall live for ever, deliver me from these men. And the Lord God heard her voice, and immediately¹⁵ their swords fell from their hands to the ground and were reduced to dust.

XXVIII. And the sons of Bilhah and Zilpah saw the miracle that had happened and they were afraid¹ and said, The Lord is fighting
2 for Aseneth against us. And they fell on *their* faces to the ground and made obeisance to Aseneth, saying, Have mercy on us, your servants, for you are our mistress and queen, and² we have done
3 you³ a great wrong and our brother Joseph.⁴ And now God has brought retribution on us: we pray you, therefore, have mercy on us, and deliver us from our brothers' hands,⁵ for they will avenge
4 the outrage *done to* you and their swords will be against us. And Aseneth said to them, Take heart and do not be afraid, for⁶ your brothers are men who worship God, and do not repay evil for evil⁷
5 to any man.⁸ But retire to the woods until I can secure your pardon and mollify their wrath; for what you have been trying to do to
6 them is indeed no trifling matter.⁹ Take heart *though*, and do not be afraid, for the Lord will see justice done between us.¹⁰ And
7 Dan and Gad fled to the woods. And behold, the sons of Leah

¹² and all . . . hand: BD om.

¹³ So EFGA Slav.: BD 'make war against'.

¹⁴ So all MSS: Slav. om.

¹⁵ she said . . . immediately = (A) Slav.: BD om.

¹ DG 'much afraid'.

² your servants . . . queen and = F(A): BD 'your servants, because'; Slav. 'our mistress'. ³ D adds 'our lady'.

⁴ and . . . Joseph: Slav. om.

⁵ BD 'from our brothers'.

⁶ And . . . for = EG(A) Slav.: D 'And . . . them, Do not fear for'; B 'And we know that'. ⁷ for evil: B om.

⁸ to any man: D om.

⁹ Lit. 'for you have dared great things against them'.

¹⁰ Lit. 'between me and you' (= EA Slav.: BD 'between you').

came, running like deers in pursuit of them; and Aseneth got down
 9 from her chariot, and she greeted them with tears. And they made
 obeisance to her on the ground and wept aloud; and they asked
 about their brothers, the maidservants' sons, intending to kill
 10 them. And Aseneth said to them, Spare your brothers and do them
 no harm, for the Lord has shielded me and reduced the swords in
 their hands to dust, and they melted away like wax before the fire.
 11 Surely this is enough for us that the Lord is fighting for us: so¹¹
 12 spare your brothers. And Simeon said to Aseneth, Why should our
 13 mistress plead¹² for her enemies? No! We will cut them down¹³ with
 our swords, because they have plotted evil against our father Israel
 and against our brother Joseph¹⁴ now on two occasions,¹⁵ and *they*
 14 *have plotted* against you to-day. And Aseneth said to him, No
 brother, you must not repay evil for evil to your neighbour,¹⁶ for
 15 the Lord will avenge this outrage. And after this¹⁷ Simeon bowed
 to Aseneth,¹⁸ and Levi came to her, and he kissed her right hand
 16 and blessed her.¹⁹ Thus Aseneth saved the men from their brothers'
 wrath, so that they did not kill them.

XXIX. And Pharaoh's son lifted himself up from the ground and
 sat up; and he spat blood from his mouth, because his blood was
 2 running from his temple into¹ his mouth. And Benjamin advanced
 upon him² and took hold of his sword³ and drew it from its
 3 scabbard (for Benjamin had no sword of his own with him). And as
 he was about to strike Pharaoh's son, Levi rushed up and seized
 him by the hand and said, No brother, you must not do this, for we

¹¹ Lit. 'for the rest'.

¹² Lit. 'Why does our mistress speak'.

¹³ D adds 'limb from limb'.

¹⁴ against our father . . . Joseph = Arm.: B 'concerning our brother Joseph and his father Israel'; D 'against our father Joseph'.

¹⁵ So DF (lit. 'now this twice'): B om.

¹⁶ evil for . . . neighbour = BA: FG 'evil for evil'; D 'your neighbour evil'.

¹⁷ after this = B: D om.

¹⁸ So B (lit. 'Simeon greeted Aseneth'): D 'Aseneth greeted Simeon'.

¹⁹ and blessed her = B: D om.

¹ Lit. 'in'.

² upon him = BFA: D om.

³ D adds 'to strike him'.

are men who worship God, and it is not right for a man who
 worships God to repay evil for evil, or to trample upon a man who
 4 has *already* fallen, or to harry his enemy to death. But come: let us
 bind up⁴ his wound; and if he lives, he will be our friend, and his
 5 father Pharaoh will be our father. And Levi raised Pharaoh's son
 up and washed the blood off his face and bound a bandage round
 his wound; and he set him on his horse and took him to his father.
 6,7 And Levi told him everything that had happened. And Pharaoh
 got up⁵ from his throne and made obeisance to Levi upon the
 8 ground.⁶ And on the third day Pharaoh's son died from the wound
 9 of Benjamin's stone.⁷ And Pharaoh mourned for his eldest son,⁸
 10 and he was worn out with grief. And Pharaoh⁹ died at¹⁰ the age of
 11 one hundred and nine; and he left his crown¹¹ to Joseph. And
 12 Joseph was king in Egypt for¹⁰ forty-eight years. And after this
 Joseph gave the crown to Pharaoh's grandson; and Joseph was like
 a father to him in Egypt.

⁴ Lit. 'let us heal him from'.

⁵ So BFGA: D 'And when Pharaoh heard he got up'.

⁶ B adds 'and he blessed him'.

⁷ So BFG: D 'his wound which Benjamin gave him'.

⁸ for . . . son = BA: D 'and all the council of the palace'.

⁹ So B Slav.: D 'he'.

¹⁰ D adds 'about'.

¹¹ So BEGA: F 'the crown of his kingdom'; D 'his dominion and his crown'.

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

INTRODUCTION

The Testaments, as we know them, are a collection of the 'last words' of the twelve sons of Jacob. In the form in which they have been transmitted to us they are clearly the work of a single author or editor, inasmuch as each individual testament is constructed according to the same overall pattern. First, the patriarch gives his immediate family, assembled round his death-bed, details about his own early life and experiences: next he discourses at some length either on a particular virtue they should cultivate or on a particular vice they should avoid, charging them meanwhile to keep 'the law of the Lord' and live in obedience to 'the commands of the Most High': then he warns them (not infrequently on the basis of what he has read in 'the writing of Enoch') of the evils that will come upon them as a result of their moral deterioration, though he can usually assure them that 'in the last times' God will bring 'salvation', not only to Israel, but also to the Gentiles; and then, finally, he asks to be buried, not in Egypt, but in Canaan, at the family burial-place in Hebron – and it is recorded in each instance that this was done.

The earliest explicit reference to the existence of the Testaments in anything like their present form is in Rufinus's translation of Origen's *Homilies on Joshua*:¹ here Origen seems to be referring to the passage about 'the seven spirits of error' in T. Reub. ii and iii: he calls the work in which the passage occurs (according to Rufinus) 'a certain little book which is called The Testament (*sic*) of the Twelve Patriarchs'; and he notes that it is extra-canonical. Similarly, Jerome knew a 'Book of the Patriarchs', and adds that it is apocryphal:² he says he found in it a statement which is most naturally understood as a free quotation from T. Naph. ii. 8; so there can hardly be any doubt that it is to our Testaments he is referring. Later on, the 'Patriarchs' occur among the recognized

¹ Orig. *In Iesu hom.* xv. 6.

² Hieron. *Tract. de Ps.* xv. 7.

apocrypha in the List of Sixty Books, the pseudo-Athanasian Synopsis, and the Stichometry of Nicephorus, though not in the Gelasian Decree. Parallels between the Testaments and Christian writers earlier than Origen (especially Hermas, Irenaeus, Hippolytus, and Tertullian) have sometimes been noted and used to argue that these writers knew the Testaments and were influenced by them, but the evidence is in fact insufficient to prove dependence in either direction: what it suggests, rather, is the common use of the same popular contemporary ideas and phrases.

For the text of the Testaments we are dependent to-day upon twenty-six witnesses in all – nineteen continuous Greek manuscripts, three collections of extracts from the Greek text, and four versions (Armenian, Slavonic, Serbian, and 'New Greek'). A Latin version should also be mentioned, made in the thirteenth century, by Robert Grosseteste from the Greek manuscript now in the University Library at Cambridge (Ff. 1. 24: 10th cent.).

It was this Cambridge manuscript that J. E. Grabe used for his text in the first printed edition of the Testaments in 1698; and to it he appended a selection of variants from the Oxford MS. Bodl. Barocc. Gr. 133 (13th cent.). Grabe's text was reprinted by J. A. Fabricius in 1713 and by A. Gallandi in 1765 (= *PG* ii. 1025–1160). In 1869 R. Sinkler provided the first genuinely critical edition: he printed a much more accurate reproduction of the Cambridge MS as his text and added a full conspectus of variant readings from the Oxford MS in his apparatus: ten years later he published an *Appendix* with collations of two more MSS.

To R. H. Charles belongs the distinction of having investigated for the first time the details and inter-relationship of all the evidence then available. In his edition of 1908 Charles used nine Greek MSS (designated by the letters *a* to *i*³) together with the Armenian and Slavonic versions. He divided the Greek MSS into two groups, α and β . α represented the agreement of *chi*: all other MSS belonged to the β -group, which in turn Charles divided into two smaller groups. The former of the smaller groups consisted of *aef*, to which the Slavonic version was related: the latter consisted of *bdg*, to which the Armenian version was related. Charles thought that in general the α -group was preferable to the β -group, and for

³ In this designation Camb. Ff. 1. 24 = *b* and Oxf. Bodl. Barocc. 133 = *a*.

the construction of his text he relied chiefly, within the α -group, on *c* (= Vat. Cod. Gr. 731: 13th cent.).

The next development was M. de Jonge's *editio minor* of 1964. This was in no sense a rival edition to Charles's. It was, rather, an abridgement and simplification, the purpose of which was 'to assist scholars in using Dr. Charles's material to greater profit'. Its importance lies in its editor's radical dissent from Charles's preference for the α -group among the Greek MSS. Instead of reprinting Charles's α -type text based on *c*, de Jonge reverted to the practice of Charles's predecessors and printed as his own text a transcript of *b* (= Camb. Ff. 1. 24), which he regarded as the best representative of the preferable β -group. To his apparatus he admitted only corrections of obvious mistakes and corruptions in *b*, and also a small selection of other variants (taken from Charles) that he thought might have some claim to originality or were interesting on their own account. The only exception here was the inclusion of variants found in the extracts from the Testaments in Cod. Venet. Marc. Gr. 494 (13th cent.), published by M. R. James in 1927, and which he designated *k*.

Fourteen years later, in 1978, followed the promised *editio maior* – the joint work of de Jonge and three colleagues. A number of discoveries had been made since Charles's day, but their total effect on the new edition was not nearly as great as might have been expected. Of the ten additional continuous Greek MSS discovered eight turned out to be copies of MSS already known, and therefore of no independent value: of the three collections of Greek extracts only one (*k*) proved to be of any serious significance; and of the four versions, only the Armenian was thought worth citing regularly in the apparatus. So far as the text itself is concerned, Charles's division of the Greek MSS into the α and β groups was abandoned. Since all witnesses except *b* (*k*) exhibit common errors against *b* (*k*), and since *b* (*k*) exhibit common errors against all other witnesses, the true division was recognized to be between *b* (*k*) and the rest – between what were now called Fam. I and Fam. II. At the top of the stemma, as reconstructed, stands the archetype of the whole tradition, which in course of time was developed and debased: *b* (*k*) represent the earliest surviving direct derivatives from the archetype: other groupings spring from later developments

and debasements. The text printed is therefore an 'eclectic' text, in which the readings of Fam. I (*b(k)*) are usually, though not invariably, preferred to variants from Fam. II.

Our translation follows very closely the text of de Jonge's *editio maior*, and the symbols in the notes are the symbols from its apparatus.

Attempts to determine the origin of the Testaments have occasioned no little controversy.

Grabe, recognizing that in their present form they embody both Jewish and Christian elements, suggested that they were written by a Jew and interpolated afterwards by a Christian. But his theory was not accepted before 1884, when F. Schnapp, using Sinkler's new critical edition, revived and developed it. In the intervening period the Testaments were universally thought to be a Christian work, and argument centred on the question whether the author was a Jewish Christian or a Gentile Christian. Schnapp's analysis, however, was adopted by Schürer in the second edition of his *Geschichte* (1886) and thus became widely disseminated. Bousset accepted it in a modified form. And so did Charles.

When purged of their interpolations, Charles maintained, the Testaments are patently Jewish. Their original language was Hebrew; and they were written in the later years of John Hyrcanus (in all probability between 109 and 106 BC). The author was a Pharisee, who combined loyalty to the best traditions of his party with unbounded admiration for Hyrcanus, in whom the Pharisaic party had come to recognize the actual Messiah. Having dated the Testaments thus exactly, Charles went on to stress that their permanent value lies, not so much in the light they shed on movements within Judaism in the late second century BC, as in the influence they exercised on the authors of the New Testament. 'The main, the overwhelming value of the book', he wrote, 'lies . . . in its ethical teaching, which has achieved a real immortality by influencing the thought and diction of the writers of the New Testament, and even those of our Lord'.⁴

⁴ R. H. Charles, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, translated from the Editor's Greek Text*, p. xvii.

This account of the Testaments met with a ready welcome and soon found its way into the text-books, with the result that the Testaments became firmly established as an essential part of the 'background reading' required of all students of New Testament theology and ethics. In 1953, however, in his *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: A Study of their Text, Composition, and Origin*, de Jonge challenged the whole basis of Charles's position. So far from being an interpolated Jewish work, de Jonge argued, the Testaments were in origin a Christian work that incorporated and adapted traditional Jewish material. They were to be dated, in all probability, about AD 200. To use them as 'background' evidence for the understanding of the New Testament, except in the most general way, is therefore illegitimate. What they illustrate is not 'the preparation of Christianity' but 'the social and religious life of the early Christian Church'.⁵

De Jonge's challenge inevitably forced on all those interested in the Testaments a fundamental reconsideration of the question of their origin. From the ensuing debate it has become clear that neither hypothesis is tenable in its extreme form, and that many of the details in both require considerable modification if either is to be seriously maintained.⁶ And a number of mediating hypotheses have been put forward – H. C. Kee, for example, after investigating the ethical background of the Testaments, suggested that they were produced in a Jewish environment that thought and spoke in Greek, possibly Egypt, about 100 BC. It has become apparent, too, that certain lines of demarcation can no longer be drawn as firmly and finely as was once assumed. For instance, the distinction between the terms 'Jewish' and 'Christian', so far as they are applicable to the contents of the Testaments, has become blurred: a very great deal of the material in them is neither specifically Jewish nor specifically Christian – to counsel love for the brethren is not necessarily Christian, nor is it necessarily Jewish to utter warnings about the dangers of fornication. Or again, although in

⁵ M. de Jonge, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs . . .*, p. 128.

⁶ It is perhaps worth remarking that in the progress of the debate de Jonge himself played a not inconspicuous part, both by weighing carefully and answering the criticisms levelled at him, and by modifying details where he thought it expedient.

theory the distinction between a hypothesis which postulates a Jewish original interpolated by Christians and an alternative which postulates a Christian original based on traditional Jewish material is plain enough, if the Christian interpolations are held to be numerous in the one case and the basic Jewish material to be extensive in the other, the difference between the two in practice is nothing like so great as might be supposed.

On the Jewish side, attention has been concentrated on the detailed examination of the contacts of the Testaments with post-Biblical Judaism. Especially striking are the parallels between some of the 'extra-canonical' items in the Testaments and the Book of Jubilees: thus, Judah's exploits in battle, recounted in T. Jud. iii-vii, fit naturally into the context of the wars of Jacob and his sons against the Canaanites described in Jub. xxxiv. 1-9, while T. Naph. i. 9-12 and Jub. xxviii. 9 agree in representing Zilpah and Bilhah as sisters. Such parallels might easily be explained, of course, by supposing that a Christian author of the Testaments had read Jubilees in Greek (for we know that there was a Greek version of Jubilees circulating in the Church). But this kind of explanation is by no means universally applicable. At T. Zeb. iii. 2, for instance, is found the rather odd piece of information that, after selling Joseph, his brothers took the money and bought sandals with it for themselves and their families. The statement is paralleled in the Targum of Pseudo-Jonathan to Gen. xxxvii. 28 and again in the Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer xxxviii. In such instances there can hardly be any doubt that the author of the Testaments was directly dependent on popular Jewish traditions, either oral or written.

Of special interest in this connection are the so-called 'Aramaic Levi' and 'Hebrew Naphtali'. Among the manuscripts discovered in the Genizah of the synagogue at Cairo, and published in the early years of this century, were some sizeable fragments of two hitherto unknown works. One was a text in Aramaic, which was most naturally interpreted as part of a Testament of Levi and exhibited a series of verbal parallels with our T. Levi viii-ix and xi-xiii: the other was a 'Testament of Naphtali' in Hebrew, complete, and which, although essentially very different from our T. Naph., nevertheless had a number of points of contact - particu-

larly in its far longer version of the two visions recorded in T. Naph. v and vi. The manuscripts containing both works are to be dated in the early mediaeval period. Subsequently (in the 1950s) further fragments containing texts similar to the Cairo texts, though by no means identical with them, came to light at Qumran. We can thus be certain that in pre-Christian times there were in existence a Testament of Levi in Aramaic and a Testament of Naphtali in Hebrew, though what, if any, connection there was between them we do not know. The fact that one was in Aramaic and the other in Hebrew does not suggest any immediate connection. It may be, of course, that both derive ultimately from a collection of twelve Testaments, written either in Hebrew or in Aramaic, and the preservation of the particular texts we have is due to accident and no more. Yet, if so, it still remains true that texts of Levi and Naphtali alone have been preserved for us,⁷ that two texts of both have been discovered quite independently in two different places and in manuscripts of widely disparate dates, and that both texts of Levi are in Aramaic and both texts of Naphtali are in Hebrew. In any event, the ancient texts recovered differ so markedly from the Levi and Naphtali we know as to preclude the possibility that they were in either case the Semitic original of which our Greek text is a translation.

On the other hand, as might be expected, our Greek Testaments show the unmistakable influence of the Septuagint. A trivial instance of this occurs at T. Jos. viii. 2, where Potiphar's wife clutches at Joseph's 'garments' (in the plural, as in the Septuagint of Gen. xxxix. 12); and not at his 'cloak' (in the singular, as in the Hebrew). A more substantial instance in the same Testament is the mention of 'the hippodrome' by Rachel's tomb.⁸ Many of these instances are explicable as changes made casually by copyists, or as deliberate modifications introduced into the text by revisers.⁹ But not all. In his initial work on the Testaments de Jonge drew

⁷ The fragments of Aramaic Levi at Qumran appear to come from no less than four separate MSS, which makes the absence of texts of any other Testaments (apart from Hebrew Naphtali) all the more significant.

⁸ T. Jos. xx. 3, from the Septuagint of Gen. xlviii. 7.

⁹ Thus, in the first instance just quoted 'cloak' is read by a number of the MSS in preference to the 'garments' of our preferred text.

attention to the statement in T. Iss. iii. 1 that Issachar grew up to be a farmer, which reflects the Septuagint of Gen. xlix. 15 as against the Hebrew ('a slave in forced labour')¹⁰. Since there are allusions to farming all through the Testament, and Issachar's sons are also described as farmers, it follows that this is no freak rendering, ascribable to some translator of a Hebrew or Aramaic original, who, when he came to T. Iss. iii. 1 just substituted the Septuagint rendering from Genesis for what he found in the text in front of him. The Testament of Issachar as a whole must have been composed in Greek. And, if Issachar, then in all probability the other Testaments as well.

It was observed at the beginning of this Introduction that in their present form all twelve Testaments are constructed according to the same overall pattern, and therefore we must suppose they are the work of a single author or editor. Who it was that first conceived the idea of producing this collection of twelve Testaments from the material at his disposal we do not know. (The likelihood is that he was a Christian of the second century.) What does seem fairly certain is that the material at his disposal was considerable, that others before him had produced Testaments of individual patriarchs, and that others after him (to judge from the complexities of the textual problems raised by both the surviving manuscripts and the versions) had no scruples about continuing the tradition he had inherited by altering his text and introducing further modifications and additions of their own.

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THE TESTAMENT OF REUBEN,
 ABOUT IDEAS

- I. A copy of the Testament of Reuben, which he gave as a command to his sons before he died, in the hundred and twenty-fifth year of his life.
 2 When he was ill, two years after the death of Joseph, his sons and
 3 grandsons met together to visit him. And he said to them, My
 4 children, I am dying and going the way of my fathers. And seeing
 there Judah and Gad and Asher, his brothers, he said to them,
 Raise me up, *my* brothers, so that I can tell my brothers and my
 5 children what lies hidden in my heart; for I am about to die. And he

got up and kissed them and said, weeping, Listen, my brothers, pay attention (my sons),¹ to Reuben your father, and to the commands I give you. And behold, I call the God of heaven to witness against you to-day, so that you do not live your lives in the ignorance of youth and give yourselves up to fornication, as I did, and defiled my father Jacob's bed. For I tell you, he struck me with a foul disease in my loins for seven months; and had not my father Jacob prayed for me to the Lord, (I would have died),² for³ the Lord was minded to destroy me. For I was thirty years old when I did *this* evil before the Lord; and for seven months I was dangerously ill. And with determination I set myself for seven years to repent before the Lord. I drank no wine nor strong drink, no meat entered my mouth, and I tasted no pleasant food at all, as I mourned over my sin (for it was great). May no such thing *ever again* happen in Israel!

II. And now listen to me, children, and I will tell you what I saw concerning the seven spirits of error when I repented. Seven spirits were appointed¹ by Beliar against man, and they are responsible for what he does when young.² [³ Also seven spirits were given him at the creation to be the means of his doing everything.⁴ The first is the spirit of life, with which *man's* substance is created. The second is the spirit of sight, with which comes desire. The third is the spirit of hearing, with which is given⁵ teaching. The fourth is the spirit of smell, with which taste is given to draw in air and breath. The fifth is the spirit of speech, with which comes knowledge. The sixth is the spirit of taste, with which comes eating and drinking;⁶ and by

¹ The restoration seems called for by Reuben's description of himself as 'your father': *lm* add 'and my children' and *cm* add 'and my sons' after 'my brothers', and *d* reads 'children' instead of 'my brothers'. Cp. T. Jos. i. 2.

² Cp. T. Jud. xix. 2; T. Gad v. 9.

³ So *b ef*: *gldm a chi om*.

⁴ Lit. 'given'.

⁵ Lit. 'and they are the origin of the works of youth'.

⁶ We follow Charles in bracketing ii. 3-iii. 2 as an interpolation: iii. 3 follows naturally on ii. 2.

⁷ Lit. 'so that by them should be *done* every work of man'.

⁸ So *ldm ef*: *bka chi* 'with which comes'.

⁹ Lit. 'with which comes the eating of foods and drinks'.

them⁷ *man's* strength is built up (for food is the foundation of strength). The seventh is the spirit of procreation and sexual intercourse, with which sin enters through love of pleasure. For this reason it is last *in the order* of creation and first *among the desires* of youth, because the truth about it goes unrecognized,⁸ and it leads the young man like a blind man to a pit, and like a beast over a precipice.

III. Besides all these there is an eighth spirit of sleep, with which were brought into being the deep sleep¹ of nature and the image of death. With these spirits is mingled the spirit² of error.] The first, the spirit of fornication, is seated in the nature and the senses: the second, the spirit of insatiate desire, in the stomach: the third, the spirit of fighting, in the liver and the gall. The fourth is the spirit of obsequiousness and chicanery, so that by studied effort a man can make a good impression. The fifth is the spirit of arrogance, so that he can boast³ and have a good opinion of himself. The sixth is the spirit of lying, which leads a man to invent things in depravity and envy, and to conceal things⁴ from his family and the members of his household. The seventh is the spirit of unrighteousness, with which come theft and acts of rapacity, so that a man can satisfy his own natural love of pleasure;⁵ for unrighteousness works together with the other spirits by a mutual give-and-take.⁶ [And besides all these the spirit of sleep, the eighth spirit, is combined with error and phantasy.]⁷ And so every young man perishes and plunges his mind into darkness away from the truth, inasmuch as he neither understands the law of God nor takes note of his fathers' warnings (as, indeed, happened to me in my youth). And now, children, love

⁷ So *bl*: II-1 (*d*) 'by it' (i.e. by the spirit of taste).

⁸ Lit. 'because it has been filled with ignorance'.

¹ Or 'trance' or 'fear' (Gk. *ἐκστασις*; cp. Gen. ii. 21, xv. 12; 1 Sam xi. 7; etc.).

² So *b dm*: II-*dm* 'are mingled the spirits'.

³ So II: *bk* 'so that he can be excited'.

⁴ *b c om*. 'and to conceal things'.

⁵ Lit. 'so that he can do the love of pleasure of his heart'.

⁶ There are several different readings here, none of which is entirely satisfactory. Charles preferred 'by the taking of gifts'.

⁷ Cp. verse 1.

the truth and it will keep you safe. This is my advice to you.⁸ Listen to your father Reuben.

10 Pay no attention to a woman's face, and never be alone with another man's wife, nor be too inquisitive about women's affairs.
11 For had I not seen Bilhah bathing in a secluded place I would not
12 have fallen into so great a sin.⁹ For my mind was obsessed by the thought of *her* woman's nakedness and would not let me sleep until
13 I had done the abominable thing. For while our father Jacob was away on a visit to his father Isaac, when we were in Eder, near the house of Ephrath (*that is* Bethlehem),¹⁰ Bilhah had been drinking; and she was lying asleep in her bedroom with nothing over her.
14 And I went in and saw her nakedness and did the wicked deed; and
15 I left her still asleep and went away. And immediately an angel of God told my father Jacob about my wickedness; and he came and mourned over me. And *as for Bilhah*, he had no further relations with her.

IV. Pay no attention, therefore, to women's beauty, neither bother your minds about their affairs; but live in simplicity of heart *and* in the fear of the Lord, persevering in *your* labours and devoting yourselves to learning and *the tending of your flocks*,¹ until the Lord gives you the wife he has chosen for you,² so that you do not suffer as I did. Until³ my father's death I had not the courage to look Jacob in the face, nor to speak to any of my brothers because of *their* reproaches. And even now my conscience smites me because of my
2 sin. However, my father encouraged me, for he prayed to the Lord for me, that the Lord's anger might pass me by, even as the Lord showed me. And from then on I repented and⁴ I have been very
3 careful and have not sinned. So, my children, observe all the
4 commands I give you and you will not sin. For fornication is

⁸ Lit. 'I am teaching you'.

⁹ Lit. 'into the great sin'.

¹⁰ So *b*: *Idme* 'near Ephrath and Bethlehem'; *af nchi* 'near Ephrath in Bethlehem'.

¹ and devoting . . . flocks: lit. 'and wandering in letters and your flocks'.

² Lit. 'a wife whom he wills'.

³ So *b*: II 'for until'.

⁴ So *gld* Arm.: *b* 'from then on therefore'; *eaf* 'from then on even in my thoughts'; *chi* 'from then on until now'.

destruction to the soul: it separates from God and drives *those who indulge in it* to idols, inasmuch as it clouds the mind and understanding; and it leads young men down to Hades before their
7 time.⁵ For fornication has ruined many; because, even though a man be old or of noble birth, it makes him an *object of reproach* and
8 a laughing-stock with *both* Beliar and his fellow men.⁶ For it was because Joseph avoided women and kept his mind pure from all thoughts of fornication that he found favour with the Lord and
9 men. For the Egyptian woman did many things to him, and sent for magicians, and brought him love-potions; but he stood firm
10 against temptation.⁷ And so the God of my fathers rescued him
11 from every visible and hidden death. For if fornication has not gained the mastery over the mind,⁸ neither will Beliar gain the mastery over you.

V. Women are evil, my children: because they have no power or strength *to stand up* against man, they use wiles and try to ensnare
2 him by *their* charms;¹ and *man*, whom *woman* cannot subdue by
3 strength, she subdues by guile. For, indeed, the angel of God told me about them and taught me that women yield to the spirit of fornication more *easily* than a man *does*, and they lay plots in *their* hearts against men: by the way they adorn themselves they first lead their minds astray, and by a look they instil the poison, and
4 then in the act *itself* they take them captive – for a woman cannot
5 overcome a man by force. So shun fornication, my children, and command your wives and daughters not to adorn their heads and faces,² for every woman that uses wiles of this kind has been
6 reserved for eternal punishment. It was thus that they allured the Watchers before the flood; for, as a result of seeing them continually, the Watchers³ lusted after one another, and they conceived the act in their minds and changed themselves into the shape of men and appeared to the women⁴ when they were having inter-

⁵ Lit. 'not in their time'.

⁶ Lit. 'and the sons of men'.

⁷ Lit. 'the inclination of his soul admitted no evil desire'.

⁸ So *b a*: II-*a* 'your mind'.

¹ Lit. 'forms'.

² So *bk*: II adds 'to deceive the mind'.

³ Lit. 'these'.

⁴ Lit. 'them'.

7 course with their husbands. And the women,³ lusting in their minds after their phantom forms, gave birth to giants (for the Watchers seemed to them tall enough to touch the sky).

VI. Beware, then, of fornication; and if you would be pure in mind, 2 guard your senses against every woman.¹ And command the women,² too, not to make close friends of men,³ so that they also 3 may be pure in mind. For constant meetings, even though no sinful acts may be involved, are for women² a disease for which there is no 4 cure, and for us an eternal reproach of Beliar. For indulgence in fornication allows no scope for either understanding or godliness, and the lust that inspires it provides a home for every kind of 5 jealousy.⁴ And so you will be jealous⁵ of the sons of Levi and seek⁵ 6 to be raised above them; but you will not succeed. For God will 7 avenge them, and you will die a cruel death. For to Levi the Lord gave the sovereignty – and to Judah (and with them also to me and 8 Dan and Joseph, that we should be rulers *too*). For this reason I command you to listen to Levi, for he will know the law of the Lord and interpret his precepts and offer sacrifice for all Israel until the 9 coming⁶ of the anointed high priest,⁷ of whom the Lord spoke. I charge you by the God of heaven to deal honestly, each one with his 10 neighbour, and to have love, each one for his brother.⁸ And approach Levi with humility, so that you may receive a blessing 11 from his mouth. For he shall bless Israel and Judah, because the 12 Lord has chosen him to rule as king over all the peoples. And accord his sons their proper reverence⁹ for they¹⁰ will die in wars on our behalf (*in wars* seen and unseen), and he¹⁰ will be among you an eternal king.

¹ Lit. 'female'.

² Lit. 'them'.

³ Lit. 'not to associate with men as couples'.

⁴ Lit. 'For fornication has neither understanding nor godliness in itself, and all jealousy dwells in its lust'.

⁵ The tenses vary in the MSS: the future seems preferable in both places.

⁶ Lit. 'until the consummation of the times'.

⁷ Or 'of Christ, the high priest'.

⁸ So II: *b om* 'and to have . . . brother'.

⁹ Lit. 'And bow down before his seed'.

¹⁰ Lit. 'it' (i.e. his seed).

VIII. And when he had given his sons these commands, Reuben 2 died. And they put him in a coffin until they carried him up from Egypt and buried him in Hebron in the double cave where his fathers were.

THE TESTAMENT OF SIMEON, ABOUT ENVY

I. A copy of the words of Simeon, which he spoke to his sons before he died, in the hundred and twentieth year of his life – the year in 2 which Joseph died. For they came to visit him when he was ill; and he made an effort and sat up and kissed them, and he said to them,¹

II. Listen, children, listen to Simeon your father, *and I will tell you* 2 what is¹ in my heart. I was my father Jacob's second son; and Leah, my mother, called me Simeon because the Lord had heard 3 her prayer. I became a hardened warrior: no venture deterred me; 4 and I was afraid of nothing. For my heart was hard, my will² inflexible, and my feelings³ without compassion (for courage is a 5 gift to men from the Most High *and is manifest both in their souls and in their bodies*).

6 And at that time I was jealous of Joseph, because our father 7 loved him. And I determined⁴ to kill him, because the prince of error sent the spirit of jealousy and blinded my mind, so that I did not regard him as a brother, nor did I consider my father Jacob. 8 But his God and his fathers' God sent his angel and rescued him 9 from me. For when I had gone to Shechem to take ointment for the flocks, and Reuben *had gone* to Dothan (where our stocks were, and 10 all our stores), our brother Judah sold him to the Ishmaelites. And when Reuben came, he was upset, for he had intended to take him 11 back safely to his father. But I was angry with Judah because of

¹ So *b*: II *om*. 'to them'.

¹ Lit. 'what I have'.

² Lit. 'liver'.

³ Lit. 'bowels'.

⁴ Lit. 'I set my liver against him'.

12 this⁵ (because he had let him go alive); and for five months I
 13 continued so. But God⁶ restrained me and withheld from me the
 14 use of my hands; for my right hand was half withered for seven
 15 days. And I realized, children, that it was because of Joseph that
 16 this had happened to me; and I repented and wept, and I prayed to
 17 the Lord that I might be restored⁷ and keep myself from all
 18 pollution and envy and from all wrong-doing.⁸ For I realized that
 19 what, in envy, I had planned to do to my brother Joseph was wrong
 20 in the Lord's sight and my father Jacob's.

III. And now, my children, beware of the spirits of error and envy.

2 For envy dominates a man's whole mind and lets him neither eat
 3 nor drink nor do anything that is good. It is continually suggesting
 4 to him that he should kill the man that is envied; yet¹ the man that
 5 is envied continues to flourish, while the man that envies wastes
 6 away. For two whole years² I humbled myself with fasting in the
 7 fear of the Lord; and I realized that deliverance from envy comes
 8 from the fear of God. If³ a man flees to the Lord for shelter, the evil
 9 spirit runs away from him, and *the load on his mind* is lightened. And
 10 from then on he feels sympathy for the man that is envied and
 11 shows no prejudice against those who love him; and so he is
 12 envious no more.

IV. And my father asked about me, because he saw that I was sad;
 2 and I said, My heart is torn with anguish.¹ (For I mourned more
 3 than all *my brothers*, because it was I who was responsible for selling
 4 Joseph.) And when we went down into Egypt and he bound me as
 5 a spy, I knew that I was suffering justly and was not put out. But
 6 Joseph was a good man, and he had the spirit of God in him: he was

⁵ So II: *b chi* om. 'because of this'.

⁶ So *b*: II 'the Lord'.

⁷ So *gl eaf*: *b* 'that he might restore my hand'; *dm chi* 'that my hand might be restored'.
⁸ Lit. 'folly'.

¹ Lit. 'and'.

² Lit. 'For two years of days'.

³ So *bk*: II 'for if'.

¹ Lit. 'I am distressed in my liver'.

compassionate and merciful; and he bore me no grudge, but loved
 5 me just as he did *his* other brothers. So beware, my children, of all
 6 jealousy and envy, and live in sincerity of soul and with a good
 7 heart, keeping in mind *the example of your father's brother*, so that
 8 God may give you also grace and glory and blessing on your heads,
 9 just as you saw in him. Never in all his days did he find fault with us
 10 for what we did,² but he loved us as his own soul and honoured us
 11 more than his sons,³ and he bestowed riches and cattle and fruits
 12 on all of us. So too each one of you, my beloved⁴ children, must love
 13 his brother with a good heart, and you must rid yourselves of the
 14 spirit of envy. For this makes the soul savage and destroys the
 15 body: it causes anger and conflict in the mind, and acts as a spur to
 16 deeds of blood: it impairs a man's natural powers of thought and
 17 paralyses his intelligence:⁵ moreover, it deprives him of sleep,
 18 causing confusion in *his* soul and trembling in *his* body. And even if
 19 he gets some sleep,⁶ some vicious passion deludes him and devours
 20 him, and with evil spirits disturbs his soul, stirs up *his* body, and
 21 ensures that he wakes up with his mind in turmoil; and he appears
 22 in consequence to *other* men as someone possessed of an evil and
 23 poisonous spirit.

V. The reason why Joseph was handsome and good-looking was
 2 that no wickedness had found a home with him; for the face is an
 3 index of the turmoil in the spirit.¹ And now, my children, set your
 4 hearts on what is pleasing to the Lord, and follow a straight path
 5 among men, and you will win favour with God and men. And
 6 beware of committing fornication, for fornication is the mother of
 7 all evils: it separates from God and drives *those who indulge in it* to
 8 Beliar. For I have seen it recorded in the writing of Enoch that your
 9 sons together with you² will be corrupted by fornication and turn

² Lit. 'concerning this thing'.

³ So II: *b* reads '... soul, and more than his sons, and he honoured us'.

⁴ So *b*: II om.

⁵ Lit. 'it leads the thinking process to ecstasy and does not allow intelligence to work in men'.
⁶ Lit. 'And even in sleep'.

¹ Lit. 'for out of the distress of the spirit the face makes clear'.

² So *b*: II 'your sons after you'.

5 your swords against Levi.³ But they will not be able to get the
better of Levi, for *it is* the Lord's war he will be fighting and he will
6 gain the victory over all your company. And your sons⁴ will be few
in number, scattered in Levi and Judah;⁵ and no one of you will
ever be chosen as a leader,⁶ just as my father Jacob prophesied in
his blessings.

VI. Behold, I have told you everything beforehand, so that I may
2 not be answerable for the sin of your souls. If, then, you can rid
yourselves of envy and all stubbornness,

As a rose shall my bones flourish in Israel,
And as a lily my flesh in Jacob,
And my fragrance shall be as the fragrance of Lebanon.
And as cedars shall my faithful sons¹ be multiplied for ever,
And their branches shall stretch afar off.

3 Then shall perish the offspring of Canaan,
And no remnant shall be left to Amelek,
And all the Cappadocians shall perish,
And all the Hittites shall be destroyed.

4 Then shall fail the land of Ham,
And all the people perish.
Then shall the whole earth rest from trouble,
And all that is under heaven from war.

5 Then shall Shem be glorified,
For the Lord, the great God of Israel, shall appear on earth as
man

And shall save Adam through him.²

6 Then shall all the spirits of error be trodden under foot,
And men shall rule over the wicked spirits.

³ Lit. 'do harm to Levi with the sword'.

⁴ Lit. 'And they'. ⁵ Cp. Gen. xlix. 7.

⁶ Lit. 'will be for leadership'.

¹ Lit. 'holy men from me'.

² Lit. '. . . Israel, appearing on earth as man and saving Adam in him'. There is uncertainty about the details of the text at this point, but all authorities are in agreement about God's appearance on earth.

7 Then shall I arise in joy;
And I will bless the Most High because of his marvellous
works,³
Because God took a body, and ate with men, and saved men.

VII. And now, my children, submit to Levi, and through Judah¹
you will gain your freedom; and do not set yourselves up against
these two tribes, because *it is* from them *that* God's salvation will
2 come² to you. For the Lord will raise up from Levi as it were a high
priest, and from Judah as it were a king, God and man: he³ will
3 save all the Gentiles and the race of Israel. That is why I am giving
you all these commands, so that you also may command your
children to observe them generation after generation.

VIII. And Simeon finished his commands to his sons; and he slept
2 with his fathers, being an hundred and twenty years old. And they
put him in a coffin *made* of wood that would not rot, to take his
bones up to Hebron; and they carried them up secretly during¹
3 a war of the Egyptians. For Joseph's bones were kept by the
4 Egyptians with the royal treasures.² For the magicians told them
that if Joseph's bones were taken away,³ there would be darkness
and gloom throughout all the land of Egypt⁴ – a very great plague
for the Egyptians, so that they would not be able to recognize one
another *even* with *the aid of a lamp*.

IX. And Simeon's sons wept for their father in accordance with
2 the law of mourning. And they were in Egypt until the day they left
Egypt under Moses.¹

³ Lit. 'in his marvellous works'.

¹ Lit. 'in Judah'. ² Lit. 'spring up, sprout'.

³ So II (i.e. the king – reading *ὄντος σώσει*): *b* 'so he' (i.e. the Lord – reading *ὄντως σώσει*).

¹ Lit. 'in'.

² Lit. 'in the treasure-houses of the kings (*b l* palaces)'.

³ Lit. 'that at the exodus of Joseph's bones'.

⁴ So II: *b om.* 'the land of'.

¹ Lit. 'until the day of their exodus from Egypt by the hand of Moses'.

THE TESTAMENT OF LEVI,
ABOUT THE PRIESTHOOD AND ARROGANCE

I. A copy of the words of Levi, which he left as a testament to his sons before his death,¹ about everything they would do, and what was going to happen to them, till the day of judgement. He was in good health when he called them to him (for it had been revealed to him that he was about to die). And when they had met together he said to them,

II. I, Levi, was conceived in Haran and born there; and after that I came with my father to Shechem. And I was a young man, about twenty, when, with Simeon, I took vengeance on Hamor *because of what he had done to our sister Dinah*. And when we were¹ feeding the flocks in Abel-meholah a spirit of understanding from the Lord came upon me, and I observed all men's evil ways,² and that unrighteousness had built itself walls, and iniquity had entrenched itself behind ramparts.³ And I was grieved on man's behalf; and I prayed to the Lord that I might be saved. Then sleep fell upon me, and I saw a high mountain – that is mount Aspis in Abel-meholah. And behold, the heavens opened, and an angel of the Lord said to me, Levi, come in. And I went from the first heaven into the second; and I saw there water hanging between the two. And I saw⁴ a third heaven, far brighter and more brilliant⁵ than these two, and infinite in height. And I said to the angel, Why is this? And the angel said to me, Do not stay wondering at these, for when you have gone up there, you will see four other heavens even more brilliant and beyond comparison *with them*; for you will stand close to the Lord and be his minister, and you will declare his mysteries to men and be the herald of *the good news* about the one who is to

¹ So II-a: *ba* om. 'before his death'.

² So *bt*: II 'when I was'.

³ Lit. 'all men having destroyed their way'.

⁴ Lit. 'iniquity sat upon towers'.

⁵ So *bk*: II adds 'yet'.

So II: *bk* om. 'and more brilliant'.

11 come to set Israel free. And through you and Judah will the Lord appear among men and bring salvation through them⁶ to all mankind. And the Lord's portion will provide your livelihood; and he will be your field *and vineyard, your fruits, and your gold and silver*.

III. Hear, then, about the seven heavens. The lowest is the gloomiest because it witnesses¹ all the unrighteous deeds of men. The second holds fire, snow, ice, ready for the day which the Lord has decreed² in the righteous judgement of God: in it are all the spirits³ of retribution for vengeance on the wicked. In the third are the warrior hosts appointed to wreak vengeance on the spirits of error and of Beliar at the day of judgement. But the *heavens down to the fourth above these are holy*.⁴ For in the highest of all the Great Glory dwells, in the holy of holies, far above all holiness. And in the *heaven* next to it are the angels of the Lord's presence, who minister and make expiation to the Lord for all the sins committed unwittingly by the righteous; and they offer to the Lord a soothing odour, a spiritual and bloodless offering. And in the *heaven below it* are the angels who bear the answers to the angels of the Lord's presence. And in the *heaven* next to it are thrones *and powers*, in which praises,⁵ are offered to God continually. And when the Lord looks upon us, all of us are shaken; and the heavens and the earth and the abysses are shaken at the presence of his majesty. Yet men do not perceive these things, and they sin and provoke the Most High.

IV. But know¹ that the Lord will execute judgement on men, because when the rocks are being rent, and *the light of the sun* extinguished, and the waters dried up, and fire losing its power,²

⁶ Lit. 'in them' (so *bk lm*): *g eaf* 'for himself'; *chi* 'in himself'; *d om*.

¹ So II: *b* 'it is near'; *k* 'it endures'.

² Lit. 'the day of the Lord's decree'.

³ Or 'winds'.

⁴ The text is difficult. There is clearly a division at this point between the three lower heavens, described already, and the four higher, which are now described in descending, instead of ascending, order. Charles proposed to emend 'And the four heavens above these are holy'.

⁵ Lit. 'hymns'.

¹ Lit. 'Now, therefore, know (pl.)'

² Lit. 'cowering'.

and all creation in confusion, and the unseen spirits wasting away, and Hades despoiled through the suffering of the Most High, men will be unbelieving and persist in their iniquities; *and* on this account will they be judged and punished.³ But the Most High has heard your prayer: he will separate you from iniquity and make you his son⁴ and servant and a minister of his presence.

3 A bright light of knowledge will make you to shine in Jacob,
And like the sun will you be to the whole race⁵ of Israel.
4 And a blessing shall be given to you and to all your sons,⁵
Until the Lord looks upon all the Gentiles with the affection
of his son for ever.

Nevertheless, your sons will lay hands on him to get him out of their way.⁶ And this is why wisdom and understanding have been given you, that you may instruct your sons about him. For blessed shall he be who blesses him, and they who curse him shall perish.

V. And the angel opened to me the gates of heaven, and I saw the holy temple, and the Most High *sitting* on a throne of glory. And he said to me, Levi, To you have I given the blessings of the priesthood until I come and dwell in the midst of Israel. Then the angel brought me down to earth; and he gave me a shield and a sword and said, Take vengeance on Shechem because of Dinah, and I will be with you, for the Lord has sent me. (And it was at that time that I killed the sons of Hamor, as it is written in the heavenly tablets.) And I said to him, Please, sir, tell me your name, so that I can call on you in time of trouble. And he said, I am the angel that intercedes for the nation of Israel, so that no one may destroy them completely, for every evil spirit is ranged against them.¹ And afterwards I woke up, and I blessed the Most High and the angel that intercedes for the nation of Israel and all the righteous.

VI. And when I was going to my father, I found a bronze shield

³ Lit. 'in punishment will they be judged'.

⁴ Lit. 'to separate you from iniquity and to become to him a son'.

⁵ Lit. 'seed'. ⁶ So *bk*: II 'to crucify him'.

¹ Lit. 'him'.

(hence the name of mount Aspis, which is¹ near Gebal to the south of Abila). And I kept these things in mind. I urged my father and my brother Reuben to tell the sons of Hamor they must be circumcised – for I was furious at the abominable thing they had done in Israel. And I killed Shechem first, and Simeon killed Hamor. And afterwards *our* brothers came and put the city to the sword. And our father heard about it and was angry, and he was grieved that they had accepted circumcision and after that had been put to death; and in his blessings he made an exception of us among our brothers.² For we sinned because we had done this against his will (he³ was in fact unwell that day). But I saw that God had pronounced sentence⁴ on Shechem because they had wanted to do to Sarah what they had done to our sister Dinah; and the Lord prevented them. And so too they had persecuted our father Abraham as a foreigner; and they trampled on⁵ his flocks when they were pregnant, and they shamefully ill-treated Jeblae, who had been born in his household. And they behaved like this to all foreigners: they took their wives away from them by force and *then* sent them away. But retribution from the Lord⁶ overtook them at last.

VII. And I said to my father, Do not be angry, sir, for by you the Lord will destroy the Canaanites and give their land to you and your descendants after you. For from to-day Shechem will be called a city of imbeciles; for as a man mocks a fool, so did we make a mockery of them, because they had indeed committed an outrage¹ in Israel by defiling our sister. And we took our sister away from there and departed and came to Bethel.

¹ So II: *b* 'for it is'.

² Lit. 'he did (or 'made') otherwise'. Whatever precisely this obscure expression may mean; there can be no doubt that it refers to Gen. xlix. 7, where Simeon and Levi are cursed by Jacob and told they will be 'scattered in Israel'.

³ So *b c*: II-*c* 'I'.

⁴ Lit. 'that there was a sentence of God for evils'.

⁵ So *bt*: II-*l* 'they vexed' (*g* is absent).

⁶ Lit. 'the Lord's wrath'.

¹ Lit. 'folly'.

VIII. And after we had been there seventy days, I had another vision¹ just as I had had before. And I saw seven men clothed in white saying to me, Get up, put on the robe of the priesthood, and the crown of righteousness, and the breast-piece of understanding, and the mantle of truth, and the rosette of faith, and the turban of the sign, and the ephod of prophecy. And one by one they brought *these things* and put *them* on me and said, From now on be a priest of the Lord, you and your descendants for ever. And the first anointed me with holy oil and gave me a staff of judgement. The second washed me with pure water and fed me with bread and wine (the holiest of holy things) and arrayed me in a holy and glorious robe. The third clothed me with a linen vestment like an ephod. The fourth put round me a girdle like purple. The fifth gave me a branch of rich olive. The sixth put a crown on my head. The seventh put round me² a diadem of priesthood; and they filled my hands³ with incense, so that I might serve as priest to the Lord. And they said to me, Levi, by three functions will your descendants be distinguished,⁴ for a sign of the glory of the Lord who is to come. And he who believed will be the first, and no office⁵ shall be greater than his.⁶ The second will be the priesthood. The third will be called by a new name, for a king shall arise out of Judah and establish a new priesthood, after the fashion of the Gentiles, for all the Gentiles. And his coming *will be* marvellous, as of a mighty prophet,⁷ of the stock of Abraham our father. Everything that is desirable in Israel shall be yours and your descendants'; and you shall eat of everything that delights the eye, and from the Lord's table shall your descendants assign themselves a portion. And some of them shall be high priests, and judges, and scribes; for by their testimony⁸ shall what is holy be preserved.⁹ And when I woke

¹ Lit. 'again I saw a thing (*bk*: II 'a vision').

² So *g eaf chi* (*ldm* are missing): *bk* explicitly 'put on my head'.

³ This is the technical Old Testament term for consecration to the priestly office (see e.g. Exod. xxxii. 29; Judg. xvii. 5, 12; 1 Kings xiii. 33).

⁴ Lit. 'into three beginnings thy seed will be divided'. Charles rendered 'thy seed shall be divided into three offices'.

⁵ Lit. 'lot'. ⁶ Lit. 'it' or 'he'.

⁷ So *bk*: II 'as of a prophet of the Most High'.

⁸ Lit. 'their mouth'.

⁹ Or 'shall the holy place be guarded'.

19 up I realized that this *vision* was like the other one. And I kept this one secret too, and I told it to nobody.

IX. And after two days Judah and I went up with our father to Isaac. And my grandfather blessed me in words that recalled the visions¹ I had seen; and he would not come with us to Bethel. But when we came to Bethel, my father Jacob saw in a vision about me that I should be their priest before God. And he got up early in the morning and paid tithes to the Lord on everything through me. And we went to Hebron to settle there. And Isaac sent for me repeatedly to instruct me in² the law of the Lord, just as the angel of God had shown me. And he taught me the law of the priesthood, of sacrifices, of whole-offerings, of first-fruits, of freewill-offerings, and of peace-offerings. And each day he continued instructing me and busied himself on my behalf before the Lord. And he said, Beware, *my son*, of the spirit of fornication; for this will persist, and through your descendants it will pollute the sanctuary.³ So find yourself a wife while you are young, *a girl* without fault, not worldly minded, and not of foreign⁴ or of Gentile stock. And before you enter the sanctuary,³ bathe; and when you offer the sacrifice, wash, and when you finish the sacrifice, wash again. *Use only wood* from the twelve trees that always have leaves *to present your offerings* to the Lord *by fire*, as indeed Abraham taught me.⁵ And sacrifice to the Lord only clean animals and birds. And offer⁶ the choicest of all first-fruits and wine. And every sacrifice you must salt with salt.

X. Now, children, observe the commands I give you, for what I have heard from my fathers I have told you. I am innocent of all your ungodliness and of the sin¹ you will commit at the end of time against the Saviour of the world, acting godlessly, leading Israel astray, and stirring up against it great evils from the Lord. And together with the rest of Israel you will sin against the law, so that

¹ Lit. 'blessed me according to all the words of my visions'.

² Lit. 'to put me in remembrance of'.

³ Lit. 'the holy things'.

⁴ Or 'Philistine'.

⁵ Cp. Jub. xxi. 12.

⁶ So *b*: II adds 'to the Lord'.

¹ Lit. 'transgression'.

he will not bear with Jerusalem² because of your wickedness, but
 4 will tear in two the temple veil³ so as not to cover your shame. And
 you will be scattered as captives among the Gentiles and be⁴ a
 5 reproach and a curse⁵ and be trampled under foot. For the house
 which the Lord will choose shall be called Jerusalem, as it stands
 written in the book of the righteous Enoch.

XI. When I married I was twenty eight years old, and my wife's
 2 name was Melcha. And she conceived and bore a son, and she
 called him Gershom because we were living as foreigners in our
 3 land (for Gershom means¹ 'living as a foreigner'). And I saw in a
 4 vision about him that he would not be in the front rank. And
 5 Kohath was born in my thirty fifth year, towards sunrise. And I saw
 in a vision that he was standing raised above the rest of the
 6 congregation round about him (that is why I called him Kohath,
 7 which is 'beginning of greatness' and 'reconciliation'²). And as a
 third son she bore me Merari in my fortieth year; and it was a
 difficult birth (that is why his mother called him Merari, which is
 8 'my bitterness' – and his life too was in danger). And Jochebed was
 born in my sixty fourth year, in Egypt; for by then I was much
 esteemed among my brothers.

XII. And Gershom married, and his wife bore him Libni and
 2 Shimei. And Kohath's sons were Amram, Izhar, Hebron, and
 3,4 Uzziel. And Merari's sons, Mahli and Mushi. And in my ninety
 fourth year Amram married my daughter Jochebed, for they were
 5 born the same day, he and my daughter. I was eight years old when
 I went into the land of Canaan and eighteen when I killed
 Shechem, and at nineteen I became a priest; and I was twenty eight
 6 when I married and forty when I came into Egypt. And you, my
 children, are a third generation. Joseph died in my hundred and
 eighteenth year.

² Or 'so that Jerusalem will not bear it'.

³ Lit. 'garment'. ⁴ So b: II adds 'there'.

⁵ So II-gm: b gm om. 'and a curse'.

¹ Lit. 'is written'.

² Lit. 'bringing together'.

XIII. And now, my children, I command you to fear the Lord with
 all your heart and live in sincerity in accordance with all his law.
 2 And you too must teach your children how to read,¹ so that they
 may have understanding all their life *through* reading the law of
 3 God continually. For everyone that knows the law of God will be
 4 honoured and accepted wherever he goes. He will in fact find many
 more friends than his parents; and not a few will be anxious to do
 5 him service and hear the law from his mouth. Do good works, my
 6 children, on earth, so that you may find *your reward* in heaven. And
 sow good things in your souls, so that you may find them in your
 life; for if you sow evil things, you will reap every *kind of* trouble and
 7 tribulation. Acquire wisdom in the fear of God with diligence; for
 even if exile comes, and cities and lands are devastated, and gold
 and silver and all possessions become a total loss, no one can take
 8 away the wise man's wisdom – only the blindness of ungodliness
 and the disablement² that comes of sin. For wisdom³ will be for him a
 shining *light* even among enemies, and in a strange country a
 9 fatherland, and in the midst of foes she will be found a friend. If
 anyone teaches these things and acts on them, he will share a king's
 throne, as indeed Joseph our brother did.

XIV. And now, children, I understand from the writing of Enoch
 that at the end you will sin against¹ the Lord, and lay hands . . .² in
 all wickedness, and your brothers will be ashamed because of you,
 2 and you will become³ a laughing-stock among all the Gentiles. But
 our father Israel will not be held responsible for⁴ the godlessness of
 the chief priests who will lay their hands upon the Saviour of the
 3 world. The heaven is purer than the earth; and you *are* the lights of
 4 heaven,⁵ like sun and moon. What will all the Gentiles do, if you

¹ Lit. 'teach your children letters'.

² So bg: dlm eaf chi 'callousness'.

³ Lit. 'she'.

¹ Lit. 'you will act godlessly towards'.

² An object is required here: *chi* have 'upon him'.

³ So kl eaf c: b gdm hi 'and there will become'.

⁴ Lit. 'will be pure from' (so bkl: II-l 'is pure from').

⁵ So bkl: II-l 'Israel'.

are darkened by ungodliness and bring a curse upon our race, for whose sake the light of the law⁶ was given (for what was given through you was given for the enlightenment of every man)? Him you will desire to kill; and you will teach commandments contrary to the precepts of God. You will rob the Lord's offerings; from the portions allotted to him you will steal; and before sacrificing to the Lord you will take for yourselves the choicest pieces and share them like common food⁷ with whores. You will teach the Lord's commandments for your own personal gain. You will pollute married women and defile the virgins of Jerusalem,⁸ and you will be united with prostitutes and adulteresses. You will take Gentile women as wives and purify them with a form of purification contrary to the law; and your unions will be like Sodom and Gomorrah in ungodliness. And you will be full of self-importance on account of the priesthood and set yourselves up against other men; and not only so, but you will think yourselves of more importance even than the commandments of God, and you will mock at holy things⁹ and make cheap jokes about them.¹⁰

XV. And so the temple, which the Lord will choose, will be laid waste because of your uncleanness,¹ and you will be carried off as captives by all the Gentiles. And you will be an abomination to them and bear the reproach and eternal shame of having been condemned by the righteous judgement of God. And all who see you will turn and run away from you. And if it were not because of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, our fathers, I should have no descendant left alive on earth.

XVI. And now I understand in the book of Enoch that you will go astray and profane the priesthood and pollute the sacrifices for seventy weeks. And you will set aside the law and discredit the words of the prophets: you will persecute righteous men with a

⁶ So *gm eaf ch: bki* 'the light of the world'; *ld* 'the light of the world and the law'.

⁷ Lit. 'and eat them in contempt'.

⁸ So *b k: II* 'Israel'. ⁹ Or 'the holy place'.

¹⁰ and make . . . them: lit. 'jesting in contempt'.

¹ Lit. 'will be desolate in uncleanness'.

crazy determination and hate the godly and abhor the words of the faithful. And you will brand as a deceiver a man who renews the law in the power of the Most High, unaware of who he is,¹ and you will finally kill him, as you suppose, and through your wickedness bring innocent blood upon your heads. Because² of him your sanctuary will be laid waste, levelled to the ground, and polluted. And your land³ will be unclean; and⁴ a curse will rest upon you, and you will be dispersed among the Gentiles until he comes to you and once more receives you in pity through⁵ faith and water.

XVII. And since I have told you about the seventy weeks, let me tell you also¹ about the priesthood. For in each jubilee there will be a priesthood. In² the first jubilee the first priest anointed to the priesthood will be great, and he will speak to God as to a father; and his priesthood will be perfect with the Lord,³ and on his day of joy he will stand up for the salvation of the world. In the second jubilee the anointed priest will be conceived amid the distresses of his people;⁴ and his priesthood will be held in high honour and esteem by all. And the third priest will be overcome by sorrow. And the fourth will suffer anguish because unrighteousness will make a determined assault upon him,⁵ and Israelites⁶ will hate one another. The fifth will be overcome by darkness. And so also the sixth and the seventh. And in the seventh jubilee there will be pollution of a kind that I cannot speak of in the presence of the Lord and men⁷ (but they will know who do these things). Because of this they will be taken as captives and plundered, and their land and their possessions will be destroyed. And in the fifth week they will return to their land in its desolation, and they will renew the house

¹ Lit. 'unaware of his majesty'.

² So *b k: II* 'And because'.

⁴ Lit. 'but'.

³ Lit. 'place'.

⁵ Lit. 'in'.

¹ Lit. 'since you have heard . . . hear also'.

² So *b l: II-1* 'and in'.

³ So *II: b* 'perfect with the fear of the Lord'.

⁴ Lit. 'in the sorrow of the beloved ones'.

⁵ Translation uncertain.

⁶ Lit. 'and all Israel'.

⁷ So *b: II om.* 'the Lord and'.

11 of the Lord. And in the seventh week will come priests, *who will be idolaters, quarrelsome, money-lovers, arrogant, lawless, licentious, corrupters of children, and given to unnatural vice with animals.*

XVIII. And after judgement has come upon them from the Lord, the priesthood will fail.

2 Then will the Lord raise up a new priest,¹
 To whom all the words of the Lord will be revealed;
 And he will execute true judgement on earth for many days.
 3 And his star will arise in heaven, as a king,
 Lighting up the light of knowledge as the sun the day;²
 And he will rank as great in the world until he is taken up.
 4 He will shine forth like the sun on the earth,
 And dispel all darkness from under heaven;
 And there will be peace in all the earth.
 5 The heavens will exult in his days,
 And the earth will be glad, and the clouds rejoice;
 And the knowledge of the Lord will be poured out on the
 earth,
 Like the water of the seas.
 And the angels of glory of the Lord's presence will be glad in
 him.
 6 The heavens will be opened,
 And from the temple of glory will come his call to his sacred
 office³
 With the Father's voice, as from Abraham Isaac's father.
 7 And the glory of the Most High will be uttered over him,
 And the spirit of understanding and holiness will rest upon
 him in the water.
 8 He will declare⁴ the majesty of the Lord to his sons in truth
 for evermore,

¹ So II: *b* 'And after . . . from the Lord, ²then will the Lord raise for the priesthood a new priest'.

² The MSS vary here: none is entirely satisfactory.

³ Lit. 'will come upon him the sacred thing'.

⁴ Lit. 'give'.

And there will be no successor to him from generation to
 generation for ever.
 9 And in his priesthood the Gentiles will increase in knowledge
 on the earth,
 And be enlightened through the grace of the Lord;
 But Israel will be weakened through ignorance,
 And plunged into darkness by sorrow.⁵
 In his priesthood will all sin come to an end,
 And the lawless cease to do evil;
 And the righteous will rest in him.
 10 And he will open the gates of Paradise,
 And destroy the power of the sword that threatened Adam.
 11 And he will give the saints *the right* to eat from the tree of life,
 And the spirit of holiness will be on them.
 12 And Beliar will be bound by him,
 And he will give power to his children to tread the evil spirits
 underfoot.
 13 And the Lord will rejoice over his children,
 And⁶ take pleasure in those who are dear to him for ever.
 14 Then will Abraham and Isaac and Jacob shout in exultation,
 And I will be glad,
 And all the saints will be clothed with joy.

XIX. And now, my children, you have heard everything. Choose,
 then, for yourselves either darkness or light, either the law of the
 2 Lord or the ways¹ of Beliar. And we answered our father, saying,
 In the Lord's presence we will live our lives in accordance with his
 3 law. And our father said, The Lord is a witness, and his angels are
 witnesses, and I am a witness, and you are witnesses, of what you
 4 have said. And we said, *We are* witnesses. And with this Levi
 brought his commands to his sons to an end; and he stretched out
 his feet, and was gathered to his fathers, when he was a hundred
 5 and thirty seven years old. And they put him in a coffin; and later
 on they buried him in Hebron, by the side of Abraham, Isaac, and
 Jacob.

⁵ So II: *bk* om. 'And in his priesthood . . . sorrow'.

⁶ So II: *b* (*k*) add 'the Lord'.

¹ Lit. 'works'.

THE TESTAMENT OF JUDAH,
ABOUT COURAGE, AND LOVE OF MONEY,
AND FORNICATION

I. A copy of the words of Judah that he spoke to his sons before he
2,3 died. They met together and came to him; and he said to them, I
was my father's fourth son, and my mother¹ called me Judah,
saying, I give thanks to the Lord because he has given me a fourth
4 son as well. I was agile and active in my youth; and I was obedient
5 to my father in everything. And I blessed² my mother and my
6 mother's sister. And when I grew up, my father Jacob promised
me,³ saying, You will be a king and prosper in all things.

II. And the Lord showed me favour in everything I did, both out
2 in the country and at home – as I saw when¹ I raced a hind and
3 caught it and made *it into* a meal for my father. The gazelles I
would catch as they ran, and I could overtake anything on the
4 plains. A wild mare I overtook and caught *it* and tamed *it*; and I
killed a lion and rescued a kid from its mouth. I took a bear by its
paw and dashed it against a crag;² and any beast, if it turned on
5 me, I tore it apart like a dog. I raced the wild boar and grasped it as
6 I ran, and I tore it in pieces. A leopard in Hebron jumped out on *my*
7 dog, and I caught it by the tail and sent it flying and destroyed it.³
A wild ox, which was feeding in the fields near Gaza, I took by the
horns, and whirled *it* round and stunned *it* and threw *it* on the
ground and killed it.

III. And when the two kings of the Canaanites, armed with their
coats of mail, came against the flocks with all their forces, on my
own I fell upon the king of Hazor, seized him and struck him on the
2 greaves, and I dragged him down and so killed him. And the other,

¹ So *b*: II 'my mother Leah'.

² So *b*: II 'honoured'.

³ So *b chi*: *gldm eaf* 'prayed for God's blessing on me'.

¹ So the probable text behind *b*: II 'I know that'.

² Lit. 'rolled it away into a crag'.

³ Lit. 'and it was broken'.

the king of Tappuah, I killed as he was sitting on his horse; and so I
3 scattered all *his* people.¹ And when I killed king Achor² (one of the
giants who was shooting arrows in front of *him* and behind *him as he*
sat on his horse), I took aim with a stone weighing sixty pounds and
4 flung *it* at *his* horse and killed it. And I fought Achor for two hours,
5 and I killed him; and I cut his shield in two and cut off his feet. And
as I was stripping off his breastplate, eight comrades of his began
6 to fight with me. So I wound my garment round my hand and
threw stones at them; and I killed four of them, but the others fled.
7 And our father Jacob killed Beelisas, the leader of the kings,³ a
8 giant in strength *and over* eighteen feet in height! And terror⁴ seized
9 them, and they brought their war against us to an end. My father
10 had no anxiety, if there was a war, and I was with my brothers. For
he had seen in a vision about me that an angel of might always
followed me everywhere, so that I should not be overcome.

IV. And in the south we became involved in a more serious war
than the one in Shechem. And I took the field with my brothers;
and I went in pursuit of a thousand men, and I killed two hundred
2 men of them and four kings. And I went up against them on the
3 wall, and I killed two more kings. Also we set Hebron free and
liberated all the prisoners that had been taken by the kings.¹

V. On the next day we set off for Aretan, a city strongly fortified,
2 inaccessible and menacing.¹ Gad and I approached from the east
3 of the city, and Reuben and Levi from the west.² And the men that

¹ So *b*: *le hi* explicitly 'his people'; *gd afc* 'their people'.

² There is obviously some confusion here since only two kings are mentioned in
verse 1, but verse 3 introduces a third with a proper name. Charles argued, on the
basis of Rabbinic sources, that verses 3–5 originally described Judah's encounter
with the king of Tappuah and that the otherwise unknown name Achor arose as a
corrupt dittography of 'the other' (Heb. *aher*) at the beginning of verse 2. He
accordingly bracketed the end of verse 2 and the beginning of verse 3 as an
interpolation.

³ Lit. 'king of all the kings'.

⁴ Lit. 'trembling'.

¹ Lit. 'and we took all the captivity of the kings'.

¹ Lit. 'promising death to us'.

² So II-*t*: *b l* add 'and on the south'.

were on the wall, thinking we were alone, were drawn away after us. And so the *rest of our* brothers, without being seen, climbed up the wall on the other two sides on ladders³ and entered the city while *the defenders* were unaware of it. And we took it and put it to the sword; and as for those who had taken refuge in the tower, we set fire to the tower and took both it and them. And as we were going away the men of Tappuah set upon our prisoners; and we put these in charge of our sons,⁴ and we fought with them as far as Tappuah. And we killed them too and burned their city, and everything in it we carried off as spoil.

VI. And when I was at the waters of Cozeba, the men of Jobel took the field against us. And we fought with them;¹ and we killed their allies from Shiloh and gave them no opportunity to attack us.² And *the men of Machir*³ came upon us on the fifth day to take our prisoners, and we advanced against them and got the better of them in a fiercely contested battle (for there were many seasoned warriors among them); and we killed them before they had gone up the slope. But when we came to their city, their women rolled down stones on us from the brow of the hill on which the city stood. And Simeon and I hid ourselves at the back; and we seized the heights and destroyed the whole city.

VII. And the next day we were told that *the men of Gaash*, the city of the kings,¹ were coming against us with a massive force. So Dan and I pretended to be Amorites and gained entrance into their city as allies. And at dead of night our brothers came, and we opened the gates for them; and we destroyed all the inhabitants² and their possessions, and we took as booty everything they had, and razed

³ Lit. 'by stakes'.

⁴ So *gdl eaf* (*m* is lacking): *b* 'and having taken these with us together with our sons'.

¹ So *b: gdl eaf* add 'and defeated them'.

² Lit. 'no passage to come in against us'.

³ Or 'And from Machir they'.

¹ So (*e*) *af*: there is a bewildering variety of readings at this point.

² Lit. 'all of them'.

4 their three walls to the ground. And we approached Timnah, where all those were who had taken refuge from³ the warring kings. 5 Here⁴ they were abusive, and in my fury I rushed against them to the brow of the hill on which the city stood.⁵ And they kept slinging stones 6 and throwing darts at me. And had not my brother Dan fought with 7 me, they would have killed me. But so furious was our assault on them that they all fled; and they found their way to my father by a different route, and they pleaded with him, and he made peace 8 with them. And we did them no harm, but made a truce with them 9 and restored all *our* prisoners to them. And I rebuilt⁶ Timnah, and 10 my father rebuilt⁶ Rabael. I was twenty years old when this war 11 happened. And the Canaanites were afraid of my brothers and of me.

VIII. And I had a number of flocks and herds, and my chief herdsman was Iran the Adullamite. When I went to see him I met¹ Barsam, king of Adullam. And he gave us a feast; and he invited 2 me and gave me his daughter Bathshua in marriage. She bore me Er and Onan and Shelah: two of them the Lord struck down childless; but Shelah was spared,² and you are his children.

IX. After we came out of Mesopotamia, from Laban, into Canaan our father¹ lived in peace with his brother Esau for eighteen years, 2 and his sons with us. And when eighteen years had gone by, in my own fortieth year, Esau, my father's brother, attacked us with a 3 large and powerful company. And he fell by the bow of Jacob and was taken up wounded² in the hill-country of Seir; and he died on 4 the road above Anoniram. And we went in pursuit of Esau's sons. Now they had a city with a wall of iron and gates of brass, and we could not get into it; and we encamped round about it and besieged 5 them. And when after twenty days they had not opened *the gates*

³ Lit. 'where was all the refuge of'.

⁴ Lit. 'Then'. ⁵ Cp. vi. 4.

⁶ Lit. 'built'.

¹ Lit. 'saw'.

² Lit. 'lived'.

¹ So II-d: *b d* 'our father and ourselves'.

² Lit. 'dead'.

and were looking *at us*, I got a ladder, and, with my shield over my head, climbed up *it*, and was met with a shower of stones³ *weighing* nearly three talents; and when I got to the top I killed four of their warriors. And on the day following Reuben and Gad went in and killed six⁴ more. Then they asked us for terms of peace, and, after consulting our father, we put them to forced labour. And they used to give us *each year* two hundred cors of wheat, five hundred baths of oil, and fifteen hundred measures of wine, until we went down into Egypt.

X. After this my son Er married Tamar,¹ a girl from Mesopotamia, an Aramaean. And Er was wicked and had doubts about Tamar because she was not from Canaan; and an angel of the Lord struck him on the third day in the night.² And he had not had intercourse with her as a result of his mother's crafty scheming; for he did not want to have children by her.³ While the wedding was still being celebrated,⁴ I gave her Onan in marriage as a husband's brother; and he too was wicked and would not have intercourse with her, though he lived with her for a whole year. And when I threatened him, he lay with her but spilled *his* seed on the ground, just as his mother had told him to; and he also died through *his* wickedness. And I wanted to give Shelah to her as well, but my wife Bathshua would not agree to it; for she had set her face against Tamar, because she was not a Canaanite as she was herself.

XI. And I was well aware that the Canaanite stock was wicked, but youthful passion blinded my mind. And when I saw her pouring out the wine at dinner,¹ I was led astray under the influence of the wine and spent the night with her. And she, while I was

³ Lit. 'and I went up accepting stones'.

⁴ So II-*b* *l* 'sixty'.

¹ According to Gen. xxxviii. 6 Judah himself was responsible for marrying Er to Tamar.

² So *b*: *gd* *caf* 'on the third night'; *m* 'on the third day'; *chi* *om*.

³ Or 'she did not want *him* to have children by her'.

⁴ Lit. 'In the days of the bride-chamber'.

¹ Cp. xiii. 5-7.

4 away, went and found a wife for Shelah from Canaan. And when I
5 discovered what she had done, I cursed her in my distress. And she died too through her sons' wickedness.

XII. And after this, while Tamar was a widow, she heard, two years later, that I was on my way to shear my sheep; and she adorned herself in bridal array and sat in the city of Enaim,¹ at the gate. For it was a custom of the Amorites that *a girl* who was about to marry should sit by the gate for seven days as a prostitute. I had myself been drinking at the waters of Cozeba, and, fuddled as I was with wine, I did not recognize her: moreover, the way she had adorned herself made her seem the more desirable; and so I was deceived. And I turned to her and said, Let me lie with you. And she said, What will you give me? And I gave her my staff and my belt and the diadem of the kingdom, and I lay with her; and she conceived. And not knowing what she had done, it was my intention to kill her;² but she secretly sent me the pledges, and humiliated me. And when I asked her to come and see me, she told me³ also what I had said to her privately while I was lying with her in my drunken stupor; and *so* I could not kill her, for it was the Lord's doing. And I thought⁴ perhaps it was a trick and she had got the pledges from someone else. But I never approached her again,⁵ because I had done something that all Israelites regard as an abomination. And the people in the city said there had been no prostitute⁶ in the gate⁷ (because she came from somewhere else and sat in the gate for only a little while). And I thought that no one knew that I had had intercourse with her. And after this we went into Egypt, to Joseph, because of the famine. And I was forty-six; and I lived there for seventy three years.

XIII. And now, my instructions to you.¹ Pay attention, my

¹ There are a number of variants here: *e* seems to give the original text.

² Cp. Gen. xxxviii. 24.

³ Lit. 'I heard'.

⁴ Lit. 'I said'.

⁵ Lit. 'But I did not approach her any more until my death'.

⁶ Lit. 'temple-prostitute'.

⁷ So II-*l* (*d* is lacking and *chi* have a different text): *b* *l* 'in the city'.

¹ Lit. 'whatsoever things I command you'.

children, to your father,² and keep all my sayings, and conform to the ordinances³ of the Lord, and obey the commandments of the Lord God.⁴ And do not follow after your natural desires, nor yield to the promptings of your own inclinations: do not be proud and overbearing;⁵ and do not boast of your feats in youth, for this too is evil in the Lord's eyes. I myself boasted that when at war no beautiful woman's face ever beguiled me, and I censured my brother Reuben because of *what he had done to Bilhah*, my father's wife; yet the spirit of pride⁶ and fornication ranged itself against me until I had spent the night with Bathshua, the Canaanite, and with Tamar, who had been married to my sons. And I said to my father-in-law, I will talk to my father about it, and *only* so will I take your daughter. And he showed me an immense hoard of gold that was ear-marked for his daughter⁷ (for he was a king). And he adorned her with gold and pearls and got her to pour out the wine for us at dinner and display her beauty.⁸ And the wine turned away my eyes, and pleasure dulled my wits. And I became enamoured of her, and I spent the night with her and transgressed the Lord's command and my father's also; and I married her. And the Lord rewarded me as I deserved, inasmuch as I had no joy of her children.

XIV. And now, my children, do not give way to drunkenness, for wine turns the mind away from truth, inflames *our* lustful inclinations, and leads the eyes into error. For the spirit of fornication uses¹ wine as an instrument to give pleasure to the mind; and both of these destroy a man's powers. For if a man drinks wine and makes himself drunk, it disturbs his mind with filthy thoughts *which lead him on* to fornication, and it heats his body to *hanker after* sexual intercourse; and if there is opportunity to gratify his lust, he

² So *b*: II 'to Judah your father'.

³ So *b*: II 'all the ordinances'.

⁴ So *bm*: II-*m* 'of God'.

⁵ do not . . . overbearing: lit. 'in the haughtiness of your heart'.

⁶ Or 'jealousy' (lit. 'zeal').

⁷ that . . . daughter: lit. 'in his daughter's name'.

⁸ Lit. ' . . . at dinner in the beauty of women'.

¹ Lit. 'has'.

4 commits the sin and is not ashamed. Such is *the effect of* wine, my children; for a man that is drunk has no respect for anyone. For look how it made me go astray, so that although there were many people in the city I was not ashamed to turn aside to Tamar before them all; and I committed a great sin and brought shame on my sons.² *Similarly*, after I had been drinking wine, I was not ashamed to *transgress* the command of God, and I took a Canaanite woman as *my wife*. So the man who drinks wine needs to *exercise* discretion, my children; and discretion means drinking for only as long as one can preserve one's self-respect.³ Otherwise, if one goes beyond this limit, the spirit of error gets into the mind and makes the drunkard indulge in filthy talk and transgress and feel no shame, but rather take pride in what is dishonourable and think it something good.

XV. The man who commits fornication has no inkling that he is being damaged and no shame at being frowned upon. For even if he is a king, if he commits fornication, he is stripped of his kingship and goes away *naked*:¹ he has become the slave of fornication and has been stripped, just as I *was* myself. For I gave away my staff (that is the prop of my tribe) and my belt (that is *my* power) and *my* diadem (that is the glory of my kingdom). And after I had repented of it, I drank no wine nor did I eat any meat² until I was an old man; and I took no part in any festivities. And God's angel showed me that women hold sway over king and beggar alike, and that they always will.³ From the king they take away his glory, and from the warrior his strength, and from the beggar *even* the little that keeps him from utter destitution.⁴

XVI. So when you drink wine, my children, observe the limit; for there are four evil spirits in it – lust, consuming *passion*, profligacy,

² Lit. 'and uncovered the covering of my sons' uncleanness'.

³ Or 'respect for others'.

¹ In verses 1 and 2 *b* om. 'has no inkling . . . if he commits fornication' through homioteleuton, and then adds a negative before 'goes away' to help the sense.

² Lit. 'wine and flesh I did not take'.

³ Lit. 'for ever'.

⁴ Lit. 'the smallest prop of his poverty'.

2 *and* money-grubbing. If you drink wine at a celebration,¹ *do it* with
 moderation² and in the fear of God;³ for if you drink immod-
 3 erately,² and the fear of God is lacking, drunkenness ensues and
 shamelessness creeps in. But better still, do not drink at all,⁴ so that
 you do not sin through violent talk and quarrelling and slander
 and transgression of the commands of God, and you perish before
 4 your time. Moreover, wine reveals the secrets of God and men to
 foreigners (just as I revealed the commands of God and the secrets
 of my father Jacob to the Canaanite woman, Bathshua); and God
 5 has told *us* not to reveal them to them. And wine, too, is a cause of
 strife⁵ and confusion.

XVII. I warn you, my children, not to be lovers of money nor to
 focus your attention on women's beauty, because it was *her* money
 2 and *her* beauty¹ that led me astray to Bathshua the Canaanite. For
 I well know that it is these two things that will lead my family into
 3 wickedness: they will corrupt even the wise men among my sons;
 and they will be responsible for the decline of the kingdom of
 Judah, which the Lord gave me because of my obedience to my
 4 father. For I never disobeyed² my father Jacob: whatever he told
 5 me, I did. And Abraham, my father's father, gave me his blessing
 and said that I should be king in Israel; and Isaac again gave me a
 6 similar blessing. And *so* I know that it is from me that the royal line
 will stem.³

XVIII. And I have also read in the books of the righteous Enoch
 2 about the evils you will do in the last days. So be on your guard, my
 children, against fornication and the love of money: pay attention
 3 to your father Judah. For these things separate *us* from the law of

¹ Or 'with a merry heart': lit. 'in gladness'.

² Lit. 'being respectful . . . not being respectful'.

³ *b* adds 'you will live' and so understands the sentence differently ('If you
 drink . . . with moderation . . . you will live').

⁴ *b* seems to be defective here: the other MSS differ widely, though they agree on
 the general sense. ⁵ Lit. 'war'.

¹ Lit. 'shapeliness'.

² Lit. 'caused grief with regard to the word of'.

³ Lit. 'the royal thing will stand'.

God, and distract *our* thoughts,¹ and encourage arrogance, and
 4 prevent *us* from showing mercy to one another. They rob a man's
 soul of all goodness, and oppress him with toils and troubles, and
 5 deprive him of his sleep, and devour his flesh. And he holds back
 the sacrifices due to God,² and ignores his blessing, and pays no
 heed to a prophet when he speaks, and is offended by even so much
 6 as a mention of religion.³ For the man who is a slave to two passions
 that are contrary to God's commands cannot obey God, because
 they have blinded him; and he walks about in broad daylight as if it
 were night.

XIX. My children, the love of money is a sure path to idolatry,
 because, when led astray by money, men call gods those that are no
 2 *gods*,¹ and it drives to distraction whoever is in its grip. For the sake
 of money I lost my children; and had I not repented and humbled
 myself, and had not my father Jacob prayed for me, I should have
 3 died childless. But the God of my fathers, the compassionate and
 4 gracious one, pardoned *me*, because I did it in ignorance. For the
 prince of error blinded me, and I was ignorant, being but a man
 and *a creature made of flesh*, corrupted by *his* sins; and I came to
 understand my own weakness when I had been thinking myself
 invincible.

XX. Understand then, my children, that two spirits attend on
 2 man, the *spirit* of truth and the *spirit* of error. And in between is the
spirit of rational understanding,¹ to incline *us* whichever way it
 3 wills. And men's deeds of truth and deeds of error are written on
 4 their hearts;² and the Lord knows each one of them. And there is no
 time when men's deeds can be hidden, because they have been
 5 written in his innermost heart³ before the Lord. And the spirit of

¹ Lit. 'blind the inclination of the soul'.

² Lit. 'And he hinders the sacrifices of God'.

³ Lit. 'by a word of godliness'.

¹ Or 'those that do not exist'.

¹ Lit. 'the *spirit* of the understanding of the mind'.

² Lit. 'And the things of truth and the things of error are written on the breast of
 man'.

³ Lit. 'in the breast of his bones'.

truth testifies to everything and accuses everyone; and the sinner is destroyed by fire on the evidence of^a his own heart and cannot *even* raise his face to the judge.

XXI. And now, children, show Levi the respect due to him,¹ so that you may endure, and do not set yourselves up against him, or
 2 you will be swept away completely. For the Lord gave me the kingdom and him the priesthood; and he made the kingdom
 3 inferior to the priesthood. He gave me the things on earth, him the things in heaven. As the heaven is higher than the earth, so is God's
 4 priesthood higher than the kingdom on earth, unless it falls away from the Lord through sin and becomes subservient to the earthly
 5 kingdom.² For the Lord chose him rather than you,³ to approach him, and to eat at his table, and *to offer* the first-fruits, the choice
 6 offerings,⁴ of the sons of Israel. But you will be king in Jacob;⁵ and you will be like a sea for them.⁶ For just as on the sea *both* upright and wicked are tossed about, and some are taken prisoner while others make their fortunes, so also *shall* every race of men *be* in you:
 7 some will be in danger and taken prisoner while others will grow rich through plunder. For those who reign as kings will behave⁷
 8 like sea-monsters and gulp down men like fish: they will enslave sons and daughters that are free and plunder houses, lands, flocks, and money. And in their wickedness they will feed the flesh of many to the ravens and the cranes;⁸ and they will excel in *every kind*
 9 of evil, spurred on by greed. And false prophets will appear like hurricanes and persecute all upright men.

XXII. But the Lord will divide them into opposing groups, and
 2 there will be continual wars in Israel. And my kingdom will be

^a Lit. 'is burned up out of'.

¹ Lit. 'love Levi'.

² *bd om.* 'unless . . . kingdom'.

³ Lit. 'thee'. Note the abrupt change to second person singular (cp. T. Iss. v. 4-5): *chi* accordingly add 'the angel of the Lord said to me' before 'the Lord chose him'.

⁴ So *b (t)*: II-*l* 'the first-fruits of the choice offerings'.

⁵ *b om.* 'But . . . Jacob'.

⁶ So *ba*: II-*a* 'among them'.

⁷ Lit. 'be'. ⁸ Gr. 'ibises'.

brought to an end by men of another race before the salvation of Israel comes and the God of righteousness appears,¹ so that Jacob
 3 and all the Gentiles may rest in peace. And he will preserve my sovereign rights² for ever; for the Lord swore to me on oath that my kingdom and my descendants' *kingdom* shall never fail to the end of time.³

XXIII. Now I am much grieved, my children, because of the licentious acts and meddlings in witchcraft and idolatries of which you will be guilty; contrary to the royal *law*, in running after
 2 ventriloquists, omens, and the demons of error. You will turn your daughters into singing-girls and prostitutes and take part in the
 3 abominable things the Gentiles do. Because of this the Lord will bring on you famine and pestilence, death and sword, unrelenting siege and vicious dogs¹ and taunts from friends, destruction and failure of eyesight, slaughter of children and abduction of wives, seizure of *your* possessions, *the* burning of *the* temple of God, *the* desolation of *your* land, *and* your own enslavement by the Gentiles.
 4,5 And they will make some of you eunuchs for their wives. And when² you return to the Lord in purity of heart and repent and order your lives in accordance with God's commands, then the Lord will show you mercy and restore you from *your* captivity among your enemies.

XXIV. And after this a star will come forth for you out of Jacob in peace, and a man will arise from among my descendants like the sun of righteousness, living with men in meekness and righteousness, and no sin will be found in him.

2 And the heavens will be opened over him,
 To pour out the blessing of the spirit of the Holy Father;
 And he will pour out the spirit of grace upon you.
 3 And you will be his sons in truth,

¹ Lit. 'until the salvation of Israel comes, until the appearing (Gk. *παρουσία*) of the God of righteousness'.

² Lit. 'the power of my kingdom'.

³ So *b g*: the other MSS vary, but give much the same sense.

¹ Lit. 'and dogs for tearing enemies in pieces'.

² So *b g*: II-*g* 'until'.

And live in accordance with his commands from first to last.
 4 This *is* the shoot of God Most High,
 And this the fountain that gives life to¹ all mankind.
 5 Then will the sceptre of my kingdom shine forth,
 And from your root will come a stem.
 6 And from² it will spring a staff of righteousness for the
 Gentiles,
 To judge and to save all that invoke the Lord.

XXV. And after this Abraham and Isaac and Jacob will rise to life
 again, and my brethren and I will be chiefs of our tribes in Israel:
 Levi *will be* first, I second, Joseph third, Benjamin fourth, Simeon
 2 fifth, Issachar sixth, and so all in order. And the Lord will bless¹
 Levi, the angels of the presence me, the powers of the glory Simeon,
 the heaven Reuben, the earth Issachar, the sea Zebulon, the
 mountains Joseph, the tabernacle Benjamin, the lights *of heaven*
 Dan, Eden² Naphtali, the sun Gad, the olive³ Asher.

3 And there will be one people of the Lord and one language;
 And there will be no spirit of error of Beliar any more,
 For he will be thrown into the fire for ever.
 4 And those who have died in grief will rise again in joy,
 And those who *are* in penury for the Lord's sake will be made
 rich,
 And those who *are* in want⁴ will eat their fill,
 And those who *are* weak will receive strength,
 And those who have been put to death for the Lord's sake will
 awake to life.⁵
 5 And the harts of Jacob will run with gladness,
 And the eagles of Israel will fly with joy

¹ Lit. 'the fountain to the life of'.

² Or 'through' (lit. 'in').

³ So *gdm ef*: *bl chi* 'the Lord blessed'; *kn* lacking.

⁴ Lit. 'the delicacy' (= ἡ τροφή, used a number of times in the Greek Old Testament to render the Hebrew 'Eden').

⁵ So *b Arm.* (cp. Deut. xxxiii. 24): others 'the moon'.

⁶ So *b*: *dm ef* 'in hunger'; *l g a chi* lacking.

⁷ Lit. 'in life'.

(But the ungodly will mourn and sinners weep),
 And all the peoples will glorify the Lord for ever.

XXVI. And so, my children, observe the whole of the law of the
 2 Lord, for there is hope for all who make straight *their* way.¹ And he
 said to them, I am a hundred and nineteen years old, and I am to
 3 die in the sight of you all this day. Do not bury me in expensive
 clothes, nor tear my belly open (for this *is what* those who are kings
 4 would do); and take me up to Hebron with you. And as he finished
 speaking Judah fell asleep; and his sons did everything he had
 commanded them, and they buried him in Hebron with his
 fathers.

THE TESTAMENT OF ISSACHAR, ABOUT SIMPLICITY

I. A copy of the words of Issachar.

He called his sons and said to them, Listen, children, to your
 father, Issachar: listen carefully, you whom the Lord loves, to what
 2 I say, I was born to Jacob as his fifth son as a result of the hire for
 3 the mandrakes.¹ For Reuben² brought in mandrakes from the
 4 country, and Rachel met him outside and took them. And Reuben
 was in tears; and Leah, my mother, heard him *crying* and came out.
 5 (Now these *mandrakes* were sweet-smelling apples that the land of
 6 Aram used to produce on a piece of high ground underneath a
 water-spring.) And Rachel said, I will not give them to you: I will
 7 treasure them as if they were my children.³ Now there were two
 apples;⁴ and Leah said, Surely it is enough for you to have taken
 away the husband I married as a girl:⁵ will you take these

¹ All the MSS read either 'his way' (*bl*) or 'his ways' (II-I): *chi*, in addition, have 'hold fast to' instead of 'make straight'.

² Lit. 'in hire of the mandrakes'.

³ So II: *b* 'Jacob'.

⁴ I will . . . children: lit. 'for they will be to me instead of children'.

⁵ So *b*: II 'two of these apples'.

⁶ Lit. 'the husband of my virginity'.

8 away too? And she said, Behold, Jacob shall be yours to-night in
 9 exchange for your son's mandrakes. And Leah said to her, Do not
 be so superior and flatter yourself, for Jacob is mine, and I am the
 10 wife of his youth. But Rachel said, How so? For he was pledged in
 marriage to me first, and *it was* for my sake he served our father
 11 fourteen years. What should I do to you? For men's deceit and
 cunning are always on the increase, and on earth deceit prospers.
 12 If it were not so, you would not be living with Jacob now.⁶ For you
 are not his wife, but you were deceitfully foisted on him instead of
 13 me. And my father deceived me and took me away that night, and
 would not let me see *what was going on*; for, if I had been there, this
 14 would not have happened. And Rachel said, Take one mandrake,
 15 and for the other⁷ I will hire him out to you for one night. And
 Jacob slept with Leah, and she conceived and bore me; and on
 account of the hire I was called Issachar.

II. Then an angel of the Lord appeared to Jacob, saying, Rachel
 shall bear two children, for she has declined intercourse with her
 2 husband and chosen continence. And had not Leah, my mother,
 given up¹ the two apples in exchange for intercourse she would
 have borne eight sons: as it was, she bore *only* six, and Rachel bore
 the *other* two because the Lord looked favourably on her because of
 3 the mandrakes.² For he saw that it was for children she wanted
 4 intercourse with Jacob and not for pleasure. For on the very next
 day she gave Jacob up again to get the other mandrake also. And
 5 so³ the Lord took notice of Rachel because of the mandrakes.⁴ For
 though she very much wanted to, she would not eat them, but
 dedicated them in the house of the Lord and presented them to the
 priest of the Most High who was *there* at that time.

III. So when I grew up, my children, I lived an upright life, and I

⁶ Lit. 'you would not be seeing the face of Jacob'.

⁷ Lit. 'the one'.

¹ Lit. 'paid' (so *b*: II 'sold').

² Lit. 'looked upon her in the mandrakes'.

³ So *b*: II om. 'And so'.

⁴ Lit. 'listened to Rachel in the mandrakes'.

became the family's farmer¹ and brought in *the* fruits of the fields in
 2 their season. And my father blessed me, for he saw that I lived
 3 simply. And I was not a busybody in what I did, nor wicked² and a
 4 slanderer of my neighbour. I never spoke evil of anyone, nor did I
 5 censure any man's *style of life*, living simply myself.³ And so I was
 thirty when I married; for my labours exhausted my strength, and
 the thought of pleasure with a woman hardly ever entered my
 mind, for I used to be so worn out that sleep would get the better of
 6 me *almost at once*. And my father always rejoiced in my simplicity;
 for whatever it was I was labouring at, all the choice fruits and all
 the firstfruits I would offer first through the priest to the Lord, then
 7 to my father, and then I *would enjoy it*⁴ myself. And the Lord
 doubled my possessions;⁵ and Jacob also knew that God was
 8 assisting my simplicity. For I used to bestow the good things of the
 earth on everyone that was poor and everyone that was oppressed
 in simplicity of heart.

IV. And now, listen to me, my children, and live in simplicity of
 2 heart;¹ for I have observed *that* it finds favour with the Lord.² The
 simple-hearted man does not covet gold, is not jealous of his neigh-
 bour, is not concerned about variety in his food, is not *always*
 3 wanting different clothes, makes no plans³ for a long life, but waits
 4 on the will of God alone. And the spirits of error have no power
 over him, for he averts his eyes from a woman's beauty, so as not to
 5 mislead or corrupt his mind. No envy will invade his thoughts:
 malice does not subvert his soul; nor is his mind obsessed by
 6 money-getting.⁴ For he lives an upright life, and looks at every-
 thing simply, and gives no countenance to the wickedness that

¹ Lit. 'a farmer of my fathers and my brothers'.

² So *b*: II - *l* 'envious'.

³ Lit. 'walking in simplicity of eyes'.

⁴ The addition 'would enjoy it' is in fact found in *g*: *d* (*m*) add 'would partake of them'.

⁵ Lit. 'the good things in my hands'.

¹ So *b*: II 'in the simplicity of your hearts'.

² Lit. 'for I have seen in it all the good pleasure of the Lord'.

³ Translation uncertain.

⁴ So *b* (lit. 'nor does he think of money-getting with insatiable desire'). For 'money-getting' (πορισμός) II reads 'distraction' (περισπασμόν).

results from the error of the world,⁵ so as not to get a distorted view of any of⁶ the Lord's commands.

V. So keep the law of God, my children, and try to live simply and in innocence; and do not be over-inquisitive about the Lord's commands, nor about the affairs of *your* neighbour. But love the Lord and *your* neighbour, and show compassion for the poor and the weak. Put your backs into your work as farmers: give yourselves up to your labours in the field of every kind; and offer gifts to the Lord with thanksgiving. For with the first-fruits of the earth has the Lord blessed¹ you,² just as he has blessed all the saints from Abel until now. For the share allotted you is no other than the richness of the earth, whose fruits are produced by toil. For³ our father Jacob blessed me with blessings of the earth and of first-fruits. And Levi and Judah were honoured by the Lord among Jacob's sons; for the Lord gave them each their share,⁴ and to the one he gave the priesthood and to the other the kingdom. So then, obey them, and live simply like your father (for to Gad, too, it has been granted to destroy the raiders that are coming on Israel).

VI. I know, my children, that in the last times your sons will turn their backs on simplicity and become obsessed by greed:¹ they will abandon innocence and resort to cunning; and, forsaking the Lord's commands, they will attach themselves to Beliar. And they will give up farming and follow their own wicked inclinations; and they will be dispersed among the Gentiles and enslaved by their enemies. And tell your children this, so that, if they sin, they may the more quickly return to the Lord; for he is merciful and will deliver them and restore *them* to their land.

⁵ So *b* (lit. 'not accepting wickedness with *his* eyes from the error of the world'); II 'not accepting wicked eyes from the error of the world'.

⁶ So *b*: II om. 'any of'.

¹ So *b*: II 'will the Lord bless'.

² So II: *b* om. ³ So *b*: II 'For even'.

⁴ Lit. 'cast lots among them'.

¹ Lit. 'and will cleave to insatiable desire'.

VII. I am a hundred and twenty two years old, and I am not aware that I have committed any deadly sin. I have not had intercourse with any other woman but my wife: I have not committed fornication through a lustful eye.¹ I have not drunk wine to be led astray by it: I have not coveted any desirable thing that was my neighbour's. My heart has harboured no deceit: no lie has ever passed my lips. If anyone were in distress, I joined my sighs with his; and with the poor have I shared my bread. I never ate alone. No boundary-stone have I moved. I have been reverent and truthful all my days. I have loved the Lord with all my strength; and in the same way I have loved all men as though they were² my own children. Do these things too, my children, and every spirit of Beliar will turn and run, and nothing that wicked men can do will prevail against you; and you will gain the mastery over³ every wild beast, since you have with you the God of heaven, sharing men's company,⁴ in simplicity of heart. And he commanded them to carry him up to Hebron and bury him there in the cave with his fathers. And he stretched out his feet and died (*Jacob's fifth son*),⁵ in a good old age, in full possession of all his faculties;⁶ and with *his* strength unimpaired he slept the eternal sleep.

THE TESTAMENT OF ZEBULON, ABOUT COMPASSION AND MERCY

I. A copy of the words¹ of Zebulon, which he left as a testament to his children, in the hundred and fourteenth year of his life, two² years after the death of Joseph.

2 And he said to them, Listen to me, *you* sons of Zebulon, pay attention to your father's words. I am Zebulon, a good gift to my

¹ Lit. 'by the uplifting of the eyes'.

² So *b*: II 'more than'.

³ Lit. 'you will enslave'.

⁴ Lit. 'walking with men'.

⁵ So *b*: II om.

⁶ Lit. 'having every limb healthy'.

¹ So *eaf chi*: *dln* 'of the testament'; *b g* om.

² So II: *b* 'thirty-two'.

parents; for when I was born, the numbers of our father's flocks and herds had been much increased by the share he had received
 4 as a result of the strategem of the different coloured rods.³ I am not
 5 aware, my children,⁴ that I have ever sinned, save only in thought.
 6 Nor do I remember that I have done anything contrary to the law,
 7 except for the part I played without knowing what I was doing *in*
the conspiracy against Joseph (for I promised my brothers⁵ not to tell
 my father what had happened). And I wept much⁶ when I was on
 my own, for I was afraid of my brothers, because they had all
 agreed that if anyone betrayed the secret he should be put to the
 sword. But when they wanted to kill him, I warned them solemnly
 with tears against this wicked deed.

II. For Simeon and Gad were incensed against Joseph and made
 an attack on him,¹ *intending* to kill him; and Joseph fell on his face
 2 and said to them, Have mercy on me, brothers, pity our father
 Jacob: do not raise your hands against me to shed innocent blood,
 3 for I have not sinned against you. And if indeed I have sinned, then
 punish me; but do not raise your hand *against me*² for our father
 4 Jacob's sake. And as he was saying this, I felt pity *for him* and began
 5 to weep, and I was overcome completely.³ And Joseph too was
 weeping, and I *wept* with him; and my heart was throbbing, and
 the joints of my body refused to function,⁴ and I could not stand.
 6 And when he saw me weeping with him, and *the two of them* coming
 on him to kill him, he took refuge behind me and begged them *for*
 7 *mercy*. But Reuben stood up and said, Brothers, let us not kill him,
 but let us throw him into one of these dry pits that our fathers dug
 8 and found no water. (For that is why the Lord prevented water
 9 from welling up in them, so that Joseph should be preserved. And
 the Lord did so until they sold him to the Ishmaelites.)

³ Lit. '... increased when in the different coloured rods he had *his* share'. Cp. Gen. xxx. 25-43.

⁴ So *b*: II om. 'my children'.

⁵ Translation uncertain: *bg (l)* 'I covered for my brothers'; *dm eaf chi* 'I confirmed to my brothers'.
⁶ So *b*: II 'And I wept many days about Joseph'.

¹ Lit. 'For Simeon and Gad came against Joseph with (*b* om.) anger (*b* om.)'.

² 'Against me' is in fact added by *gdm* (ἐπ' ἐμῆ) and *eaf* (μοί).

³ Lit. 'and my liver was loosened and all the substance of my bowels became weak upon my soul'.
⁴ Lit. 'and the joints of my body went out of place'.

III. And I refused, *my* children, to take my share of the money that
 2 was paid for Joseph. But Simeon and Gad and our six other
 3 brothers took what was paid for Joseph and bought sandals for
 themselves and for their wives and children, saying, We will not
 buy food with it,¹ for it is our brother's blood-money, but let us
 tread it well under foot, because he said he would be king over us;
 4 and *so* let us see what will become of his dreams. (That is why it is
 written in the writing of the law of Enoch that whoever will not
 raise a child² for his brother, his sandal shall be taken off and his
 5 face spat upon. Joseph's brothers had no wish for their brother to
 6 live; and the Lord took off Joseph's sandal³ from them. For when
 they came into Egypt they had their sandals taken off⁴ by Joseph's
 servants as soon as they arrived at the gate, and so they made their
 obeisance to Joseph, as was the custom at the Pharaoh's court.⁵
 7 And not only did they make obeisance to him, but they were also
 spat upon immediately they fell down in front of him; and so they
 8 were put to shame before the Egyptians. For the Egyptians heard
 afterwards how disgracefully we had treated Joseph.)

IV. And then they sat down to eat.¹ But I ate nothing for two days
 and two nights out of pity for Joseph; and Judah did not eat with
 them *either*, but kept watch on the pit, for he was afraid that Simeon
 3 and Gad might make off and kill him. And when they saw that I too
 4 was not eating, they set me to guard him until he was sold. And he
 spent three days and three nights in the pit; and so when he was
 5 sold he was very hungry. And when Reuben heard that he had
 been sold while he was away, he tore his clothes off and lamented,
 6 saying, How shall I look my father Jacob in the face? And he took
 the money and ran after the merchants, but did not find anyone;

¹ Lit. 'We will not eat it'.

² Lit. 'raise up seed'.

³ So *b*: II explains 'the sandal that they wore against their brother Joseph'.

⁴ Lit. 'they were taken off'.

⁵ Lit. 'according to the form prescribed by the Pharaoh (so *bg*: II-*g* 'by King Pharaoh')'.

¹ There are wide variations between the MSS here. The translation is based on *b* ('After these things they threw to eat').

for they had left the main road and gone off through *the country of the*
 7 Trogolocolpites by a short cut. And Reuben ate nothing that day.
 8 So Dan came to him and said, Do not weep or mourn, for I have
 9 thought of² something we can tell our father Jacob. Let us kill a
 he-goat, and dip Joseph's tunic *in its blood*, and say, Do you
 recognize it? Is this your son's tunic? And this is what they did.³
 10 For they had stripped Joseph of our father's tunic when they were
 11 about to sell him and had put a slave's old coat on him. Now
 Simeon had the tunic and would not give it up, and he wanted to
 cut it in pieces with his sword, because he was angry *Joseph was still*
 12 alive and he had not killed him. But we all stood up against him
 together and said, If you will not give it up, we will say you did *this*
 13 evil thing in Israel on your own. And so he gave it up; and they did
 as Dan had suggested.

V. And now, my children, I appeal to you to keep the Lord's
 commands, and to show mercy to your neighbour and be compas-
 sionate towards all men – and not only towards humans, but
 2 towards animals too. For that was why the Lord blessed me, and
 when all my brothers were taken ill, I escaped unharmed; for the
 3 Lord knows each man's motives. So let mercy reign in your hearts,¹
 my children, because as a man treats his neighbour, so also will the
 4 Lord treat him. For my brother's sons were being taken ill as well
 as *their fathers*, and were dying, on account of Joseph, because they
 had shown him no mercy; but my sons were preserved in perfect
 5 health, as you well know. And when I was in Canaan, on the coast,
 I used to catch fish for my father Jacob; and although many *other*
people were drowned in the sea, I survived unhurt.

VI. I was the first to make a boat to sail on the sea, for the Lord
 2 gave me the necessary knowledge and skill.¹ And I fitted a rudder²
 behind it and stretched a sail on an upright piece of wood in the

² Lit. 'I have found'.

³ So II: *b* omits the whole clause.

¹ Lit. 'Have, therefore, mercy in your bowels'.

¹ Lit. 'gave me understanding and wisdom in it'.

² Lit. 'And I let down a piece of wood'.

3 middle of it. And I sailed it along the shores and caught fish for my
 4 father's household until we came to Egypt. And³ out of compassion
 5 I gave some of my catch to⁴ every man *that was* a foreigner. And if
 there was anyone who was foreign, or ailing, or aged, I boiled and
 dressed the fish and offered it to all men, as each had need, making
 6 them my guests out of a fellow-feeling for them. And so the Lord
 gave me a rich catch of fish; for he who shares *what he has* with his
 7 neighbour is repaid many times over by the Lord. I caught fish for
 five years; and I shared it with whoever I came across⁵ and there
 8 was *still* enough for my father's entire household. In the summer I
 caught fish, and in the winter I looked after the sheep with my
 brothers.

VII. Now I will tell you what I did. I saw a man who was in distress
 because he had nothing warm to put on in winter,¹ and I had
 compassion on him; and I took a garment from my house without
 2 anyone noticing and gave it to the man that was in distress. So you
 too, my children, must show compassion and mercy to all men
 without partiality, and give to every man with a good heart from
 3 the things that God has given you. And if you have nothing at the
 time to give a man in need, have a fellow-feeling for him, and show
 4 him compassion and mercy. I remember² I had nothing ready to
 hand *on one occasion* to give a needy man, so I accompanied him on
 his journey for seven furlongs in tears, and my heart went out to
 him in sympathy.

VIII. And so, my children, be compassionate and merciful to every
 man, that the Lord may be compassionate and merciful to you too.
 2 (Because, indeed, in the last days the Lord sends¹ his compassion
 on the earth, and wherever he finds a merciful heart,² he makes his
 3 dwelling there.) For just in so far as a man has compassion on his

³ vi. 4–6, 7b ('and I shared . . . household') and vii. 1–viii. 3 (' . . . on him') are found in *bgld (m)* only.

⁴ So *b*: *gldm* 'I shared with'.

⁵ Lit. 'with every man I saw'.

¹ Lit. 'in distress by nakedness of winter'.

² Lit. 'I know'.

¹ So *b d*: *kgd (m)* 'will send'.

² Lit. 'bowels of mercy'.

4 neighbour, so *has* the Lord³ *compassion* on him. And when we went
 5 down to Egypt, Joseph bore no malice against us; and when he saw
 me he had compassion.⁴ Let him be an example to you and bear no
 malice either,⁵ my children, and love one another,⁶ and do not,
 6 each of you, keep a record of his brother's wrongdoing. For this is a
 bar to unity and splits up any family, and is a source of confusion in
 the soul and destroys a man completely.⁷ For the man that bears
 malice is devoid of mercy.⁸

IX. See *what happens* to water; for when it flows all of it together *as a*
 2 *single river* it sweeps along with it stones, wood, earth,¹ sand. But if
 it is divided into a number of *separate streams*, it disappears into the
 3 ground and becomes of no account at all. So will you be too, if you
 4 are divided. Do not let yourselves, therefore, be split in two, so that
 you have two heads,² for everything the Lord has made has *but* one
 head *only*: he has provided two shoulders, hands, *and* feet; but all
 5 the limbs obey the one head. I understand from the writing of my
 fathers that in the last days you will forsake the Lord, and³ you will
 be divided in Israel and follow two kings, and you will commit
 6 every *kind of* abomination and worship every *kind of* idol. And your
 enemies will take you away as captives, and you will be oppressed
 by⁴ the Gentiles and suffer every *kind of* indignity⁵ and distress and
 7 mental anguish.⁶ And afterwards you will remember the Lord and
 repent; and he will bring you back again, for he is merciful and
 compassionate and has no evil designs on men, because *he knows*
 that they are flesh and *that* the spirits of error deceive them in
 8 everything they do. And then shall the Lord himself, the light of

³ So *b k: gdm* add 'also'.

⁴ and when . . . compassion: found in *bgld* only.

⁵ So *b g (d)*: others om. 'and bear . . . either'.

⁶ So *bg (d)*: others add 'also'.

⁷ Lit. 'and destroys existence': so *ld eaf; bg* om. through homoioteleuton; *chi*
 evidently secondary. ⁸ For . . . mercy: found in *bgld* only.

¹ *bl* wrongly 'the' (sand) – reading *την* for *την*.

² Lit. 'split into two heads'.

³ in the last . . . Lord, and: found in *bgld* only.

⁴ So *gl eaf hi: bdc* 'you will be forced to live among'.

⁵ Lit. 'weakness'.

⁶ and mental anguish: found in *bgld* only.

righteousness, arise for you, and healing and compassion shall be
 in his wings:⁷ he shall ransom mankind from their slavery to Beliar;
 and every spirit of error shall be trampled underfoot. And he shall
 convert all the Gentiles, so that they are filled with zeal for him.⁸
 And you shall see God⁹ in human form *in the house*¹⁰ which the Lord
 9 will choose (Jerusalem is its name). And *then* by the wickedness of
 your doings¹¹ you will provoke him again, and you will be thrown
 out until the end of time.

X. And now, my children, do not be sad because I am dying, nor
 2 cast down at my departure. For I shall rise again in the midst of
 you, as a ruler in the midst of his sons; and I shall rejoice in the
 midst of my tribe with as many as have kept the law of the Lord and
 3 the commands of their father Zebulon. But upon the ungodly will
 the Lord bring eternal fire, and he will destroy them for all time.
 4,5 Meanwhile,¹ I am going to my rest, as did my fathers. Do you fear
 the Lord your God with all your strength all the days of your life.
 6 And when he had finished speaking, he slept the perfect² sleep; and
 7 his sons put him in a coffin. And afterwards they carried him up to
 Hebron and buried him with his fathers.

THE TESTAMENT OF DAN, ABOUT ANGER AND FALSEHOOD

I. A copy of the words of Dan, which he spoke to his sons in his last
 days, in the hundred and twenty-fifth year of his life.
 2 He called his family together and said, Listen to my words, *you*
 3 sons of Dan, and pay attention to what your father has to say.¹ I
 have found by experience all through my life that truth and just

⁷ and healing . . . wings: found in *bkgl dm* only.

⁸ So *bkgl (d)*: others 'And you shall return to your own land'.

⁹ So *bkl: gdm eaf* 'the Lord' (with subsequent omission through homoioteleuton in
eaf).

¹⁰ Some such addition is needed: cp. T. Levi x. 5, xv. 1.
¹¹ *bk* 'words': II 'works'.

¹ So II-g: *bk (g)* om.

² Lit. 'good'.

¹ Lit. 'the words of your father's mouth'.

dealing are good and pleasing to God, and that falsehood and anger are evil, because² they teach man every kind of wickedness. I confess to you to-day, my children, that I was myself delighted when it was suggested that we should kill Joseph,³ although he was a true and good man. And I was overjoyed when Joseph⁴ was sold, because his father loved him more than us. For the spirit of jealousy and self-esteem said to me, You are his son as well. And one of the spirits of Beliar egged me on,⁵ saying, Take this sword and kill Joseph with it, and your father will love you when he is dead. (This spirit that tried to persuade me to thirst for Joseph's blood, like a leopard for a kid's, is the spirit of anger.) But the God of our⁶ father Jacob would not let him fall into my hands, and he prevented me from ever finding him alone to do that wicked deed and thus destroy two tribes in Israel.

II. And now, my children, I am dying, and I assure you that unless you keep yourselves from the spirit of falsehood and anger, and love truth and patience, you will perish. Anger blinds a man, my children, and the angry man can see no one as he truly is.¹ For though it is *his own* father or mother, he treats them as enemies: though it is *his brother*, he does not recognize *him*: though a prophet of the Lord, he disobeys *him*: though a righteous man, he takes no notice of *him*: though a friend, he does not acknowledge *him*. For the spirit of anger wraps the nets of error round him and blinds his natural eyes: through² falsehood it darkens his mind and gives him its own *distorted* vision. And what does it blind³ his eyes with? With a bitter hatred;⁴ and it makes him like itself,⁵ so that he is envious of his brother.

III. Anger is evil, my children, for it becomes *as it were* a soul to the

² So *b*: II om.

³ Lit. 'that in my heart I was delighted about the death of Joseph'.

⁴ So *b*: II 'he'.

⁵ Lit. 'worked with me'.

⁶ So *b*: II 'my'.

¹ Lit. 'There is blindness in anger, my children, and no (*b* adds 'angry') man sees a face in truth'.

³ Lit. 'wrap round'.

⁴ Lit. 'With hatred of heart'.

⁵ Lit. 'and it gives him its own heart'.

2 soul itself. And it makes the body of the angry man its own, and gains the mastery over *his* soul, and motivates the body to commit iniquity of every kind. And when it does *it*, the soul justifies what is done,¹ because it does not see. Consequently, the man that is angry, if he is a man of influence, has a threefold power in his anger: first, through the power and² the help of his servants; secondly, through his wealth, which enables him to exert pressure and win the verdict, although he is in the wrong; and thirdly, because he has the natural *power* of *his own* body and himself³ does the evil. And even if the man that is angry is a weakling, he *nevertheless* has twice the power *that was given him* by nature; for anger always helps transgressors. This spirit, together with *the spirit of falsehood* stands⁴ ever at Satan's right hand, so that by cruelty and falsehood his ends may be achieved.

IV. Understand, then, how powerful anger is, and how deceptive it is.¹ For first of all it provokes by word: then it strengthens the *man* provoked by deeds, and creates disorder and makes havoc in his mind;² and thus it goads his soul to fury. So when anyone criticizes you, you must not³ be moved to anger; and if anyone praises you as good men, you must not be too elated – do not all of a sudden either go into ecstasies or take offence. For first it delights the ear, and so it alerts the mind to consider **what has been said in provocation**, and then, in a fit of rage, *the man* thinks his anger justified. If any loss or deprivation befalls you,⁴ my children, do not lose your heads, for this very spirit makes *a man* desire what he has been deprived of so that he becomes angry through longing *for it*. If you suffer a loss voluntarily,⁵ do not grieve *about it*, for grief leads on to anger⁶ with

¹ Or, possibly, 'And when it (i.e. 'the soul') does it, it justifies what is done'.

² So *b*: II om. 'the power and'.

³ Lit. 'through himself'.

⁴ Lit. 'goes' or 'lives its life'.

¹ Lit. 'that it is in vain' (the Gk. word *μάταιος*, usually rendered 'vain' or 'empty', is in several passages in the Gk. Old Testament used to render the Heb. *kazabh*, 'lie, falsehood' – e.g. Amos ii. 4; Ezek. xiii. 6).

² Lit. 'and disturbs his mind with bitter damages'.

³ *b* om.

⁴ So *b*: II 'If you fall into any loss or deprivation'.

⁵ So *bl*: II-*l* add 'or involuntarily'.

⁶ Lit. 'for from grief it causes to arise anger'.

7 falsehood. Anger with falsehood is a double evil, and each assists the other to stir up the mind; and when the soul is stirred up continually the Lord departs from it and Beliar has dominion over it.

V. So keep, my children, the Lord's commands and observe his law; and turn from anger and hate falsehood, that the Lord may dwell in you and Beliar may flee from you. Speak the truth to each other, and you will be preserved from *the ill-effects of pleasure*¹ and from troubles; and² you will be at peace, since you will have *with you* the God of peace, and contention will have no hold over you. Love the Lord throughout³ your life, and one another with a true heart. For I know that in the last days you will turn away from the Lord, and you will despise Levi and set yourselves up against Judah, but you will be powerless against them; for an angel of the Lord will guide them both, because by them will Israel stand. And when you turn from the Lord, you will give yourselves up to every kind of evil, doing *all* the abominable things the Gentiles do and wantonly pursuing the women of the lawless, while the spirits of error work in you every kind of wickedness. For I have read in the book of the righteous Enoch that your prince is Satan, and that all the spirits of fornication and arrogance will turn their attention to Levi⁴ and constantly dog the footsteps of Levi's sons in order to make them sin against the Lord.

7 And my sons will associate themselves with Levi,
And join with them in all their sins;
And Judah's sons will be covetous,
And plunder other men's goods like lions.
8 Because of this you will be carried captive with them,
And there will you suffer all the plagues of Egypt,
And all the evils of the Gentiles,
9 Yet,⁵ when you return to the Lord,

¹ Lit. 'you will not fall into pleasure' (so *b*: II 'wrath').

² Lit. 'but'.

³ Or 'with all' (lit. 'in all').

⁴ Or 'will obey Levi' (lit. 'listen to Levi').

⁵ Lit. 'And so'.

You will find mercy,
And he will bring you to his sanctuary,
Proclaiming to you⁶ peace.
10 And there will arise to you from the tribe of Judah and *from Levi*
the Lord's salvation,
And he will make war against Beliar,
And avenge our fathers in a mighty victory.⁷
11 And he will set free the prisoners of Beliar⁸
(The souls, *that is*, of the saints);
And he will turn the hearts of the disobedient back to the
Lord again;
And he will give to them that call on him eternal peace.
12 And the saints will rest in Eden,
And in the new Jerusalem will the righteous rejoice,
And it will be to the glory of God for ever.
13 And no longer will Jerusalem lie in ruins,
Nor Israel endure captivity;
For the Lord will be in the midst of it,
Living together with men,
And the Holy One of Israel will reign⁹ over them
In humility and poverty.
And he who has faith in him will reign in truth in the
heavens.

VI. And now fear the Lord, my children, and beware of Satan and
2 his spirits. Draw near to God and to the angel that intercedes for
you, for he is a mediator between God and men for the peace of
Israel; and he will¹ stand up against the kingdom of the enemy.
3 This is why the enemy is at such pains to overthrow all those that
4 invoke the Lord. For he knows that on the day that Israel puts its
5 faith in God² the enemy's kingdom will be brought to an end. The

⁶ So *bk*: II 'And he will give you'.

⁷ Lit. 'And he shall give a vengeance of victory to our fathers (*b* 'boundaries')'.

⁸ Lit. 'And the captivity shall he take from Beliar'.

⁹ Lit. '... Israel reigning'.

¹ So *b*: II '... God and men; and for the peace of Israel he will ...'.

² Lit. 'Israel believes'.

angel of peace himself will strengthen Israel and preserve it from
 6 the worst of evils. But in the time of Israel's lawlessness the Lord
 will leave them and go to the Gentiles that do his will, for none of
 7 the angels will be equal to him.³ And his name shall be in every
 8 place of Israel and among the Gentiles, *his name of Saviour*. Keep
 yourselves, therefore, my children, from every wicked deed, and
 turn your backs on anger and all falsehood, and love truth and
 9 patience. And what you have heard from your father pass on to
 your *own* children, so that the Saviour⁴ of the Gentiles may accept
 you; for he is true and patient, meek and lowly, and teaches the law
 10 of God by what he does. Turn, then, from unrighteousness of every
 kind and hold fast to the righteousness of the law of the Lord; and
 11 your race will be kept safe for ever.⁵ And bury me near my fathers.

VII. And after saying this, he kissed them and slept the eternal
 2 sleep. And his sons buried him; and afterwards they carried up his
 bones *and laid them* alongside *those of* Abraham and Isaac and Jacob.
 3 Nevertheless, just as¹ Dan had prophesied to them (that they
 would forget the law of their God and be alienated from their own
 land and from the race of Israel and their family and kinsmen²), so
 it came to pass.³

THE TESTAMENT OF NAPHTALI, ABOUT NATURAL GOODNESS

I. A copy of the Testament of Naphtali, which he left as a testa-
 ment at the time of his death, in the hundred and thirty-second
 year of his life.

2 When his sons were met together in the seventh month, on the
 fourth¹ day of the month, while he was still in good health, he made

³ So II: *b* '... leave them and go after him that does his will, for to none of the
 angels will he be as to him'. ⁴ So II-*l*: *bkl* 'Father'.

⁵ So II: *b* omits this last clause.

¹ So *b*: II om. 'just as'. ² So II: *b* om. 'and kinsmen (lit. 'seed')'.

³ So *b* (*d*): II (*-d*) om. the final clause.

¹ So *b*: II 'first'.

3 a feast for them² – in fact, a banquet. And after he had woken up
 next morning he said to them, I am going to die. And they did not
 4 believe him. And he blessed the Lord and insisted that after the
 5 feast of the day before he would die. So he began to say to his sons,³
 Listen, my children, you sons of Naphtali, listen to what your
 6 father is saying. I was Bilhah's child; and because Rachel craftily
 gave Bilhah to Jacob instead of herself and she bore me on Rachel's
 7 thighs, I was consequently called Naphtali. And Rachel loved me
 because I was born on her thighs; and as I was an attractive child,⁴
 she would kiss me and say, May I *live* to see a brother of yours, from
 8 my own womb, just like you. So it came about that Joseph was like
 9 me in everything, in answer to Rachel's prayers. And my mother
 was⁵ Bilhah, the daughter of Rotheus, the brother of Deborah,
 Rebecca's nurse, and she was born on the very same day as Rachel.
 10 And Rotheus was of Abraham's stock, a Chaldaean, devout, free-
 11 born, and well-bred. And he was taken as a prisoner and bought by
 Laban, and he gave him Aina, his slave-girl, as his wife; and she
 bore a daughter, and he called her Zilpah after the village where he
 12 had been taken prisoner. And again⁶ she bore a daughter and he
 called her Bilhah,⁷ saying, My daughter is one of those who are
 always in a hurry to run after anything new;⁸ for as soon as she was
 born she was in a hurry to be suckled.

II. And since I was *as* light-footed as a deer, my father Jacob chose
 me for all missions and messages; and *as if I were* a deer he gave me
 2 his blessing. For just as the potter knows how much the vessel *he is*
making is to contain, and takes *the right amount of* clay for it, so too the

² So II: *b* 'he made a supper himself'.

³ So *b*: II om. 'to his sons'.

⁴ So *b* (lit. 'being delicate in form'): II 'when I was still young' (lit. 'being still
 delicate').

⁵ Lit. 'is'.

⁶ Lit. 'next'.

⁷ The text in all the MSS is difficult here. Either we must assume that some
 words have fallen out (hence our translation, which follows a reconstruction based
 on the analogy of the previous verse), or we must emend the masculine participle
 'saying' to the feminine in order to make Aina, and not Rotheus, the speaker (and so
 the parent responsible for giving Bilhah her name).

⁸ Lit. 'My daughter is a hurrier-after-novelty'.

Lord makes the body with a view to the spirit it is to contain,¹ and
 3 he puts the spirit into *it* according to the body's capacity. And the
 proportions of the two correspond perfectly,² for the whole
 4 creation³ of the Most High *has been fashioned* by weight and measure
 and rule. And just as the potter knows what the use of each vessel
 is, *and* what it is fit for, so also the Lord knows for how long the body
 5 will persist in goodness and when it will turn to evil.⁴ For there is
 nothing that is made and no thought which the Lord does not
 6 know, for he created every man in his own image. As *is* a man's
 strength, so also *is* his work; and as his mind, so also his skill;⁵ and
 as his purpose, so also his achievement; and as his heart, so also his
 mouth; and as his eye, so also his sleep; and as his soul, so also his
 7 word, either in the law of the Lord or the law of Beliar. And as there
 is a distinction between light and darkness, *and between* seeing and
 hearing, so also there is a distinction between one man and
 another, and between one woman and another; and it cannot be
 8 said that one is like another either in face or in mind.⁶ For God
 made all things good in *their* order: *first* the five senses in the head
 (and he joined⁷ the neck to the head and the hair to give it glory⁸),
 then the heart for understanding, the belly †for secretion of the
 stomach†, the windpipe for health, the liver for anger, the gall for
 bitterness, the spleen for laughter, and kidneys for shrewdness, the
 muscles of the loins for power, the ribs to form a chest,⁹ the loins for
 9 strength, and so on. So then, my children, order your lives to do
 what is right¹⁰ in the fear of God, and do nothing that is not in
 10 order, out of context, or not in season. For if you tell the eye to hear,
 it cannot: so neither, if *your are* in darkness, will you be able to do
 the deeds of light.

¹ Lit. 'with a view to the likeness of the spirit'.

² Lit. 'And there is no remainder, one out of the one, a third of a hair'.

³ Or 'for every creature'.

⁴ Lit. 'when it begins in evil'.

⁵ So II: *b* wrongly repeats 'his work'.

⁶ All the Gk. MSS are more or less corrupt: the translation is based on a reconstruction made with the help of Arm.

⁷ So *b*: II 'and joining'.

⁸ So *bl*: II-*l*. . . to the head, adding also to it the hair to give *it* dignity and glory'.

⁹ Or 'the sides for sleeping on'. Both text and translation are uncertain.

¹⁰ *b* 'be in order to good things': II 'let all your works be in order to good things'.

III. Do not, then, be goaded into wrong-doing by covetousness,¹
 neither deceive yourselves with empty words, because if you keep
 silent in purity of heart you will understand how² to hold fast God's
 2 will and reject the devil's. Sun moon and stars do not change their
 order: so too you must not change the law of God by the disorderli-
 3 ness of what you do. The Gentiles went astray and forsook the Lord
 and changed their order, and they went after stones and stocks, led
 4 away by spirits of error. But you *will not be* so, my children: you
 have recognized in the vault of heaven, in the earth, and in the sea,
 and in all created things, the Lord who made them all, so that you
 should not become like Sodom which changed the order of its
 5 nature. Similarly, the Watchers also changed the order of their
 nature, and the Lord cursed them also at the flood, and *it was*
 because of them *that* he made the earth a waste, without inhabi-
 tants or fruits.

IV. I am telling you this, my children, because I have read in the
 holy writing of Enoch that you yourselves also will forsake the Lord
 and do the same wicked things that the Gentiles do and behave like
 2 the lawless men of Sodom.¹ And the Lord will bring captivity upon
 you, and you will be slaves there to your enemies and subjected to
 every *kind of* hardship and ill-treatment until the Lord has made an
 3 end of you altogether. And after your numbers have diminished
 and your strength is exhausted, you will return and acknowledge
 the Lord your God; and in his great mercy he will bring you back
 4 into your own land. And it shall be, when they have come into the
 land of their fathers, they will again forget the Lord and act
 5 impiously. And the Lord will scatter them over the whole surface of
 the earth, until the Lord's compassion comes – a man that does
 righteousness and deals mercifully with all those who are far off
 and those who are near by.

¹ Lit. 'Be not eager, therefore, to corrupt your deeds through covetousness'.

² So II: *b* 'you will be able'.

¹ Lit. ' . . . the Lord, walking according to all the wickedness of the Gentiles, and you will do according to all the lawlessness of Sodom'.

V. In the fortieth year of my life I had a vision¹ on the Mount of Olives² (on the east of Jerusalem), that the sun and the moon were standing still. And behold, Isaac, my father's father, said to us, Run and take hold of *them*, each one of *you* as best he can, and whoever lays hands on *them*, to him will the sun and the moon belong. And we ran, all of us together; and Levi took hold of the sun, and Judah was the first to lay hands on the moon, and both of them were lifted up with them. And when Levi was as the sun, a young man gave him twelve palm branches; and Judah was radiant like the moon, and under his feet were twelve rays. And Levi and Judah ran towards each other and took hold of one another. And behold, a bull *appeared* upon the earth, having two great horns, and *there were* eagle's wings on its back; and we wanted to lay hands on it, but we could not. For Joseph got hold of it first and ascended up on high with it. And I looked¹ (for I was in the gardens³), and behold, a holy writing appeared to us, saying, Assyrians, Medes, Persians, Elamites, Galachians, Chaldaeans, Syrians, shall in turn take captive⁴ the twelve tribes of Israel.

VI. And again, seven months afterwards, I had a vision of¹ our father Jacob standing by the sea of Jamnia, and we, his sons, *were* with him. And behold, a ship came sailing by, full of salt fish,² but without sailors or steersman; and the ship was inscribed, The Ship³ of Jacob. And our father said to us, Let us get into our ship. And when we had gone on board, a violent storm got up, and there was a great gust of wind, and our father, who was at the helm, was blown away from us. And we drifted⁴ storm-tossed; and the ship filled with water, and *it was* pounded by massive waves so that it

¹ Lit. 'I saw'.

² Lit. 'on the mountains of olive(s)'.

³ So *gdlm* Arm.: others corrupt.

⁴ Lit. 'shall inherit in captivity'.

¹ Lit. 'I saw'.

² In all probability 'full of salt fish' is a corrupt dittography of the following 'without sailors'.

³ So II-1: *bl* om. 'The Ship'.

⁴ Lit. 'we were carried over the sea'.

6 was broken up. And Joseph made his escape in a dinghy; and we got away on ten planks (Levi and Judah were on *one plank* together).
7,8 And we were all scattered to the ends of *the earth*. But Levi, in
9 sackcloth prayed for us all to the Lord. And when the storm ceased, the ship reached the land, just as if nothing unusual had happened.⁵ And behold, our father Jacob came, and we all rejoiced together.

VII. I told the two dreams to my father, and he said to me, These things must be fulfilled at their proper time, after Israel has suffered much. Then my father said to me, I believe that Joseph is alive, for I see that the Lord always includes him along with you. And he said in tears, You are alive, Joseph, my child, though I am unable to look on you, and you cannot see Jacob who begot you. And he reduced us to tears as well by what he said; and I longed¹ to tell *him* that *Joseph* had been sold, but I was afraid of my brothers.

VIII. And behold, my children, I have shown you *what shall be* in the last times, for all *these* things shall happen in Israel. Instruct your children, therefore, that they keep united with Levi and Judah; for through Judah will salvation come to Israel,¹ and in him will Jacob be blessed. For through his tribe God will appear, dwelling among men on the earth, to save the race of Israel; and he will gather together the righteous of the Gentiles. If you do what is good, my children, both men and angels will bless you; and God will be glorified through you among the Gentiles, and the devil will flee from you, and the wild animals will be afraid of you, and the Lord will love you,² and the angels will keep close to you. For just as a man who has brought up a child well is remembered as a benefactor, so also a good work is a sure memorial before God.³ But who does not do what is good – men and angels will curse him; and

⁵ Lit. 'as it were in peace'.

¹ Lit. 'I burned in my bowels'.

¹ Lit. 'will salvation sprout up for Israel'.

² So *gle*: all others om. 'and the Lord will love you' through homoioteleuton.

³ Lit. 'For as when anyone has brought up a child well, he has a happy remembrance, so also for a good work there is a happy remembrance before God'.

God will be dishonoured among the Gentiles through him, and the devil will use him as his own peculiar instrument, and every wild animal will gain the mastery over him, and the Lord will hate him.

7 For the commandments of the law are far from simple, and the
8 keeping of them requires some skill.⁴ For there is a time to embrace
one's wife, and there is a time to abstain, so that one can give
9 oneself to prayer. There are, then, two commandments; and,
unless their proper order is maintained, the result is sin. And so too
10 it is with the other commandments. So be wise in God, and
prudent; and understand the order of his commandments and the
laws of every action, so that the Lord may love you.

IX. And when he had charged them with many such words, he
asked them to take his bones to Hebron and bury them with his
2 fathers. And when he had eaten and drunk and made merry, he
3 hid¹ his face and died. And his sons did everything their father
Naphtali had instructed them.

THE TESTAMENT OF GAD, ABOUT HATRED

I. A copy of the Testament of Gad, which he gave¹ to his sons in
2 the hundred and twenty-seventh² year of his life, saying, I was the
ninth³ son born to Jacob, and I was a courageous keeper of the
3 flocks. I used to guard the flock at night, and whenever a lion came
against the flock, or a wolf, or a leopard, or a bear, or any wild
animal, I would go after it and get hold of it by the foot with my
hand, and whirl it round *my head* and stun it and send it flying from
4 me,⁴ and so kill it. Now Joseph had been feeding the flocks with us
for about a month, and, delicate as he was, he was affected by the

⁴ Lit. '... are double, and through skill must they be fulfilled'.

¹ Lit. 'covered'.

¹ Lit. 'spoke'.

² So *b*: II-1 'fifth'.

³ So II: *b* 'seventh'.

⁴ Lit. 'and hurled it over two stades' - i.e. about a quarter of a mile!

5 heat and taken ill. And he returned to Hebron to his⁵ father; and he
6 made him lie down near him, because he loved him. And Joseph
said to our father, Zilpah and Bilhah's sons are killing the best of *the*
*sheep*⁶ and eating them without Judah and Reuben's knowledge.⁷
7 For he had seen that I had rescued a lamb out of a bear's mouth
and killed the bear, and I had destroyed the lamb because I was
worried that it would not live, and we had eaten it; and he told our
8 father.⁸ And I held this against Joseph until the day he was sold
9 into Egypt. And the spirit of hatred was in me, and I did not want
either to see Joseph or to hear about him;⁹ and he accused us to our
fathers of eating the sheep without Judah *knowing it*. And whatever he
told our father, he believed him.

II. I confess my sin now, *my children*, how I often wanted to kill
him, because I cordially hated him and had no kindly feelings
2 towards him at all.¹ And I hated him even more because of his
dreams; and I would have licked him out of the land of the living,
3 just as a calf licks up the fresh green grass off the ground. That was
why Judah² and I sold him to the Ishmaelites for thirty pieces of
gold; and we hid ten of them³ and showed the *other* twenty to our
4 brothers. And so through covetousness I was bent on killing him.
5 But⁴ the God of my fathers saved him from me and prevented me
from committing an outrage in Israel.

III. And now, my children, listen to the truth:¹ do what is right and
keep the whole law of the Most High; and do not be led astray by the

⁵ So *b*: II 'our'.

⁶ Lit. '... killing the good things'.

⁷ Or 'in defiance of Judah and Reuben' (lit. 'contrary to the opinion of Judah and Reuben').

⁸ So *b*: II-*d* om. 'and he told our father'; *d* 'and having seen the lamb he spoke against us to Jacob'.

⁹ Lit. 'and I did not wish either through eyes or through hearing to see Joseph'.

¹ Lit. 'because I hated him up to the soul and there was altogether no liver of mercy in me for him'.

³ Lit. 'we hid the ten'.

⁴ Lit. 'And'.

² So *b*: II 'Simeon'.

¹ Lit. 'listen to words of truth'.

2 spirit of hatred, for it corrupts all human relationships.² A man
inspired by hatred takes exception to anything anyone does: if
anyone keeps the law of the Lord he gets no praise: if anyone fears
3 the Lord and strives for what is right, he is not loved. *A man inspired
by hatred* maligns the truth, envies the successful, welcomes back-
biting, and loves arrogance; for hatred has blinded him.³ And this is
how I regarded Joseph.

IV. So beware of hatred, my children, because it is a sin¹ against
2 the Lord himself. For it refuses to listen to his commandments that
3 we should love our neighbours, and it sins against God. For if a
brother stumbles,² it wants to publish it abroad immediately to
everyone, and urges that he should be brought into court for it, and
4 punished, and put to death. And with a servant, it stirs him up
against his master, and applies every *kind of* pressure,³ in the hope
5 that it can somehow kill him. For hatred joins forces with envy
against those who prosper: when it hears of their success, or sees it,
6 it is always dismayed.⁴ For just as love would bring back the dead
to life and revoke a death sentence, so hatred would kill those who
7 are alive and allow no one to live who is guilty of even the smallest
crime. For the spirit of hatred co-operates with Satan in everything
through faint-heartedness, and the result is men's death; but the
spirit of love co-operates with the law of God by long-suffering, and
the result is men's salvation.

V. Hatred is evil, for it invariably goes hand in hand with false-
hood and speaks against the truth; and it makes small things out to
be great, represents darkness as light, calls what is sweet bitter,
and breeds¹ slander and wrath² and war and violence and a

² Lit. 'for it is evil in all the doings of men'.

³ Lit. 'his soul'.

¹ Lit. 'it makes lawlessness'.

² So *b*: II 'falls'.

³ So *bl*: II-*l* 'and rejoices over him in every affliction'.

⁴ Lit. 'sickly'.

¹ Lit. 'teaches'.

² So II: *b* om. 'and wrath'.

craving for all kinds of evil things,³ and it fills the heart with
2 devilish poison. And⁴ I tell you this from *my own* experience, my
children, so that you may turn your backs on hatred⁵ and hold fast
3 to the love of the Lord. Righteousness gets rid of hatred: humility
destroys hatred; for the righteous and the humble man is ashamed
to do what is unrighteous, since he is rebuked, not by someone else,
but by his own conscience,⁶ because the Lord looks at his inten-
4 tions. He speaks no ill of anyone,⁷ for the fear of the Most High⁸
5 overcomes hatred. Because he is afraid he might offend the Lord,
6 he will do no wrong at all to anyone, even in thought. I learned this
myself in the end, after I had repented of my behaviour to Joseph.
7 For true repentance, as God understands it,⁹ destroys ignorance,¹⁰
drives out darkness, enlightens the eyes, gives knowledge to the
8 soul, and leads the mind to salvation. And what it has not learned
9 from men, it comes to know through repentance. For God afflicted
me with a disease of the liver, and if it had not been for the prayers
10 of my father Jacob, I would in all probability have died.¹¹ For by
the very same things by which a man transgresses, by them is he
11 punished. Consequently, since it was my liver that was set against
Joseph without mercy, in my liver was I judged and suffered
without mercy for eleven months – for just as long as I had nursed a
grudge against Joseph until he was sold.

VI. And now, my children, love each one of you his brother, and
put away hatred from your hearts, and love one another in deed
2 and word and thought.¹ For in my father's presence I would speak
amicably to Joseph, and, when I had gone out, the spirit of hatred
3 would darken my mind and excite my soul to kill him. So love one

³ Lit. 'and all covetousness of evil things'.

⁴ So *b*: II om.

⁵ So *b*: II 'so that you may drive out the hatred of the devil'.

⁶ Lit. 'heart'.

⁷ So *b* (lit. 'of a man'): II 'of a holy man'.

⁸ So *bl*: II-*l* 'of God'.

⁹ Lit. 'true repentance according to God'.

¹⁰ So II: *b* 'disobedience'.

¹¹ Lit. '... Jacob, my spirit would almost have been lost from me'.

¹ Lit. 'and inclination of the soul'.

another from the heart. And if anyone sins against you, speak to him as a friend, having *first* got rid of the poison of hatred, and be
 4 frank with him; and if he confesses and repents, forgive him. But if
 he denies *it*, do not get involved in a dispute with him, in case he
 5 starts to swear and you become responsible for a double sin. Do not
 let another man hear your secret in an action at law:² if you do, he
 will hate you and become your enemy and do you serious harm;³
 for often enough when he talks to you deceitfully, or concerns
 himself in your affairs with evil intent, he has *only* caught the poison
 6 from you. And if he denies *it*, and yet exhibits a sense of shame
 when reproved, desist:⁴ do not provoke him *any further*, for a man
 who denies *something* may repent and not wrong you again: on the
 contrary, he may even do you honour, and be afraid *of you*, and live
 7 at peace *with you*. But if he is shameless and persists in his wrong-
 doing, even so forgive him from the heart, and leave vengeance to
 God.

VII. If anyone is more prosperous than you are, do not distress
 yourselves; but pray for him, that he may have perfect prosperity,
 2 for *to do* so, maybe, is for your own good.¹ And if he is even more
 successful, do not be envious: remember that everyone must die;
 and offer a hymn² to the Lord, who gives good and profitable
 3 things to all men. Study the Lord's judgements, and he will not
 4 forsake your mind, but give it peace.³ And if a man gets rich by evil
 means, like Esau my father's brother, do not be jealous; but⁴ wait
 5 for the time appointed by the Lord.⁵ For either he takes away what
 has been acquired by evil means, or he forgives those who repent,
 6 or for the unrepentant he reserves punishment for ever. For the

² Or 'in a quarrel' (lit. 'in battle'). The alternative in the translation has been preferred because the author was evidently influenced here by Prov. xxv. 8-10.

³ Lit. 'and commit a great sin against you'.

⁴ So II (lit. 'keep quiet'): *b* has a passive form of the verb ('he is to be left undisturbed' (?)).

¹ Or 'for *to do* so is just as much for your own good'.

² So *bl*: II-1 'offer hymns'.

³ A combination of the readings of *b* (which leaves out 'not') and of the prototype of II (which leaves out the emphatic 'he').

⁴ So II: *b* 'for'.

⁵ Lit. 'the limit of the Lord'.

man who is poor and free from envy, who gives thanks to the Lord
 in all things, is himself richer than all men,⁶ because he avoids the
 7 vexations of *other* men.⁷ Have done, then, with hatred, and love one
 another in sincerity.⁸

VIII. And also, tell your children to honour Judah and Levi; for
 2 from them will the Lord raise up a saviour¹ for Israel. For I know
 that at the last your children will turn away from them and be
 involved in all *kinds* of wickedness and oppression and corruption
 3 before the Lord. And when he had rested a little, he said to them²
 again, My children, obey your father and bury me near my fathers.
 And he drew up his feet and fell asleep in peace. And five years
 afterwards they carried him up and buried³ him in Hebron with his
 fathers.

THE TESTAMENT OF ASHER, ABOUT THE TWO ASPECTS' OF VICE AND VIRTUE

I. A copy of the Testament of Asher, which he gave¹ to his sons in
 the hundred and twenty-sixth² year of his life.
 2 While he was still in good health he said to them, Listen,
 children of Asher, to your father, and I will tell you everything that
 3 is right in the sight of God. Two ways has God appointed for
 mankind, and two impulses, and two kinds of action, and two

⁶ So II: *b* 'rich among all men'.

⁷ Or 'because he does not engage in the worthless toils of *other* men' (lit. 'because he has not the evil distraction of men' - cp. Eccl. i. 13; etc.).

⁸ Lit. 'in uprightness of heart'.

¹ So *b*: *ldm eaf* 'arise as a saviour'; *k g chi* Arm. 'raise up salvation'.

² So *b*: II om. 'to them'.

³ So II: *b* 'laid'.

¹ Lit. 'faces' - and so throughout this Testament.

¹ Lit. 'spoke'.

² So II: *b* 'hundred and twentieth'.

4 courses,³ and two ends. Thus, all things are in twos, one over
5 against the other. There are two ways, of good and evil, and along
6 with these are the two impulses in our breasts that make the
7 distinctions between them. So, if the soul is well disposed to what
8 is good, its every action is in righteousness, and, if it sins, it
9 repents at once; for when a man's thoughts are set on things that
10 are righteous and he rejects what is wicked, he upsets what is evil
immediately and uproots what is sinful. But if *the soul* inclines the
impulse to wickedness, its every action is in wickedness: having
spurned what is good, *such a man* takes to himself what is evil, and
under Beliar's control, even if he does anything good, he turns it to⁴
wickedness; for whenever he begins as though to do good, the end
of his action spurs him on to doing evil,⁵ since the treasure-house of
the impulse⁶ is filled with the poison of an evil spirit.

II. Someone, then, may say what is good¹ (he said) for the sake of
evil, and the end of what he does leads to evil. A man may² (. . .),³
because he shows no compassion for his accomplice in evil: this
indeed has two aspects, but the whole is evil. A man may love a
knave:⁴ he is just as much *involved* in wickedness as *the other man*,
because he would be willing even to die in evil because of him; and
here too it is clear that there are two aspects, but the result as a
whole is evil. Though it is love, it is wickedness,⁵ for it conceals
what is evil: it may look good nominally,⁶ but the end tends to evil.
Another *man* is a thief, a scoundrel, a robber, *and* a cheat, and yet
has pity on the poor: this case also has two aspects, but the whole is
evil. By cheating his neighbour, he⁷ angers God and swears falsely

³ So II: *b* 'places'.

⁴ Lit. 'in'.

⁵ Or 'he forces the end of his action into doing evil'.

⁶ So II: *b* 'of the devil'.

¹ Lit. 'There is, then, a soul saying the good'.

² Lit. 'There is a man' – and so subsequently.

³ Comparison with verse 3 suggests that a clause is missing here.

⁴ Lit. 'the wicked-doer'.

⁵ So *b*: II 'it is in wickedness'.

⁶ So II: *b* is corrupt.

⁷ So *b*: II 'He who cheats his neighbour . . .'.

against the Most High, yet he pities the poor: the Lord, who
commands the law, he flouts and treats with contempt, and yet to
7 the poor man he gives relief. He defiles the soul and makes the body
glamorous: he destroys many and pities a few; and this also has two
8 aspects, but the whole is evil.⁸ Another *man* commits adultery and
fornicates, yet abstains from food: while he fasts he does evil, and
by *his* power and wealth drags down many *others* with him, and yet
in spite of *his* excessive wickedness he does what is commanded:
9 this also has two aspects, but the whole is evil. Such men are like
10 pigs or hares; for they are half clean, but in truth are unclean. For
God has said so in the heavenly tablets.

III. So do not be like them, my children, men of two aspects, *one*
good and *the other* evil; but cling to goodness only, for God¹ makes
2 his home in it and men strive after it. Turn away from evil and,
destroy the devil by your good works; for those of two aspects do
not serve God, but their own lusts, in order to please Beliar and
men like themselves.

IV. For good men and those of a single aspect, though they may be
thought sinners by those of two aspects, are righteous in God's
2 eyes. For many who kill the wicked do two things – a good thing
through an evil one;¹ but the whole is good because *whoever does it*
3 has uprooted and destroyed what is evil. A man may hate the man
who pities *the poor* and is unrighteous, and the man who commits
adultery and fasts:² this also has two aspects, but the thing as a
whole is good, because he follows the Lord's example in not
accepting what seems good together with what is in truth evil.
4 Another *man* will not keep a festival³ with profligates, in case he
may defile his mouth⁴ and pollute his soul: this also has two

⁸ So II: *b* om. 'but . . . evil'.

¹ So *b*: II 'for even God'.

¹ So II-*g*: *b g* 'an evil thing through a good one'.

² So II: *b*, through corruption, has a slightly different text here with a completely
different (and impossible) meaning.

³ Lit. 'will not see a good day' (cp. Esther viii. 17; ix. 19, 22; also 1 Sam. xxv. 8).

⁴ So *b*: II 'his body'.

5 aspects, but the whole is good. For⁵ such men are like stags and hinds because just like wild animals they seem to be unclean, but they are altogether clean because they live their lives full of zeal for God: in so far as they abstain from what God hates too, and forbids by his commandments, they keep what is evil away from what is good.

V. So you see, my children, how there are two in all things, the one
2 over against the other, and the one is hidden by the other.¹ Death succeeds to life, dishonour to glory, night to day, and darkness to light; but all things are under the day, and the things that are righteous under life (that is why eternal life has to wait for² death).
3 And it cannot be said that truth is a lie, nor right wrong; for all
4 truth is under the light, just as all things are under God. All this have I proved in my life, and I have not strayed from the path of truth which the Lord marked out;³ and I have examined the commandments of the Most High and lived, so far as I could, with a single aspect *directed* to what is good.

VI. Observe then, my children, the commandments of the Lord
2 yourselves, and follow the truth with a single aspect. For men of two aspects receive a two-fold punishment.¹ Hate the spirits of
3 error that contend against men. Keep the law of the Lord, and do not look on evil as if it were good; but concentrate your attention on what is really good, and persevere in it along with² all the Lord's commandments, and settle yourselves down in it³ and take your

⁵ So *b*: II om.

¹ This short text is found in *b g*: *k* and *l* are lacking; *dm eaf chi* have various additional clauses. Originally the (probably secondary) longer text may have read 'by the other: in a judgement is *hidden* partiality, in ownership greed, in feasting drunkenness, in laughter sorrow, in marriage self-indulgence'.

² Lit. 'eternal life waits for'.

³ Lit. 'I have not wandered from the truth of the Lord'.

¹ Again *dm eaf ch* have an obviously secondary addition, 'for they both do what is evil and applaud those that do it': subsequently *eaf ch* read 'following the example of' instead of 'Hate'.

³ So II: *b* 'in him'.

² Lit. 'and keep it in'.

4 rest in it.³ For men's ends reveal their *progress* in righteousness, when they make the acquaintance of the angels of the Lord and *the*
5 *angels* of Satan. For if the soul departs *from the body* troubled, it is tormented by the evil spirit that it served in lusts and evil deeds.
6 But if it *departs* quietly *and* with joy, *that man* has already become acquainted with the angel of peace that will comfort him with⁴ life.

VII. Do not, children,¹ be like Sodom, which did not recognize the
2 Lord's angels and perished for ever. For I know that you will sin and be handed over to your enemies, and your land will be desolated and your holy places destroyed,² and you will be scattered to the four corners of the earth and be dispersed and despised like water that is useless, until the Most High looks with favour on the
3 earth. And he will come himself as a man, eating and drinking with men and quietly breaking the head of the dragon through water: in this way he will save Israel and all the Gentiles – God playing the
4 part of man. Tell this, then, to your children, so that they do not
5 disbelieve him. For I have read in the heavenly tablets that you certainly will disbelieve him and you will undoubtedly treat him shamefully, and pay no attention to the law of God but only to the
6 commands of men.³ Because of this you will be scattered like my brothers Gad and Dan, who will forget their own lands and tribe
7 and tongue. But the Lord will gather you together in faith because of the hope of his compassion *for you*, for Abraham and Isaac and Jacob's sake.

VIII. And when he had finished speaking to them he gave them instructions, saying, Bury me in Hebron. And he died and slept the
2 perfect sleep.¹ And afterwards his sons did as he had instructed them and carried him up and buried him with his fathers.

⁴ Lit. 'in'.

¹ So *b*: II om.

² So II: *b* om. 'and your holy places destroyed'.

³ So *b l a*: *gde* add 'carried away by wickedness of single aspect', a reading that probably underlies the variants in *f* and *chi*.

¹ Lit. 'And he died, having fallen asleep with a good sleep'.

THE TESTAMENT OF JOSEPH,
ABOUT CHASTITY

I. A copy of the Testament of Joseph.

When he was about to die he called his sons and his brothers and
2 said to them, My children and brothers,

Listen to Joseph, Israel's loved one:

Listen carefully, *my* sons, to your father.

3 I have seen in my life envy and death,

But¹ I did not go astray in the truth of the Lord.

4 These my brothers hated me, but¹ the Lord loved me:

They wanted to kill me, but¹ the God of my fathers kept me
safe:

They let me down into a pit, but¹ the Most High brought me
up again.

5 I was sold into slavery, but¹ the Lord² set me free:

I was taken into captivity, but¹ his strong hand supported
me:

I was assailed by hunger, but¹ the Lord himself fed me:

6 I was alone, but¹ God gave me comfort:

I was ill, but¹ the Most High came to my help:

I was in prison, but¹ the Saviour showed me favour;

In bonds, and he released me;

7 Slandered, and he pleaded my cause;

Reviled by the Egyptians, and he delivered me;

Envied by *my* fellow-servants,³ and he promoted me.

II. And thus it came about that Potiphar, the captain of Pharaoh's
2 bodyguard,¹ entrusted his household to me. And I had to struggle

¹ Lit. 'and'.

² So *b*: II-*l* 'the Lord of all'.

³ So II (lit. 'in envyings with *my* fellow-servants'): *b* 'envied and tricked' (lit. 'in envyings with tricks').

¹ Lit. 'Pharaoh's chief-cook': already in the Gk. Old Testament the title seems to have changed its meaning (cp. especially Dan. ii. 14, in both the Septuagint and Theodotion's translation, with Josephus, *Ant.* X. x. 3 (§197)).

against a shameless woman, who was pressing me to transgress
with her; but the God of my father Israel kept me² from the burning
3 flame. I was thrown into prison, I was beaten, I was mocked; but³
4 the Lord caused the jailer to take pity on me. For he will not forsake
those who fear him, whether it be darkness they are in, or prison, or
5 distress, or need. For God is not ashamed as a man *is ashamed*, nor is
he afraid like a mortal, nor is he weak or easily pushed out of the
6 way like an earth-born *human*. But in all places he is near at hand,
and gives comfort in different ways, though for a little while he may
7 absent himself in order to test the disposition of the soul. By ten
temptations he showed his approval of me, and in all of them I
endured; for endurance is a first-rate⁴ medicine, and fortitude
bestows *on us* many excellent gifts.

III. How often did the Egyptian woman threaten me with death!
How often did she give me over to punishment, and then call me
back and threaten me, when I refused to have intercourse with her!
2 And she would say to me, You shall be my lord, and lord of all I
possess, if you will give yourself to me, and you shall be as our
3 master. But I would remember the words of my father Jacob,¹ and
4 I would go into my room and pray to the Lord. And I used to fast
during those seven years, but² I looked to the Egyptian³ as if I were
living on the fat of the land (for God grants those who fast for his
5 sake the gift of a healthy look⁴). And if he was away from home, I
would not drink wine;⁵ and for three whole days I would take my
6 food and give it to the poor and the sick. And I used to get up early
to seek the Lord and weep for the Egyptian woman of Memphis,
for she kept on pestering me – even during the night she would
come to me under the pretence that she was concerned about me.

² So *b*: II 'delivered me'.

³ Lit. 'and'. ⁴ Lit. 'great'.

¹ The text here is very confused, the MSS varying between 'the words of my fathers' and 'the words of my father' (with or without 'Jacob'): *b* combines all possibilities and reads 'the words of the fathers *and* of my father Jacob' (cp. Jub. xxxix. 6): the text translated is found only in *d*.

² Lit. 'and'. ³ i.e. to Potiphar.

⁴ Lit. 'for those who fast for God's sake receive grace of face'.

⁵ So II-*l d*: *b* (*l*) *d* (?) 'And if he gave me wine I would not drink it'.

7 And at first,⁶ because she had no son,⁷ she pretended to regard me
 8 as a son; and so I prayed to the Lord, and she bore a son.⁷ Thus,⁸
 for a time it was as a son that she embraced me, and I did not
 recognize *the truth*; but at last she tried to lure me⁹ into fornication.
 9 And when I realized it, I was ready to die with grief; and after she
 had gone away, I came to myself, and I made a lamentation for her
 for many days, because I was now aware of her wiles and *her* deceit.
 10 And I repeated to her the words of the Most High, in the hope that
 she might turn¹⁰ from her evil lust.

IV. How often did she flatter me with words as a holy man, craftily
 in her talk praising my chastity in her husband's presence, while
 when we were alone she would do all she could to bring about my
 2 downfall. She would laud me openly as chaste, but in secret say to
 me, Have no fear of my husband, for he is convinced about your
 chastity; and even if anyone told him about us, he would not
 3 believe *it*. And because of all this¹ I would lie on the ground in
 sackcloth and beseech God that the Lord would deliver me from
 4 the Egyptian woman. But when she saw she had achieved nothing,
 she came to me again under the pretence that she wanted to be
 5 instructed and learn the word of the Lord. And she said to me, if
 you want me to forsake idols, be persuaded by me,² and I will
 persuade the Egyptian to give up idols *too, and both of us* will live as
 6 the law of your Lord requires.³ But I said to her, The Lord
 requires⁴ that his worshippers should not live unclean lives, nor
 7 has he any use for adulterers. And she made no reply, still craving
 8 for the satisfaction of her lust. And as for me, I gave myself even
 more to fasting and to prayer that the Lord might deliver me from
 her.

⁶ So *b d*: II-*d om.* 'And at first'.

⁷ Lit. 'male child . . . a male'.

⁸ So *b*: II *om.*

⁹ Lit. 'she lured me'.

¹⁰ So *b*: II 'return'.

¹ Lit. 'In all these things'.

² So *b*: II 'lie with me'.

³ Lit. '. . . give up idols, walking (pl.) in the law of your Lord'.

⁴ So II (lit. 'wills'): *b* 'says'.

V. And again, on another occasion, she said to me, if you will not
 commit adultery, I will kill the Egyptian, and so take you as a
 2 lawful husband. And I, when I heard this, rent my robe and said,
 Woman, show some respect for the Lord, and do not do such an
 evil thing:¹ if you do, you will destroy yourself; for I will let
 3 everybody know of your impious plan. So she was frightened and
 4 begged me not to tell anyone about her wickedness. And she went
 away and sent me all kinds of delectable gifts to mollify me.

1,2 VI. And she sent me food mixed with incantations. And when the
 eunuch that brought it came, I looked up and saw a frightening
 man presenting me with a sword together with the dish; and I
 realized that she had had recourse to magic¹ to lead *my* soul astray.
 3 And when he had gone out, I wept; and I ate neither that nor any
 4 other of her food. So then, a day later, she came to me, and noticing
 the food said to me, Why is it you have not eaten any of the food?
 5 And I said to her, it is because you have filled it with death. Did
 6 you not say, I will serve idols no more,² but the Lord only? So I can
 tell you now that the God of my father revealed your wickedness to
 me through an angel, and I have kept the food³ as evidence against
 7 you, in the hope that you might see it and repent. But so that you
 can learn that the wickedness of evil-doers has no power over those
 who worship God in chastity, (I took *some of the food* and ate *it* in
 front of her, saying,) The God of my fathers and the angel of
 8 Abraham will be with me. And she fell on her face at my feet and
 9 wept; and I lifted her up and admonished her. And she promised
 not to transgress again.

VII. But because her heart was set¹ on me and she was still hoping
 to seduce me,² she took to groaning and throwing herself to the

¹ Lit. 'this evil deed'.

¹ Or 'I realized that her scheme was'

² Lit. 'I do not approach idols'.

³ Lit. 'kept it'.

¹ So *b*: II 'was still set'.

² Lit. '. . . set on me with a view to licentiousness'.

2 ground.³ And when the Egyptian saw her, he said to her, Why are
 you looking so sad?⁴ And she said, I am pained at heart, and my
 spirit's groanings distress me. And he took special care of her,
 3 although there was nothing wrong with her. Then she rushed in to
 me, while her husband was away from home,⁵ and said to me, I
 shall hang myself, or throw myself down a well, or over a cliff, if you
 4 will not be persuaded by me.⁶ And when I saw that the spirit of
 5 Beliar was troubling her, I prayed to the Lord. And I said to her,
 Why are you *so* troubled and distraught, and blinded by *your* sins?
 Do not forget that if you kill yourself, Setho, your husband's
 concubine, your rival, will ill-treat your children and obliterate
 6 your memory from the earth. And she said to me, So then you do
 love me! It is enough for me that you are concerned about my life
 and my children's *lives*: I have a good hope that I shall attain my
 7 end.⁷ And she did not realize that it was because of my God I had
 8 said this, and not because of her. For if a man has yielded to the
 passion of an evil desire, and become a slave to it, as she had,
 whatever good thing he hears about the passion he is overcome by,
 he takes as a justification of his evil desire.⁸

VIII. I tell you, *my* children, it was about noon when she left me;
 and I spent *the rest of* the day and all the night in prayer to the
 Lord. And about dawn I got up in tears, begging to be rescued
 2 from the Egyptian woman. In the end, she took hold of my clothes
 3 and forcibly dragged me to her to have intercourse *with me*. And
 when I saw that in her madness she was holding onto my clothes by
 4 force, I fled naked. And she falsely accused me,¹ and the Egyptian
 imprisoned me in his house; and next day he had me flogged and
 5 sent me to Pharaoh's prison.² And because I was now in fetters the

³ So *b*: II 'and looking sad'.

⁴ Lit. 'Why has your face fallen?'

⁵ Lit. 'was still outside'.

⁶ So *b*: II 'if you will not lie with me'.

⁷ Lit. 'that I shall enjoy my desire'.

⁸ Lit. 'he takes it towards an evil desire'.

¹ So II: *b* adds 'to her husband'.

² So II: *b* wrongly repeats 'the Egyptian sent me to the prison in his house'.

Egyptian woman was prostrate with grief; and she heard about
 me, how I was singing praises to the Lord, although³ in the house
 of darkness, and rejoicing with a cheerful voice, and glorifying my
 God – for I had been at last set free from the Egyptian woman.⁴

IX. And she sent to me frequently saying, If you will consent to
 grant me my desire, then I will release you from *your* bonds and set
 2 you free from the darkness. But the idea of giving in to her never
 entered my head; for God prefers a man, who in a den of darkness
 fasts in chastity, to the man who lives in extravagance and wanton-
 3 ness in his apartments in a palace.¹ (And the man who lives in
 chastity wants glory too, and if the Most High² knows that it is
 good *for him*, he bestows this on him also, even as he did on me.)
 4 How often, although unwell, did she come down to me in the dead
 of night and listen to my voice as I prayed; but when I heard her
 5 groanings I kept quiet. For when I was in her house she would bare
 her arms and breasts and legs to entice me into having intercourse
 with her; for she was more than ordinarily beautiful, and she
 adorned herself especially to beguile me. But the Lord protected
 me from her devices.

X. So you see, my children, what great things fortitude can do,
 2 together with prayer and fasting. And you too – if you strive for
 chastity and purity in fortitude and humility of heart, the Lord will
 3 dwell in you, for he loves chastity. And wherever the Most High
 dwells, even though a man encounters envy, or slavery, or slander,
 or darkness,¹ the Lord who dwells in him, because of his chastity,
 not only rescues him from the evils, but also exalts *him* and glorifies
 4 him, even as *he did* me. For in every way man is under constraint, in
 5 deed and word and thought. My brothers know how my father

³ So *b* (lit. 'being'); II om.

⁴ Lit. '– only that by the occasion I had been set free. . . .'

¹ So *l* (lit. 'in the inner rooms of palaces'); *gm eaf* (with a one-letter difference in the Gk.) 'in the inner rooms of kings'; *b* 'in inner rooms'.

² So *b*: II 'And if the man . . . too, and the Most High . . .'

¹ So II: *b* om. 'or darkness'.

loved me, and yet I did not set myself above them in my heart:² although but a child, I had the fear of God in my mind,² for I knew that all things will pass away. And I knew my proper place, and I honoured my brothers; and out of respect for them³ I kept quiet when I was being sold, so that I did not tell the Ishmaelites my race, or that I was a son of Jacob, a great and powerful man.

XI. You too, then, must have the fear of God before your eyes¹ in everything you do,² and honour your brothers; for everyone that keeps the law of the Lord will be loved by him. And when I came to the Indocolpitae with the Ishmaelites, they questioned me, and I said, I am their home-born slave, so as not to shame my brothers. And the senior among them said to me, You are no slave: only to look at you makes that clear enough. And he threatened me with death. But I said, I am their slave. And when we came into Egypt they began to quarrel over me, about which of them should pay money for me and take me as his own. However, it was agreed that I should be left in Egypt with one of their retailers until they came back again with more goods for sale.³ And the Lord made the retailer well-disposed towards me, and he entrusted his household to me. And the Lord blessed him through me, so that he became richer and richer.⁴ And I was with him three months and five days.

XII. It was at that time that the Memphian woman, the wife of Petephris, passed in a chariot¹ with a great display, and she cast her eyes in my direction, for the eunuchs had told her about me. And she said to her husband with reference to the retailer, He has got his riches through a young Hebrew; and they say that he was stolen out of the land of Canaan. Now then, see that justice is done

² So *b*: II '... in my mind ... in my heart'.

³ Lit. 'and because of fear of them'.

¹ So II: *b* om. 'before your eyes'.

² So II: *b* 'in what you do'.

³ Or 'with the profits of their trading'.

⁴ Lit. 'and he multiplied him in silver and gold'.

¹ So II-*g*: *b g* om. 'in a chariot'.

to him and take the youth away to be your steward; and the God of the Hebrews will bless you, for the favour of heaven² is on him.

XIII. And Petephris was persuaded by what she said, and he ordered the retailer to be brought; and he said to him, What is it that I hear, that you steal people¹ out of the land of the Hebrews² and sell them as slaves? But the retailer fell on his face and implored him, saying, Please, my lord, I do not understand what you are saying. But he said, Where then, did you get your Hebrew servant from? And he said, The Ishmaelites put him in my charge until they came back. And he did not believe him but ordered him to be stripped and beaten. And when he persisted in his statement³ Petephris said, Let the young man be brought. And when I was brought in, I did obeisance to the chief eunuch (for he was third in rank beside Pharaoh and in charge of all the eunuchs, with a wife and children and concubines). And he took me apart from him and said to me, Are you a slave or a freeman? And I said, A slave. And he said [to me], Whose [slave are you]? And I said [to him], The Ishmaelites'. And [again] he said to me, How did you become their slave? And I said, They bought me out of the land of Canaan.⁵ And he did not believe me and said,⁶ You are lying. And he ordered me to be stripped and beaten.

XIV. But the Memphian woman was looking out of the window while I was being beaten, and she sent to her husband, saying, What you are doing¹ is unjust, for you are punishing a free man that has been stolen as if he were an evil-doer. And when, after being beaten, I made no change in what I said, he ordered me to be imprisoned, Until, he said, the boy's owners come. And his wife

² Lit. 'for favour from heaven'.

¹ Lit. 'souls'.

² So *b*: II 'the land of Canaan'.

³ So II: *b* om. 'in his statement'.

⁴ The bracketed words in verses 7 and 8 are not found in II.

⁵ So II: *b* 'out of Canaan'.

⁶ And he did not ... said: so *b*; II 'And he said to me'.

¹ Lit. 'Your judgement'.

said to him, Why are you keeping him under arrest? *He came here* as a captive and is a well-bred boy: far better set him free and make him one of your servants. (For she wanted to see me as a result of her sinful yearning; and I was completely unaware of it.) But he said to the Memphian woman, It is not *the custom*² of the Egyptians to take away what belongs to others before proof is given. This he said with reference to the retailer; and about me *he said* that I must be kept in prison.³

XV. And twenty-four days afterwards the Ishmaelites came. And they had heard that my father Jacob was mourning for me. And they said to me, How was it that you said you were a slave? We have discovered that you are the son of a great man in the land of Canaan,¹ and your father is in mourning² in sackcloth. And again I could have wept,³ but I restrained myself so as not to shame my brothers. And I said, I do not know *anything about that at all*: I am a slave. Then they made up their minds to sell me in case I should be found in their possession. For they were afraid that Jacob might wreak a savage vengeance on them; for it was reported⁴ that he was a great one with the Lord and with men. † Then the retailer said to them, Release me from the judgement of Petephris. And they came and asked me, saying, He was bought by us with money. And he set us free.⁵ †

XVI. And the Memphian woman told her husband to buy me, For I hear (said she) they are selling him. And she sent a eunuch to the Ishmaelites and asked them to sell me. And the chief of the

² This is implied in all MSS and added explicitly in *g l d m* Arm.

³ So *b*: II 'and the boy, *he said*, must be kept in prison'.

¹ So II: *b* 'in Canaan'.

² So *b*: II adds 'for you'.

³ So *b* (lit. 'And again I wanted to weep'): II 'And I wanted very much to weep'.

⁴ So *b*: II 'for they heard'.

⁵ Or 'And he sent us away'. The text of verses 6 and 7 is clearly in disarray. In verse 7 there are wide variations between the MSS, from no one of which, when taken by itself, is it possible to construct a consistent sense, nor, when all are taken together, is it possible to reconstruct a hypothetical original with any degree of probability. The translation offered is a fairly literal rendering of what is found in *b*.

bodyguard summoned the Ishmaelites and *also* asked them to sell me.¹ And as he was not able to come to an agreement with them,² he withdrew. But the eunuch who had been sounding them out told his mistress, They are asking an enormous price for the boy. And she sent another eunuch, saying, Even if they want two minas in gold, do not worry or be sparing with the gold: only buy the boy and bring him. And he paid them eighty pieces of gold for me, but he told the Egyptian woman that a hundred had been paid for me. And although I had seen *it*,³ I kept quiet, so that the eunuch should not be called to account.⁴

XVII. You see, my children, how much I had to put up with in order not to shame my brothers. So you too must love one another and by *your* endurance hide one another's faults. For God delights in brotherly concord and in the inclination of a heart directed to love. And when my brothers came into Egypt, when they discovered that I had returned their money to them, and I did not reproach them but rather welcomed them, and *when*, after Jacob's death, I showed even more love towards them and did even more than he had told me to, they were astonished.¹ For I would not let them suffer even the most trivial hardship: indeed, I gave them everything I had. Their sons *were* my sons, and my sons as their slaves: their life² *was* my life,² and all their suffering *was* my suffering, and every weakness of theirs my own feebleness: my land *was* their land, their will my will.³ And I did not arrogantly exalt myself among them because of my worldly glory, but I was among them as one of the least.

¹ So most MSS. In *b g d c* there is an omission through homioteleuton resulting in the whole verse appearing as 'And he (she?) sent a eunuch to the Ishmaelites and asked them to sell me'.

² So *b*: II om. 'to come to an agreement with them'.

³ So *b*: II 'And although I knew *it*'.

⁴ Or 'tortured'. So *b*: II 'put to shame' (*g d m* have an obviously secondary form of the sentence, 'so that I should not shame the eunuch' - cp. xi. 2, xv. 3, xvii. 1).

¹ So *b*: II om. 'they were astonished'.

² Lit. 'soul'.

³ So II: *b* 'my will their will'.

XVIII. So if you too, my children, live in accordance with the Lord's commands, he will exalt you here,¹ and he will bless you with what is good for ever.¹ And if anyone tries to harm you, treat him well and pray for him, and you will be delivered² by the Lord from every evil. For you know well enough³ that it was because of my endurance that I married a daughter of my masters; and a hundred talents of gold were given me with her, for the Lord made them *as if they were* my slaves. And he gave me beauty also, like a flower, surpassing the beauties of Israel; and he preserved me into old age in strength and in splendour, because I was like Jacob in everything.

1,2 XIX. Listen, my children, also to the visions¹ that I saw. There were twelve stags feeding, and nine of them were dispersed and scattered² over the earth,³ and so also *were the other three*⁴ . . . And I saw that from Judah was born a virgin wearing a linen robe, and from her came forth a lamb without blemish; and on his left hand

¹ Or 'in this world . . . in eternity'.

² Lit. 'redeemed'. ³ Lit. 'For behold, you see'.

¹ So *b c*: all other witnesses, including Arm., read singular.

² So *bkl* (*g?*): all others, including Arm., om. 'dispersed and'.

³ So *bk*: II 'over all the earth'; Arm. om.

⁴ For 'and . . . three' Arm., reads 'but three were saved; and on the next day they too were scattered'. For verses 3–7 only Arm. is extant: whether it has preserved the original Gk. text, either as a whole or in part, is not clear: the following is M. E. Stone's translation in his *The Armenian Version of the Testament of Joseph: Introduction, Critical Edition, and Translation* (*S.B.L. Texts and Translations Series*, 6: *Pseudepigrapha Series*, 5; Missoula, Montana, 1975, pp. 53–55):

3 And I saw that the three stags became three lambs and they cried out to the Lord and he brought them forth out of darkness into light and he brought them to a green and watered place. And there they cried out to the Lord until the nine stags were gathered to them and they became like twelve sheep, and after a little they increased and became many flocks.

5 After this I saw and, behold, twelve bulls which were sucking the one cow which, through the vast amount of her milk, was making a sea. And the twelve flocks and the innumerable herds were drinking from it. And the horns of the fourth bull were elevated up to the heavens and became like a wall for the flocks and another horn flowered between the horns. And I saw a calf which circled it twelve times and became an aid to the bulls altogether.

there was as it were a lion; and all the animals made an assault on him, but⁵ the lamb overcame them and destroyed them and trampled them underfoot. And the angels rejoiced because of him, and men *rejoiced also*, and the whole earth.⁶ And these things shall come to pass at their proper time, in the last days. So you must, my children, observe the Lord's commands, and honour Judah and Levi, for from them shall come⁷ to you the Lamb of God, who by grace will save all the Gentiles and Israel. For his kingdom is an eternal kingdom, that shall not be shaken. But my kingdom among you shall come to an end like a watchman's hut in a fruit-garden, for after the summer it will disappear.

XX. I know that after my death the Egyptians will oppress you, but God will avenge you and will bring you **into the land he promised to your fathers**.¹ But you must take my bones up with you; for while my bones are on the way, the Lord will be with you in light, and Beliar will be in darkness with the Egyptians. And take up your mother Zilpah *also*, and bury her near Bilhah,² by the hippodrome,³ close to Rachel. And when he had finished speaking, he stretched out his feet and slept the eternal sleep. And all Israel mourned for him, and all Egypt, with a great mourning; for he had felt for the Egyptians as if they were part of himself,⁴ and he had helped them and stood by them in all *their* undertakings and plans and business matters.

⁵ Lit. 'and'.

⁶ In verses 8 and 9 Arm. has a number of variants which are not likely to be original. Nevertheless the Armenian text of these verses is given (for information) in Stone's translation:

8 And I saw among the horns a virgin who had a many-coloured garment and from her a lamb went forth. And from its right side all wild beasts and creeping things attacked and the lamb overcame them and destroyed them. And the bulls and the cow and the three horns were glad because of it and rejoiced with it.

The variants in Arm. in verses 10–12 (mainly omissions) have not been thought worth recording.

⁷ Lit. 'arise'.

¹ *bk* 'into the promise of your fathers'; *glefc* 'into the promises of your fathers'; *d* 'into the land of the promise of your fathers'; *mahi* are lacking.

² Cp. Jub. xxxiv. 16.

³ Cp. Gen. xlviii. 7 (LXX).

⁴ Lit. 'as for his own limbs'.

THE TESTAMENT OF BENJAMIN,
ABOUT A PURE MIND

I. A copy of the words of Benjamin, which he left as a testament to his sons after he had lived a hundred and twenty-five years.¹

2 And after he had kissed them he said, As Isaac was born to
3 Abraham in his hundreth year, so also was I to Jacob. And since
Rachel died in giving me birth, I had no milk: so I was suckled by
4 Bilhah, her slave-girl. For Rachel was barren for twelve years after
she had borne Joseph; and she prayed to the Lord and fasted for
5 twelve days, and *afterwards* she conceived and bore me. For our
6 father loved Rachel very dearly and was longing to have two sons
by her.² That was why I was called Son of days (that is Benjamin).

II. Now when I went into Egypt and my brother Joseph recog-
nized me, he said to me, What did they tell my father when they
2 sold me? And I said to him, They spattered your tunic with blood,
and sent it and said, Do you recognize this as your son's tunic?
3 ¹And he said to me, Yes, brother; for when the Ishmaelites took
me, one of them stripped off my tunic, gave me a loincloth, and
4 flogged me, and told me to run off. But when he went away to hide
5 my coat, a lion met him and killed him. And so his companions
were frightened and sold me to *some* others of them.

III. So you, my children, must love the Lord, the God of heaven,
and keep his commandments, and follow the example of the good
2 and holy man Joseph. And let your mind be set on what is good,
just as you know mine is:¹ *the man* who has his mind so set² sees all

¹ So II: *b* 'a hundred and twenty years'.

² Lit. 'to see two sons from her'.

¹ In ii. 3 – iii. 5 the Armenian has a very different text. There is no reason to suppose it original despite the somewhat inconsequential nature of the Greek as preserved.

¹ Lit. 'be towards the good, as also you know me'.

² Lit. 'he who has the mind good'.

3 things rightly. Fear the Lord, and love *your* neighbour; and even if
the spirits of Beliar claim you, *and afflict you* with every *kind* of evil
and hardship,³ yet no evil or hardship³ will gain the mastery over
4 you, even as *they did* not over my brother Joseph. How many there
were that wanted to kill him! But God protected him; for a man
who fears God and loves his neighbour cannot be struck down by
the spirit of the air (*that is* the spirit of Beliar), because he is
5 protected by the fear of God. Nor can he be overcome by anything
that men or animals contrive against him, for he is helped by the
6 love of the Lord, which he has towards his neighbour. For Joseph
begged our father⁴ to pray for *his* sons,⁵ that the Lord would not
7 hold them accountable for their wicked plots against him. And it
was because of this that Jacob cried out, *My* child Joseph, you good
child,⁶ you have won your father Jacob's heart.⁷ And he embraced
8 him and kissed him for two hours, and said, In you shall be fulfilled
the prophecy of heaven about the Lamb of God and the Saviour of
the world – that one without blemish shall be offered up on behalf
of sinners, and one without sin shall die on behalf of the ungodly, in
the blood of the covenant, for the salvation of the Gentiles and of
Israel, and he shall destroy Beliar and those who serve him.

IV. You saw, children, how that good man was rewarded in the
end.¹ Imitate, therefore,² his compassion in sincerity,³ so that you
2 also may wear crowns of glory. The good man has not an eye that
cannot see;⁴ for he shows mercy to all men, sinners though they
3 may be, and though they may plot his ruin. This *man*, by doing
good,⁵ overcomes evil, since he is protected by the good; and he
4 loves the righteous as his own soul. If anyone is honoured, he does

³ Lit. 'evil of tribulation'.

⁴ So II: *b* 'for I begged our father Jacob'.

⁵ So II (*ldm* 'for his sons'): *b* 'for our brothers'.

⁶ So probably the original text: *b* om. 'you good child'; *l eaf c* om. 'My child Joseph'.

⁷ Lit. 'You have conquered the bowels of your father Jacob'.

¹ Lit. 'You saw, children, the end of the good man'.

² So II: *b* om.

³ Lit. 'in good purpose'.

⁴ Lit. 'has not a dark eye'.

⁵ So II (lit. 'This *man* who does good'): *b* 'Thus *the man* who does good'.

not envy him: if anyone is rich, he is not jealous: if anyone is brave, he applauds him: the man who is chaste he trusts and sings his praises: on the poor man he has mercy: on the sick compassion; and the praises of God are ever in his mouth. Whoever fears God he defends: whoever loves God he helps:⁶ if anyone repudiates the Most High, he admonishes him and reclaims him; and whoever has been blessed with a good spirit he loves as dearly as he loves himself.

V. If, then, your minds are predisposed to what is good, children,¹ wicked men will live at peace with you, the profligate will reverence you and turn towards the good, and the money-grubbers will not only turn their backs on the things they have been striving for, but even give what they have got by their money-grubbing to those who are in distress. If you do good, the unclean spirits will keep away from you, and even the wild animals will be afraid of you.² For where there is *the* light of good works³ in a man's mind, darkness flees from him. For if anyone insults a holy man, he repents; for the holy man shows mercy on the man that has reviled him and says nothing in reply. And if anyone betrays a righteous man,⁴ and the righteous man prays *about it*, though he may be humiliated for a little while, not long afterwards he appears in far greater splendour, as my brother Joseph did.

VI. The good man's impulse is not in the power of the error of the spirit of Beliar, for the angel of peace acts as a guide to his soul. And he does not look with greedy eyes on the things that perish, nor does he pile up riches and delight in them. He takes no delight in pleasure: he causes *his* neighbour no pain: he does not overload himself with luxuries:¹ nor is he led astray by a lustful eye;² for the

⁶ So *b*: II 'he agrees with' (lit. 'runs together with').

¹ So *b l*: II-*l om*.

² So II: *b* 'will run away from you in fear'.

³ So II: *b* 'reverence for good works'.

⁴ Lit. 'soul'.

¹ So II: *b* 'food' (with one letter different in the Gk.).

² Lit. 'he does not go astray by uplifting of eyes'.

4 Lord is all in all to him. His³ good impulse acknowledges neither honour nor dishonour from men, neither does it countenance any deceit, or lie, or strife, or reviling; for the Lord dwells in him and lights up his soul and gives him joy in the face of all men always.

5 His good mind will not let him speak with two tongues,⁴ one of blessing and one of cursing, one of insult and one of compliment, one of sorrow and one of joy, one of quietness and one of tumult, one of hypocrisy and one of truth, one of poverty and one of wealth; but it has a single disposition only, simple and pure, that says the same thing to everyone.⁵ It has no double sight or hearing; for whenever such a man does, or says, or sees anything,⁶ he knows that the Lord is looking into his soul in judgement. And he purifies his mind so that he is not condemned by God and men. But everything that Beliar does is double and has nothing single about it at all.

VII. Be wary, therefore, my children, of Beliar's malice; for to those who trust it he gives a sword. But the sword is the mother of seven evils. To start with, the mind conceives through Beliar, and the first *child* is envy, secondly *comes* destruction, third oppression, fourth exile, fifth famine, sixth tumult, seventh desolation.¹ And this is why Cain was given over to seven vengeance by God; for the Lord brought one plague on him every hundred years. After two hundred years² he began to suffer, and in the² nine hundredth year he was destroyed³ at the flood, because of the righteous Abel, his brother. By the seven evils⁴ was Cain judged, but Lamech by seventy times seven. For those who like Cain are inspired by envy to hate their brothers will always be judged with the same punishment.

³ Lit. 'The'.

⁴ Lit. 'The good mind has not two tongues'.

⁵ Lit. '... pure, concerned with all men'.

⁶ Lit. 'for everything he does or says or sees'.

¹ Or 'destruction' (cp. verse 4).

² Or 'when he was two hundred years old ... in his'.

³ Lit. 'desolated' (cp. verse 2).

⁴ So *gldm* Arm.: *b f* 'in the seven hundred years'; *e* 'in (by) the seven hundred'; *a* 'by (in) the seven'; *c* 'by (in) all the evils'.

VIII. And so you, my children, must turn your backs on malice, envy, and hatred of your brothers, and take your stand with goodness and love. A man with a pure mind, *who is well-grounded* in love, never looks at a woman with a view to fornication; for there is no defilement in *his* heart, because God's spirit rests upon him. For as the sun is not defiled when it shines on¹ manure and mud, but rather dries both up and drives away the unpleasant smell, so also the pure mind, though surrounded by the defilements of the earth, rather becomes a source of strength,² but itself is not defiled.

IX. But I gather from the words of the righteous Enoch that you will give yourselves up to evil practices.¹ For as *the men of Sodom* committed fornication, so also will you, and all but a few of you will perish. And you will renew *your* wanton relations with women; and the Lord's kingdom will not remain² among you, for he himself will take it away *from you* immediately. But God's temple will be in your portion, and the last will be more glorious than the first;³ and the twelve tribes will be gathered together there, and all the Gentiles, until the Most High sends forth his salvation by the visitation of an only-begotten prophet.⁴ And he will enter into the first temple, and there the Lord will be insulted and treated with contempt⁵ and lifted up on a tree. And the curtain of the temple will be torn apart; and God's spirit will pass to⁶ the Gentiles, like a fire poured out. And he will come up from Hades and ascend⁷ from earth to heaven. (And I know how humble he will be on earth, and how glorious in heaven.)

X. And when Joseph was in Egypt, I longed to see what he was

¹ Lit. 'when it turns towards'.

² Lit. 'rather builds up'.

¹ Lit. 'that there will be also doings among you that are not good'.

² Lit. 'will not be'.

³ So *gld*: *bk* are corrupt and *eaf* incomplete.

⁴ So II: *bk* om. 'prophet'.

⁵ So *bk*: II om. 'and treated with contempt'.

⁶ So II-*d*: *bk* 'will descend on'.

⁷ So *bk*: II 'pass'.

like, and what his face looked like; and through the prayers of my father Jacob I did see him, while I was awake in the daytime, exactly as he was. You must realize, my children, that I am dying. Deal honestly, therefore, each one *of you* with his neighbour, and do what is right and just to encourage mutual trust,⁸ and keep the law of the Lord and his commands. For these things, I tell you, are of greater value than anything else I can bequeath to you:⁹ you too, then, must give them to your children as an eternal possession; for so did Abraham and Isaac and Jacob. They left all these things to us as a heritage, saying, Keep God's commands until the Lord reveals his salvation to all the Gentiles. Then will you see Enoch, Noah, and Shem, and Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, rising on the right hand in gladness. Then shall we also rise, each one over our tribe, and worship the king of heaven, who appeared on earth in the guise of a humble man; and all those who believed him on earth will rejoice with him. Then, too, all men will rise, some to glory and some to disgrace. And the Lord will judge Israel first for the wickedness done to him; for when he appeared as God in the flesh, as a deliverer, they did not believe him. And then he will judge all the Gentiles, everyone of them who did not believe him when he appeared on earth. And he will convict Israel through the chosen ones of the Gentiles, just as he convicted Esau through the Midianites, who *refused* to become their brothers because of *their* fornication and idolatry,¹⁰ and they were estranged from God and had no place among those who fear the Lord.¹¹ But if you live in holiness in the Lord's presence, you will again dwell in security with¹² me, and all Israel will be gathered to the Lord.

XI. And I shall be called a ravening wolf no longer because of your ravages, but a worker of the Lord, who provides food for those who do what is good. And in the last times there will appear from among my descendants a *man* beloved by the Lord, who will hear

⁸ Lit. 'Do, therefore, truth and righteousness, each one with his neighbour, and judgement to assurance'.

⁹ Lit. 'For these things I teach you instead of all inheritance'.

¹⁰ None of the extant readings in this clause is intelligible.

¹¹ Lit. '... from God, becoming not children in the portion of those who fear the Lord'.

¹² Lit. 'in'.

his voice on earth, and do his will and pleasure,¹ and enlighten all the Gentiles with new knowledge: *he will be a* light of knowledge bursting in on Israel with² salvation, ravaging them³ like a wolf, and giving *what he has snatched from them* to the synagogue of the
 3 Gentiles. And until the end of time his fame will endure⁴ in the synagogues of the Gentiles, and among their rulers, like a musical
 4 tune that is in everyone's mouth. And both his deeds and his words will find a place in the sacred books,⁵ and he will be one of God's
 5 chosen ones for ever. And it was to him that my father Jacob was referring when he said to me, He will compensate for the deficiencies of your tribe.

XII. And when he had got to the end of what he had to say, he said, I charge you, my children, carry my bones up out of Egypt, and
 2 bury me in Hebron, near my fathers. And Benjamin was a hundred and twenty-five years old when he died, having achieved a ripe old
 3 age;¹ and they put him in a coffin. And in the ninety-first year after the **entry**² of the sons of Israel **into**² Egypt their children³ took the bones of their fathers up secretly, during the war with Canaan,⁴
 4 and buried them in Hebron, at their fathers' feet. And they returned from the land of Canaan and lived in Egypt until the day of their departure from the land of Egypt.

¹ Lit. '... Lord, hearing on earth his voice, and doing the good pleasure of his will': so *d eaf; c* '... Lord, hearing ... and doing ... of his mouth'; *b g l om*, 'and doing ... of his will'.

³ *b* 'him'.

⁴ Lit. '... time, he shall be'.

² Lit. 'in'.

⁵ Lit. 'And in the sacred books he will be written up, both *his* work and his word'.

¹ Lit. '... died, in a good old age'.

² All MSS read 'exodus ... from', which must be wrong in the light of verse 4: Jub. xlv. 1 and xlvi. 9, when taken together, support the emendation that this happened ninety-one years after the entry.

³ Lit. 'they and their brothers'.

⁴ So H (lit. 'in the war of Canaan'): *b* 'in a place called Canaan'.

THE ASSUMPTION OF MOSES

INTRODUCTION

The Assumption is preserved only in an incomplete Latin version, which has survived as the underwriting on a single quire of a 6th or 7th cent. palimpsest in the Ambrosian library at Milan (Cod. G73 Inf.). This palimpsest contains on other quires the Latin fragments of Jubilees and also fragments of an anonymous heretical commentary on St. Luke. The text was published by Ceriani in 1861 in the first fascicle of his *Monumenta Sacra et Profana*. Although the first three lines of the Assumption are unfortunately wanting, it seems that the work started at the beginning of the quire. But at the end the text breaks off in mid-sentence, and there are no means of knowing how much has been lost.

The MS itself gives the work no title. The common title, 'The Assumption of Moses', was inferred by Ceriani from the fact that Gelasius of Cyzicus, in his Collection of the Acts of the Council of Nicaea, quotes i. 14 and explicitly attributes it to the Assumption,¹ a work independently proved to have been known in the early Church from references in other patristic writers and from the ancient lists of apocryphal books.

Nevertheless, the identification is not certain. The lists mention a 'Testament' of Moses as well as an 'Assumption'; and 'Testament' is a description that fits the contents of our fragment very well. Moreover, the lists all place the Testament before the Assumption. A variety of possibilities is therefore opened up. Three of them may be stated: (1) that our fragment is indeed the Assumption, as Ceriani inferred, and that the Testament either has been lost or is Jubilees under another name (this last hypothesis will explain why the fragments of Jubilees were found in such close proximity to our fragment in the same palimpsest); (2) that our fragment is the Testament and not the Assumption, and that Gelasius's ascription of i. 14 to the Assumption is due to confusion on his part between the two (in this case it is the Assumption which

¹ Gelasius, *Hist. Conc. Nic.*, II. xvii. 17.

has been lost); and (3) that the Testament and the Assumption, originally two distinct works, were at an early date combined and subsequently circulated as the 'Assumption', and that it is the opening of this combined work which has been preserved in our fragment (this was Charles's view).

But whatever the true solution may be it is worth observing that Gelasius attributes two further quotations to the Assumption, and that neither of them is found in our fragment. Both concern a dispute between the archangel Michael and the Devil:

'In the Book of the Assumption of Moses', Gelasius writes, 'Michael the archangel, disputing with the Devil, says, For from his Holy Spirit we all were created. And again he says, From God's presence went forth his Spirit, and the world came into being'.²

More details about this dispute may be gleaned from other Fathers, some of whom explicitly name the Assumption as their source. The earliest reference to the legend is to be found in the Epistle of Jude in the New Testament. There we are told that the dispute was 'about the body of Moses', and Michael is quoted as having said to the Devil 'May the Lord rebuke you!'; but there is no mention of any source.³

Problems of date and origin, though by no means simple, are not intractable. Ostensibly the Assumption supplies details which are lacking in Moses's final charge to Joshua as recorded in Deut. xxxi. In fact it is an apocalypse, which sketches the history of Israel from the time of Moses's death to the final consummation (i. 18). In vi. 2 ff. Moses predicts the succession of 'an insolent king . . . who will not be of priestly stock . . . and he will treat them ruthlessly . . . for thirty-four years'. This king is clearly Herod the Great, who succeeded the Maccabean priest-kings in 37 BC and reigned till 4 BC. Moses goes on to predict that this king will have sons, 'who will succeed him and rule for shorter periods': 'a powerful king of the west' will come and 'take them captive and burn a part of their temple with fire, and crucify some of them round their city'; and then the End will come (vii. i).

² Gelas. *Hist. Conc. Nic.* II. xxi. 7.

³ Jude 9.

Charles argued that this reflects a situation soon after Herod's death and before any of his sons had reigned as long as their father – i.e. the period between 3 BC and AD 30. According to this view, the 'powerful king of the west' is Varus, the Roman governor of Syria, who in 4 BC suppressed a Jewish rebellion and crucified two thousand Jews after the troops of his lieutenant Sabinus had set fire to the roof of the Temple. And this view has been very generally accepted.

Another, very different, view has been proposed by J. Licht and adopted and developed by G. W. E. Nickelsburg. According to this view the Assumption was originally written during the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes, near the beginning of the fourth decade of the second century BC (that is, roughly about the same time as the apocalyptic parts of Daniel – perhaps even earlier), and it was subsequently interpolated and updated in Herodian times. In this case, there are two distinct strata in the text as we have it, and we have to deal both with an original author and with at least one editor.

At the other extreme, G. Hölscher and others, accepting the unity of the work, have connected it with the second-century AD revolt in Hadrian's time. Hölscher himself identified the 'powerful king of the west' with Titus, and explained what this king is said to do against the background of the events of AD 70; and he suggested AD 130 as the date at which the author wrote – just before the Second Revolt began. On the other hand, K. Haacker, who attributed the work to a Samaritan, would date it after the Second Revolt – at any time between AD 135 and the end of the century.

In any event the author was not a revolutionary. Charles described him as 'a Pharisaic Quietist'; though it must be admitted that there is no sound reason for connecting him so unambiguously with the Pharisees. Nor do there seem any sound reasons for connecting him with any other Jewish sect or party of which we have any definite knowledge – least of all with the Zealots, as Schürer proposed! But there can be no doubt whatever about his belief that the passive obedience exhibited by the Hasidim, rather than the militancy displayed by the Maccabees, was the attitude that would earn God's final vindication (ix. 6–x. 10). And in this connection we should note that the figure of the Levite Taxo, who

is to appear at the end (ix. 1) and exhort his seven sons to retire to a cave and die rather than transgress the commandments, is manifestly modelled on elements in the stories of the scribe Eliezer and the seven sons of a mother, who die rather than eat pork in 2 Macc. vi. 18–vii. 42, and of the faithful who were cut to pieces in their hiding-places rather than profane the Sabbath in 1 Macc. ii. 29–38 and 2 Macc. vi. 11.

There are no discernible traces of Christian influence anywhere.

The text of the fragment is very corrupt and its Latin debased. It is clearly a version translated from Greek, for a number of Greek words have been transliterated, and many of the curiosities in the Latin may be explained as Greek phrases and idioms that have been translated over-literally. Also, the patristic evidence strongly supports the existence at one time of a Greek version. And behind the Greek, in all probability, lay a Semitic original, though whether that original was in Hebrew or Aramaic is an open question.

The translation which follows is a revision of Charles's translation: a number of his emendations have been dispensed with, however, when the text can be made to yield a tolerable sense as it stands.

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I. (The Testament of Moses – the instructions he gave in the one hundred and twentieth year of his life,)¹ that is the two thousand five hundredth year from the creation of the world (or according to oriental reckoning (the two thousand seven hundredth), and the four hundredth) after the departure from Phoenicia, when the people had gone out after the Exodus,² under the leadership of Moses, to Amman beyond the Jordan [in the prophecy that was made by Moses in the book Deuteronomy]. Moses³ called to him Joshua the son of Nun, a man approved by the Lord to be the minister⁴ of the people and of the Tabernacle of the Testimony with all its holy things, and to bring the people into the land given to their fathers, so that it might be given them in accordance with the covenant and the oath, by which he had declared in the Tabernacle that he would give it them by Joshua. And Moses said to Joshua,⁵ Promise⁶ to do with all diligence everything you have

¹ Three lines are wanting at the beginning of the MS. The translation is of Charles's restoration, based on the model of The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.

² Lit. 'after the departure'.

³ Lit. 'who'.

⁴ Lit. 'successor'. The Lat. *successor*, which occurs again at x. 15, is in all probability a rendering of an underlying Gk. *διάδοχος*, used in several passages in the Gk. Bible, and elsewhere, in the sense of 'minister' (cp. especially Ecclus. xlvi. 1).

⁵ Lit. '(... give it them by Joshua), saying to Joshua this word'.

⁶ Text 'And promise'. A verb seems to have fallen out: Charles conjectured '(Be strong) and of a good courage' on the basis of Deut. xxxi. 7.

11 been commanded, so that you may be blameless before God. So says
12 the Lord of the world. For he created the world for his people's
13 sake. But he did not reveal this purpose in creation at the world's
14 foundation, so that the Gentiles might thereby be convicted, and
15 might by their arguments with one another, to their own humilia-
16 tion, convict themselves. Accordingly, he chose and appointed
17 me,⁷ and prepared me from the foundation of the world, to be the
18 mediator⁸ of his covenant. And now I warn you that my span of life
is near its end and that I am about to pass on to sleep with my
16 fathers, even in the presence of all the people. So study this writing
carefully, so that you may know how to preserve the books that I
17 entrust you with. Set them in order and anoint them with cedar-oil
and store them away in jars of earthenware in the place the Lord
intended⁹ from the beginning of the creation of the world as the place
18 where men should invoke his name till the Day of Repentance, when
he will look on them with favour at the final consummation.¹⁰

II. (And now) under your leadership¹ they shall enter the land
which he determined to give them and promised to their fathers.
2 You shall bless them and give to each one of them a portion in it, and
confirm their inheritance in it,² and establish for them a kingdom;
and you shall appoint local magistrates for them,³ in accordance
3 with their Lord's design, in justice and in righteousness. . . . But
after they enter their land . . . years; and afterwards they shall be
ruled by chiefs and kings for eighteen years, and for nineteen years
4 . . .⁴ For two⁵ tribes will go down and transfer the Tabernacle of the
5 Testimony.⁶ Then the God of heaven will make there the court of his

⁷ Lit. 'he thought out and invented me'.

⁸ Lat. *arbiter* (and so also at iii. 12).

⁹ Lit. 'in the place he made'.

¹⁰ Lit. '... in the respect with which the Lord will respect them in the consummation of the end of the days'.

¹ Lit. 'through you'.

² Text 'in me'.

³ Lit. 'and you shall send out offices of places for them'.

⁴ The text here is untranslatable (*et .xviii. annos abrumpens tibi. x.*). Charles suggested either 'the ten tribes will be apostates' or 'the ten tribes will break away'.

⁵ So text. Charles emended to 'twelve' and saw here a reference to 2 Sam. vi. 1–2.

⁶ Lit. 'the testimony of the tabernacle'.

tabernacle and the tower of his sanctuary, and the two holy tribes shall be established *there* (but the ten tribes will establish kingdoms for themselves according to their own arrangements). And they will offer sacrifices for twenty years. And seven will surround *the place* with walls,⁷ and I will protect⁸ nine, and (four) shall transgress the Lord's covenant and profane the oath the Lord made with them. And they will sacrifice their sons to foreign gods, and they will set up idols in the sanctuary and serve them. And in the Lord's house they will commit all kinds of abominations and carve *representations* of every kind of animal *all round the walls*.

III. (And) in those days a king from the east will come against them and his cavalry will cover their land. And he will burn their city¹ with fire, together with the Lord's holy temple, and he will carry off all the holy vessels. And he will drive out the whole population and take them to his own country; and the two tribes he will take along with him. Then will the two tribes call *indignantly* on the ten tribes, like a lioness on the dusty plains, hungry and thirsty. And they will cry out aloud, Righteous and holy is the Lord, for because you have sinned, we too, in just the same way, have been carried off with you, together with our children.² Then the ten tribes will mourn, when they hear the reproaches of the two tribes, and they will say, What can we do for you, brothers: has not this misery come to all the house of Israel? And all the tribes will mourn and cry to heaven saying, God of Abraham, and God of Isaac, and God of Jacob, remember thy covenant which thou didst make with them, and the oath which thou didst swear to them by thyself, that they should never lack descendants in the land which thou didst give them. Then will they remember me in that day, tribe saying to tribe, and *one man saying* to³ another, Is not this what Moses said would happen to us⁴ in his prophecies — *Moses* who suffered much in Egypt and in the Red Sea and in the wilderness for forty years?

⁷ Lit. 'surround the walls'. Cp. iv. 7.

⁸ Lit. 'go round', 'encircle'.

¹ Lit. 'colony'. Cp. v. 6; vi. 8.

² In the text 'together with our children' follows 'thirsty' at the end of verse 4.

³ Lit. 'about'.

⁴ Lit. 'Is not this what Moses was testifying to us'.

12 He warned us⁵ (and summoned heaven and earth to witness against us) not to transgress God's⁶ commandments, of which he was *himself* the mediator to us. These things have happened to us after his death, just as he said they would and as he warned us⁷ at the time; and his prophecies have been fulfilled,⁸ even to our being carried off as captives into eastern lands. And they will be kept in slavery for some seventy-seven years.

IV. Then one of those *set over* them will go into *his house* and spread out his hands and fall on his knees and pray for them, saying, Lord of all, king *who sittest* on the lofty throne, who rulest the world, and dost will that this people should be thy chosen people: then didst thou will that thou shouldst be called their God, according to the covenant thou didst make with their fathers. And they have gone as captives into another land with their wives and their children, and *they are living* among¹ foreign peoples and where there is much *idolatry*.² Look upon *them* and have pity on them, O Lord of heaven. Then will God remember them because of the covenant that he made with their fathers, and he will show his pity at that time also. And he will put it into the mind of a king to pity them; and he will send them back to their *own* land and country. Then some from the tribes³ will go up and come to their appointed place and once again surround the *place with walls*. And the two tribes will continue in the faith appointed for them, in sadness and lamentation because they will be unable to offer sacrifices to the Lord of their fathers. And the ten tribes will be fruitful and *increase* among the Gentiles during the time of their *captivity*.⁴

⁵ Lit. 'he testified'. Cp. Deut. iv. 25–27.

⁶ Lit. 'his'. ⁷ Lit. 'he testified to us'.

⁸ Lit. 'and which things have come to pass'.

¹ Lit. 'and around the gate of'.

² Text 'great majesty'. The translation offered is based on Charles's emendation 'great vanity' ('vanity' in the Old Testament is not infrequently associated with idols).

³ Lit. 'some parts of the tribes'.

⁴ After 'And the ten tribes will be fruitful' the text becomes more than usually uncertain.

V. And when the day of reckoning¹ draws near and retribution comes through kings who share their guilt and punish them, they themselves also will be divided as to truth – hence **the sayings**, They will abandon righteousness and turn to iniquity, and, They will defile with *their pollutions* the house of their worship, and, They will turn wantonly to foreign gods. For they will not follow the truth of God; but some of *them* will pollute the altar with the (very) gifts they offer to the Lord, who are not priests but slaves and sons of slaves. And those who are *their masters*, *that is* their teachers at that time, will show favour to **the rich** and **take** bribes and sell judgements in return for **presents**. And so *their city*² and their whole land³ will be filled with acts of lawlessness and deeds of evil; and their judges will be ungodly men, **who have turned their backs** on the Lord, and are ready to give judgements **for money** as each man wants.⁴

VI. Then shall arise kings to rule over them, and they shall be called priests of the Most High God (they will be responsible for much ungodliness in the holy of holies). And an insolent king will succeed them, who will not be of priestly stock, an arrogant and a shameless man; and he will judge them as they deserve. And he will put their leaders to death with the sword, and bury them secretly so that no one should know where their bodies are. He will kill *both* old and young and spare no *one*. He will be the object of universal dread and detestation.¹ And he will treat them ruthlessly, as the Egyptians treated them, for thirty-four years, and make their lives unbearable. And he will produce children, who will succeed him and **rule** for shorter periods. Into their **parts** will

¹ Lit. 'the times of censuring'.

² Lit. 'colony'. Cp. iii. 2; vi. 8.

³ Lit. 'and the borders of their dwelling'.

⁴ Lit. 'as each may wish'. The text of verses 5 and 6 is very corrupt, although the general sense is plain. In verse 5 Charles excised '*that is* their teachers' and 'in return for presents' as explanatory glosses, and he preferred the emendation 'pervert judgement' for the 'sell judgements' of the MS. In verse 6 six lines of text are repeated in the MS with a number of variations: the second version is, on the whole, the better, and this has been followed, so far as it can be made to yield any consecutive sense at all.

¹ Lit. 'Then the fear of him will be bitter unto them in their land'.

come **the cohorts** and a powerful king of the west, **who** will conquer them, and take them captive, and burn a part of their temple with fire, *and* crucify some of *them* round their city.²

VII. And after this the times shall come to an end, **in a moment** the . . . course shall (come to an end): the four hours shall come. They will be forced . . .¹ And in their time² pestilential and impious men will bear rule, alleging that they are righteous. And these will stir up their minds to anger,³ for they will be crafty men, self-indulgent, hypocritical, ready for a party at any hour of the day, gluttons, guzzlers, . . .⁴ who devour the goods of the (poor) on the pretext of **justice, but in reality to destroy them**, grumblers, deceitful *people* who hide themselves away in case they should be recognized, impious, full of *every* vice and villany, who say from sunrise to sunset, Let us⁵ have feasts and revels, eating and drinking; and let us behave like princes.⁶ And although their hands and minds are occupied with things unclean, they will make a fine show in words, even saying,⁷ Do not touch (me), lest you pollute me in the place where. . . .⁸

VIII.¹ . . . And there shall come upon them (a second) retribution and wrath, such as has not befallen them from the beginning until that time, when he will stir up against them the king of the kings of the earth, **a man who rules** with great power, who will crucify those

² Lit. 'colony'. Cp. iii. 2; v. 6.

¹ At the beginning of this chapter the MS is so defective as to be virtually untranslatable.

² Or 'And from among these'.

³ Lit. 'stir up the anger of their minds'.

⁴ MS again defective.

⁵ Lit. 'We shall'.

⁶ Lit. 'and we shall esteem ourselves as though we shall be princes'.

⁷ Lit. 'and moreover they will say'.

⁸ MS defective.

¹ According to Charles, chaps. viii and ix reflect the period of Antiochus Epiphanes and the Maccabees so closely that in their present context they must be out of place: originally, Charles thought, chaps. viii and ix stood between v and vi, and they were transposed 'by the final editor'. Granted the truth of Charles's observation, however, it may well be (in view of the chaotic state of the existing text) that their present position is due to some accident in the textual tradition rather than deliberate transposition.

2 who confess their circumcision. And those who deny it² he will
3 torture and put in chains and imprison. And their wives will be
given to the gods among the Gentiles, and their young sons will be
operated on by the doctors to look as though they had not been
4 circumcised. And others among them will suffer punishment by
torture and fire and sword; and they will be forced to carry round
their idols publicly, polluted things, just like the shrines that house³
5 them. And in the same way they will be forced by those who torture
them to enter their inmost sanctuary and forced with goads to
blaspheme and insult the Name,⁴ and, as if that were not enough,⁵
the laws as well by having a pig upon the altar.

IX. Then in that day there will be a man of the tribe of Levi, whose
2 name will be Taxo, and he will have seven sons. And he will ask
them, saying, See, my sons, a second cruel and unclean retribution
has come upon the people and a punishment without mercy and far
3 worse than the first. For what nation or what region or what people
among those who do not worship the Lord, who have done many
atrocious things, have suffered as great calamities as have befallen
4 us? So now, my sons, listen to me: you know well enough¹ that
neither the fathers nor their forefathers provoked God by trans-
gressing his commandments. For you know that our strength lies
5 here, and let us act accordingly.² Let us fast for three days; and on
the fourth day let us go out to a cave in the country, and let us die
rather than transgress the commandments of the Lord of lords, the
7 God of our fathers. For if we do this and die, our blood will be
avenged before the Lord.

X. And then shall his kingdom appear throughout all his
creation;
And then shall the Devil meet his end,

² Reading *negantes* for the *necantes* of the text. Charles suggested *celantes* ('those who conceal it'). Another suggestion is *secantes* or *circumsecantes* ('those who circumcise' - cp. 1 Macc. i. 61).

³ Lit. 'contain'. ⁴ Text 'the Word'.

⁵ Lit. 'finally after these things'.

¹ Lit. 'see and know'.

² Lit. 'For you know that these things are strength to us and this will we do'.

And sorrow shall depart with him.
2 Then shall be consecrated¹ the angel who has been
appointed chief,
Who will immediately avenge them of their enemies.
3 For the Heavenly One will (arise) from his royal throne,
And go forth from his holy dwelling-place
With wrath and anger because of his sons.
4 And the earth will tremble:
It will be shaken to its farthest bounds;
And high mountains will collapse
And hills be shaken and fall.²
5 And the sun will not give its light;
And the horns of the moon will be turned into darkness,
And they will be broken,
And it will be turned wholly into blood;
And the orbit of the stars will be disturbed.
6 And the sea will retire into the abyss,
And the fountains of waters will fail,
And the rivers dry up.
7 For the Most High will arise, the Eternal God alone,
And he will appear to punish the Gentiles,
And he will destroy all their idols.
8 Then happy will you be, Israel;
And you will trample upon their necks [and the wings of an
eagle],³
For the time allotted them will have run its course.⁴
9 And God will exalt you,
And set you in heaven above the stars,⁵

¹ Lit. 'Then shall be filled the hands of'. Cp. Exod. xxviii. 41, xxix. 9; Lev. xxi. 10.

² Text reads 'And high mountains will be brought low and shaken and valleys will fall'.

³ The first two lines of this verse are clearly inspired by Deut. xxxiii. 29 as read in the Septuagint and other versions ('Happy are you Israel, . . . and you shall trample (lit. 'go upon') their neck(s)'). Hence the words in square brackets are likely to be a gloss, presumably added by someone who took the original 'go upon' in the sense of 'mount' or 'ride upon', and had either Exod. xix. 4 or Isa. xl. 31 in mind.

⁴ Lit. 'And they will be ended' (Lat. *et implebuntur*). Cp. Luke xxi. 24 (Lat. *donec impleantur tempora nationum*).

⁵ Lit. 'And make you abide in the heaven of the stars'.

10 In the place where he dwells himself.⁶
 And you will look from on high and see your enemies on
 earth,⁷
 And you will recognize them and rejoice,
 And give thanks and confess your Creator.

11 And as for you, Joshua, *son of Nun*, take heed of what is written in
 12 this book.⁸ For from *my* death [, *that is my* assumption,]⁹ until his
 13 advent there shall be two hundred and fifty times.¹⁰ And this is the
 course of these (times), which they will pursue until they are
 14,15 complete. But I am about to depart to sleep with my fathers. So
 then, Joshua, *son of Nun*, **Be strong**: God has chosen you to be the
 minister in my place of the same covenant.

XI. And when Joshua had heard what Moses had written in his
 writing and all he had foretold,¹ he rent his clothes and threw
 2 himself at the feet of Moses. And Moses comforted him and wept
 3 with him. And Joshua answered him and said, What kind of
 consolation is it that you give me, *my* lord Moses, and how can I be
 4 consoled when you tell me something so distressing? When you say
 that you are about to leave this people, tears and laments are
 5,6 bound to be. (But now), where will you be buried?² Or what shall
 7 be the sign that marks *your* burial place? Or who shall dare to move
 your body from it as *if it were that of an ordinary* man from place
 8 to place? For all men when they die have their burial-places
 corresponding to the age *in which they live*³ on earth, but your
 burial-place is from the rising to the setting sun, and from the south
 to the confines of the north: the whole world is your burial-place.

⁶ Text 'In their (masc.) dwelling-place'.

⁷ Charles would read 'in Gehenna', supposing that Lat. *in terram* was a rendering of Gk. *en ge*, and that the Gk. *ge* here was a transliteration of Heb. *ge* ('valley'), used absolutely for *ge-Hinnom* as in Jer. ii. 23 (cp. vii. 31, 32).

⁸ Lit. 'keep these words and this book'.

⁹ According to Charles, an addition by the editor who combined the 'Assumption' with the 'Testament'.

¹⁰ i.e. weeks of years.

¹ Or 'said previously'.

² Lit. 'what place will receive you?'

³ Or 'corresponding to *their* age'.

9,10 *My* lord, you are about to go away; and who shall feed this people? Or
 11 who is there to pity them, and who shall guide them on the way? Or
 who shall pray for them day by day,⁴ so that I may be able to lead
 12 them into the land of *their forefathers*?⁵ How, then, am I to look after
 this people as a father looks after his only son, or as a mother⁶ her
 virgin daughter, who is being brought up to be given the husband
 she will revere (*for the mother* will shield her body from the sun and
 13 take care she does not run about without her shoes)? (And how)
 shall I supply them with food and drink according to their needs?⁷
 14 For they number some six hundred thousand (men),⁸ and they
 15 have become so many through your prayers, lord Moses. And
 what wisdom or understanding have I that I should either give
 16 judgement or answer by word in the house (of the Lord)? And the
 kings of the Amorites also, when they hear we are attacking *them*,
 and believing that there is no longer among them that sacred spirit
 worthy of the Lord, made up of many parts and beyond all under-
 standing, the lord of the word, faithful in all things, the divine
 prophet throughout the earth, the most perfect teacher in the
 world – *believing* that he is no longer among them, they will say, Let
 17 us go against them. If only once *our* enemies have done what is
 wrong against the Lord, they have no advocate⁹ to offer prayers for
 them to the Lord, as did Moses the great messenger, who hour by
 hour, day and night, prayed without ceasing *for them*,¹⁰ looking to
 him who rules the whole world with mercy and justice, and remind-
 ing *him* of the covenant made with their fathers and propitiating the
 18 Lord with an oath. For they will say, He is not with them: so let us
 19 go and wipe them off the face of the earth. What then shall become
 of this people, *my* lord Moses?

XII. And when Joshua had finished speaking, he threw himself to
 2 the ground again at the feet of Moses. And Moses took his hand

⁴ Lit. '... for them not omitting a single day'.

⁵ Text *araborum*. The emendation supposes *atavorum*: another possibility is *amor-
eorum* – cp. verse 16.

⁶ Lit. 'lady'.

⁷ Lit. 'according to the will of their will'.

⁸ Text '(...)' for of them there were a hundred thousand'. Cp. Exod. xii. 37.

⁹ Lit. 'defender'.

¹⁰ Lit. 'had his knees fixed to the earth praying'.

3 and lifted him up into the seat in front of him. And he answered
 and said to him, Joshua, do not belittle yourself, but take courage
 4 and listen to me, God has created all the nations on the earth, and
he has created us: he has foreseen *what will happen to both* them and us
 from the beginning of the creation of the earth to the end of the age;
 and nothing has been overlooked by him, not even the smallest
 detail, but he has foreseen everything and brought everything about.
 5 (And) everything that is to be on this earth the Lord has foreseen,
 6 and lo, it is brought (into the light. . . . The Lord) has appointed me
 (to pray) for them and for their sins and (to make intercession) for
 7 them. For it was not because of any virtue or steadfastness on my
 part, but because he willed it so,¹ that his pity and patience took
 8 hold of me. And I tell you, Joshua, it is not because of this people's
 9 godliness that you are to destroy the nations. All the pillars of the
 heaven and the earth have been made and approved by God and are
 10 under the signet ring of his right hand. Thus, those who keep and
 11 observe God's commandments will increase and prosper. But those
 who sin and ignore the commandments will be denied the blessings
 that have been mentioned, and they will be punished with many
 12 torments by the nations. Yet it is impossible that he should wholly
 13 destroy them and forsake them. For God has gone forth, he who
 has foreseen everything to the end, and his covenant has been
 established; and by the oath which . . .²

¹ Lit. 'but by careful arrangement'. If Charles was right the original will have meant 'but of his good pleasure'.

² The MS breaks off in mid-sentence.

THE TESTAMENT OF JOB

INTRODUCTION

If the 'liber qui appellatur Testamentum Job, apocryphus' mentioned in the Gelasian Decree refers to our Testament, there would seem to have been a Latin version of it circulating in the West in the fifth and sixth centuries. But apart from this possibility, there is no reference to the Testament, or certain quotation from it, anywhere in antiquity.

The Testament was first introduced to the modern world by A. Mai, who in 1833 printed a Greek text in the seventh volume of his *Scriptorum Veterum Nova Collectio*. Mai did not disclose the source of his text, since identified as the 13th century Vatican MS Vat. gr. 1238. In 1890 M. R. James 'was able to examine a MS of the Testament at Paris': this was B.N. gr. 2658 (11th century), containing also the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs as well as the well-known 'Interpretation of Hebrew Names' and the 'Questions and Answers' attributed to Anastasius of Sinai; and it was this MS that was used by James as the foundation of his edition in 1897, the variants of Mai's text, which are often considerable, being set out in full in the apparatus. The only other MS known to James was Paris B.N. gr. 938 (16th century), which was obviously a transcript of B.N. gr. 2658 and therefore negligible. In 1911 the collation of a fourth MS (Messina San Salvatore 29; AD 1307), made against James's text, was published by A. Mancini.¹

Meanwhile, the existence of a version in Slavonic had been brought to light. In 1878 S. Novaković published the first text of this version from a MS in Belgrade; and thirteen years later Gj. Polívka produced a critical edition, printing the text of a Šafařík MS as his basic text and adding the variants of the Belgrade MS and another from Moscow in his apparatus. For text-critical purposes, however, the Slavonic version has not proved of much assistance; it is exceedingly periphrastic and there are many (obviously deliberate) abbreviations and expansions.

¹ A. Mancini, 'Per la critica del "Testamentum Iob" (= *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei*, Ser. V, xx (1911), pp. 479-502).

The Greek text in S. P. Brock's edition of 1967, as in James's edition, is basically that of the Paris MS (= P); though where P is manifestly corrupt preference is given to the readings of either the Vatican MS (= V), or the San Salvatore MS (= S), or both. Because of its internal complications reference is made in the apparatus to the Slavonic version only when it clearly confirms a Greek variant.

The American Society of Biblical Literature Pseudepigrapha Group edition, which was published seven years after Brock under the editorship of R. A. Kraft, had of necessity to rely on the same Greek MSS. However, as might be expected in an attempt at what was described as 'a step towards an eclectic text', P assumes rather less prominence than previously. Moreover, the traditional verse divisions were not a little modified.

About the origin and date of the Testament nothing whatever is known. Nevertheless, several widely differing opinions have been expressed. For example, Kohler, in the introduction to his translation, published in 1897, declared himself in favour of an Essene origin for the work and a pre-Christian date. On the other hand, James, in the introduction to his edition, published in the same year, maintained that the author was 'a Jew by birth, a Christian by faith', and that he lived in Egypt in the second or third century AD. Subsequently, Kohler seems to have modified his views somewhat, for in his *Jewish Encyclopaedia* article of 1904 there is no mention of the Essenes, and he refers simply to the Testament being 'one of the most remarkable productions of the pre-Christian era, explicable only when viewed in the light of ancient Hasidean practise'. Another strong supporter of the Testament's Jewish origin was Torrey, who characteristically saw beneath the extant Greek 'texts' an underlying original in Aramaic, which he dated to the first century BC.

What is indisputable, however, is that the author of the Testament as it now stands knew and used the canonical Job in the Greek Septuagint version and not in the Hebrew original or any other version: this means that he wrote in Greek and that he was not translating from Aramaic or anything else – the Septuagint words and phrases are throughout so much part of the texture of the work

that they could not possibly be due to a translator. In other words, the Testament is a Hellenistic work through and through. Hence Philonenko, for instance, looked to Egypt and went on to suggest a possible origin among the Therapeutae there during the first century AD.

Further, there is much to be said for the view that the author was familiar with the New Testament as well as with the Old – such expressions as *ἀπροσωπώληπτός ἐστιν [ὁ Κύριος]*, *ἀποδιδούς ἐκάστῳ* (iv. 8: cp. 1 Pet. i. 17; Rom. ii. 6 . . .), *σκοληκόβρωτος* (xx. 8: cp. Acts xii. 23), and *εἰς τὸ διηνεκές* (xxxiii. 7: cp. Heb. vii. 3, x. 1, 12, 14) tell strongly in favour of it; and it may also be argued that the 'patience' or 'endurance' of Job (i. 5) and his final vindication (lii–liii) are presented as a type of the sufferings and 'end' of Christ (cp. James v. 11). If this be so the author must have been a Christian, although he seems to have made no conscious attempt to 'Christianize' the details of his material, and his contacts with the New Testament look much more like unconscious reminiscences than deliberate allusions.

Beyond this it is difficult to go. He may have known a Hebrew Midrash on Job or an Aramaic Targum: he may have been familiar with stories about Job from contemporary Jewish folk-lore; or he may have been dependent on his own creative imagination, except in so far as it was inspired by the contents of the canonical Job in the Septuagint, and modified by such scraps of Jewish tradition as that Job's wife was named Dinah – a tradition which appears both in the Targum to Job and in Pseudo-Philo (who clearly identified her with the daughter of Jacob²), although it is to be observed that in the Testament Job marries twice and Dinah is his second wife (i. 6). In any case, the Septuagint Job emerges as the only 'source' that can be certainly identified.

Finally, if the author was a Christian and familiar with the New Testament, he cannot have written before the second century. His vocabulary contains some 'late' words – 'late' either in occurrence or in the meaning he attaches to them; and this fact should make us pause before assigning the earliest possible date to the Testament.

² Pseudo-Philo, *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*, viii. 8.

Our translation is based on Brock's edition and for the most part follows his text.

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I. The Book of the Words of Job, who was called Jobab.

2 On the day when he was taken ill and about to bring his
 3 stewardship to an end, he called his seven sons and his three
 4 daughters to him. Their names were Tersi, Choros, Huon, Nike,
 5 Phoros, Phiphe, Phrouon, Hemera, Cassia, and Amaltheias-keras.
 6 And when he had called his children, he said, Gather round, my
 children, gather round me, so that I can describe to you what the
 Lord did to me and everything that has happened to me. For I am
 your father Job, who has endured much; and you are a chosen,
 honoured, race, of the stock of Jacob, your mother's father. For I
 am of the sons of Esau, Jacob's brother; and your mother Dinah,
 through whom I became your father, was Jacob's daughter¹ – my
 former wife, with ten other children, died a bitter death. So listen to
 me, my children, and I will tell you what befell me.

1,2 II. I was Jobab before the Lord gave me the name of Job. When I
 was called Jobab, I used to live at that time very near a much-
 3 venerated idol's temple.¹ And as I looked continually at the whole
 4 burnt-offerings offered to it, I thought to myself, Can this really be
 the God who made the heaven and the earth and the sea and us
 ourselves? How can I know?²

III. And in the night, while I was asleep, there came to me a loud
 2 voice with a very great light, saying, Jobab, Jobab. And I said,
 Here am I; and it said, Get up and I will show you who it is you
 3 want to know. He to whom they bring the whole burnt-offerings
 and pour out drink-offerings is not God but the power of the Devil,
 4 by whom human nature is¹ deceived. And when I heard *this*, I fell
 5 down on my bed in worship. And I said, My lord, who hast come
 6 for the salvation of my soul; I beg thee, if this is the sanctuary² of

¹ Lit. 'For I am of the sons of Esau, brother of Jacob, of whom is your mother Dinah, from whom I begot you'.

¹ V has a much fuller text in this chapter and reads here 'near my house there was a certain idol (lit. 'an idol of someone') that was worshipped by the people'.

² So PS: V adds 'what is true'.

¹ Lit. 'will be'.

² Lit. 'place'.

Satan, by whom men are¹ deceived, give me authority to go out
 7 and cleanse his sanctuary,² so that I can put an end to his drink-
 offerings – and who is there to stop me, seeing I am king of this
 land?

IV. And the light answered me and said, You can indeed cleanse
 this sanctuary;¹ but I *must* let you know everything the Lord has
 2 commanded me to tell you. And I said, Everything he has com-
 3 manded me, his servant, I will listen to and do. And again he said,
 4 This is what the Lord says, If you do attempt to cleanse Satan's
 sanctuary,¹ he will turn against you in anger and fight against you;
 but although he will afflict you with many calamities, he will not be
 5 able to kill you. He will take your possessions away: he will destroy
 6 your children. But if you endure, I will make your name famous
 7 among all generations on earth till the end of time. And I will
 return your possessions to you, and double shall be restored to you,
 8 so that you may know that the Lord² has no favourites and richly
 9 repays everyone who obeys *him*. And you will be raised up at the
 10 resurrection; for you will be like a boxer in the games³ who keeps
 11 the struggle up and gains *his* crown. Then you will know that the
 Lord is just, true, and strong, and gives strength to his elect.

V. And I, my children, made answer to him, To death will I
 2 endure, and I will not yield. And after I had been sealed by the
 angel, he departed from me; *and* then, my children, the next night I
 got up and took fifty servants with me and set out for the shrine of
 3 the idol's temple and razed it to the ground. And this done, I went
 back into my house, with orders that the doors were to be securely
 fastened.

VI. And you will be astonished, my children, when you hear what
 2 happened next.¹ For as soon as I had gone into my house and had
 3 secured my doors, I gave orders to my door-keepers, If anyone
 comes for me to-day, do not tell me about it, but say, He is not

¹ Lit. 'place'.

² Lit. 'he'.

³ Lit. 'like an athlete boxing'.

¹ Lit. 'Hear, my children, and marvel'.

4 available; for he is indoors dealing with urgent business. And while
 I was indoors, Satan disguised himself as a beggar and knocked at
 5 the door. And he said to the girl at the door, Tell Job I want to see
 6,7 him. The girl came in and told me this. And she was instructed to
 make it clear that I was not at the moment available.

VII. When Satan heard *this*, he went away and put an assalion¹ on
 his shoulders, and he came and spoke to the girl at the door and
 2 said, Say to Job, Give me of your bounty² a loaf of bread, so that I
 3 may *have something* to eat. And I gave the girl a loaf that had been
 4 burnt to give him; and I sent a message to him,³ Do not expect to
 5 eat of my bread again, for you have become my enemy. And the girl
 at the door was ashamed to give him the loaf that was burnt and
 6 ashy (for she did not know that he was Satan); so she took a good
 7 loaf of her own and gave him. He took it, and, knowing what had
 happened, said to the girl, Go back, you good-for-nothing servant,
 8 and fetch the loaf that was given you to give me. And the girl was
 most upset, and she said in tears, You are quite right to say I am a
 good-for-nothing servant. If I had not been, I would have done as
 9 my master told me. And she went back and brought him the burnt
 10 loaf, and said to him, My lord says, You shall not eat of my bread
 11 again, because I have become your enemy: yet I have given you
 this so that I cannot be accused of refusing an enemy who asked of
 12 me. When Satan heard this, he sent the girl back to me, saying,
 Just as this loaf is burnt through and through, so too will I make
 your body; for I go my way, and within a single hour I will make
 13 you desolate. And I answered him again, Do what you will, and if
 you are determined to afflict me,⁴ I am ready to bear whatever you
 lay upon me.

VIII. When he had left me, he went away *and roamed to and fro*
 2 beneath the vault of heaven. And he got the Lord to promise him

¹ A word of doubtful meaning, which does not occur elsewhere in Greek. Kohler (*Semitic Studies* . . ., p. 316) declares that it is for ἀουλλα (= נִשְׁמֵן), and, appealing to Kohut's *Arukh* (s.v. נִשְׁמֵן), translates it as 'basket'; but this word in both Hebrew and Greek means 'yoke'. V adds the adj. 'ragged': hence Kohler's translation, 'an old torn basket'.
² Lit. 'from your hands'.

³ Lit. 'and I said to him'.

⁴ Lit. 'Do what you are doing; for if you wish to bring something on me'.

authority over my possessions. And then, when he had been given
 the authority, he came and took away all my wealth.

IX. So listen, for I will tell you everything that happened to me
 2 and what was taken from me. For I had a hundred and thirty
 3 thousand sheep; and I set apart seven thousand of them to be shorn
 4 for the clothing of orphans, widows, the poor, and the helpless. I
 5 had a pack of eight hundred dogs that guarded my flocks; and I
 had another two hundred dogs that guarded¹ my house. I had nine
 thousand camels; and from them I selected three thousand and set
 them to work in various cities;² and I loaded them with goods, and
 I sent them off into the cities and villages with instructions to go
 and distribute to the helpless and to those in want and to all the
 6 widows. I had a hundred and forty³ thousand asses in the pastures;
 and I set apart five hundred of them and gave orders that their
 foals⁴ should be sold and the proceeds given to the poor and needy.
 7 And the poor⁵ from all countries used to come and seek me out;⁶
 8 and the four doors of my house were ever open. And I would give
 my servants orders that these should be kept open: my aim was to
 ensure that no one should come asking for charity and see me
 sitting at the door, and turn away out of nervousness, and get
 nothing. *My aim was* rather that whenever people saw me sitting at
 one door, they should go in by another and get as much as they
 needed.

X. There were thirty tables set up in my house, available at all
 2 hours, for the exclusive use of strangers: I had also twelve other
 3 tables laid for widows; and if any stranger appeared asking for
 charity, he had to be fed at table before being given what he needed
 4 — for I would not allow *anyone* to leave my door empty-handed.¹
 5 And I had three thousand five hundred yoke of oxen; and from

¹ So SV Slav.: P om. 'my flocks . . . that guarded'.

² Lit. 'three thousand to work in every city'.

³ So SV Slav.: P 'thirty'.

⁴ Lit. 'offspring'.

⁵ So V Slav.: PS 'And all'.

⁶ Lit. 'come to meet me'.

¹ Lit. 'with an empty bosom'. Not infrequently 'bosom' was used metaphorically for the fold of the garment above the girdle in which valuables were stowed (e.g. Prov. xvii. 23; Luke vi. 38): hence the natural meaning here is what we mean by the

6 them I picked out five hundred yoke and allocated them to plough-
 7 ing in any field of anyone who could use them; and what they
 8 produced² I set apart for the poor at their table. And I had fifty
 9 bake-houses, from which I provided *what was necessary* for the
 10 service of the beggars' table.

11 XI. And there were also some strangers who saw my goodwill and
 12 were anxious to help in the service themselves. And there were
 13 some others who were at the time without the wherewithal and so
 14 were unable to contribute anything,¹ and they would come and
 15 appeal to me, saying, Might we also share in this service,² although
 16 we have nothing?³ As a favour to us, lend us money, so that we can
 17 go off and trade in cities far away, and so be able to render service
 18 to the poor. And afterwards we can repay you what is yours. And
 19 when I heard this, I was glad that they would actually take *money*
 20 from me to care for the beggars. And I would eagerly accept the
 21 bond and give them as much as they wanted. And I took no
 22 security from them, apart from just the written record. And so they
 23 would trade with what was mine. And sometimes they would be
 24 successful in their trading and *make enough* to give to the beggars.
 25 Sometimes, again, they would be robbed; and they would come
 26 and appeal to me, saying, Be patient with us, we beg you, while we
 27 see³ how we can pay you back. And when I heard this, I would feel
 28 sympathy for them and bring out their note of hand and read it in
 29 their presence and tear it up and release them from their debt,⁴
 30 saying, Inasmuch as I trusted you in the cause of the poor, I will

phrase 'with his pockets empty'. However, it is just possible that in this particular context the sense intended was 'with an empty stomach', though such an extended meaning for 'bosom' would be unusual, if not unparalleled. In any case we are dealing with an exact quotation from Job xxxi. 34 in the Septuagint version, which understands the whole passage rather differently from what is implied by the Hebrew original.

² Lit. 'and their fruit'.

¹ Lit. 'unable to spend'.

² Lit. 'We beg you, can we also perform this service?'

³ SV Slav. 'that we may see': P 'let us see'.

⁴ And when I heard . . . debt: so V; PS obscure.

12 take nothing from you. And I would not accept anything from any
 debtor.⁵

XII. And if ever any well-intentioned man¹ came to me and said, I
 have not myself the means to aid the poor, yet I would gladly serve
 2 the beggars to-day at your table, permission would be granted, he
 would do his service, and he would be given his own meal; and
 when evening came and he was leaving to go off home, he would be
 3 made take something from me, for I would say, I know you are a
 working-man, who expects and looks for your wages: you must
 take something. And I would not allow the hireling's wages to
 remain with me in my house.

XIII. Quite spent were those who milked the cows, for the milk¹
 streamed on the mountains; and the butter was spread over my
 2 paths. And my cattle were so numerous that they were folded
 3 among the rocks and the mountains because of those in labour. So
 it was that the mountains were drenched with milk and became
 4 like solid butter. My slaves who cooked the widows' food grew
 5 weary. And, with scant regard for the poor, they called down
 curses on me, saying, Would God we were full of his meats –
 6 whereas I was being more than ordinarily kind.

1,2 XIV. I had six harps¹ and a ten-stringed lyre. And every day, after
 the widows had been fed, I would get up and take the lyre and play
 3 it for them, and they would sing. And with the harp I would
 4 remind them of God, so that they might glorify the Lord. And if
 ever my slave-girls started complaining, I would take the harp up
 5 and sing of the wages of recompense; and I would put an end to
 their fault-finding² and complaints.

⁵ Lit. 'from my debtor'.

¹ Lit. 'any man of a cheerful heart'.

¹ So SV: P om. 'the milk'. V has several significant divergences, both here and elsewhere, in this chapter.

¹ Reading *ψαλτήρια* for *ψαλμούς*: cp. Job xxi. 12 (LXX).

² So SV: P adds 'of the psalm, that is'.

XV. And every day, when the ministry of service was over, my
 2 sons would have their dinner. And they would go to their eldest
 3 brother's house to dine with him; and they would take with them
 4 their three sisters and their attendant maidservants¹ (for when my
 5 sons were at table they had male slaves waiting on them). And I
 6 would get up early and offer sacrifices on their behalf according to
 7 their number, three hundred pigeons, fifty he-goats, and twelve
 8 sheep. All this, after what was needed for the actual sacrifices had
 9 been set aside,² I would order to be got ready for the beggars; and I
 would say to them, Take this, which is over and above what is
 needed for the sacrifices,³ so that you can pray for my children. It
 may be that my sons have sinned in the Lord's sight by boasting,
 saying superciliously, We are this rich man's children and these
 goods are ours. Why then should we do service too? – because pride
 is an abominable thing in the sight of God. And again would I offer
 on God's altar a choice bullock, in case my sons had plotted evil in
 their heart before God.

XVI.¹ And I had been doing this for seven years after the angel's
 2 message to me. Then Satan, after he had been given authority, at
 3 last came down without pity. He burned up the seven thousand
 4 sheep appointed for the clothing of the widows and the three
 5 thousand camels and the five hundred asses and the five hundred
 6 yoke of oxen. All this he destroyed himself, since he had been given
 7 authority to take action against me. And the rest of my beasts were
 8 taken off by my fellow-countrymen. They had always been well
 9 treated by me; but now they rose against me and took off my
 remaining animals for themselves. And I was told about the loss of
 my possessions; and I gave praise to God and did not blaspheme.

XVII. Then the Devil, when he saw my reaction,¹ contrived a plot

¹ Lit. 'and the things laid upon the maidservants'.

² Lit. 'after the arrangement'.

³ Lit. 'which is superfluous after the arrangement'.

¹ V has a different (and shorter) text for this chapter.

¹ Lit. 'having come to know my heart'.

2 against me. He disguised himself as the king of the Persians,
 3 appeared before my city, and assembled all the rogues that were in
 4 it. And he addressed them in a threatening manner and said, This
 5 man Jobab has squandered all the good things of the earth until
 6 there is nothing left, and he has shared them out among the needy,
 7 the blind, and the lame. He has also destroyed the shrine of the
 8 great God and laid waste the place of libation, and for this I will
 9 bring retribution on him – for what he has done to the house of
 God. So get together, and despoil him yourselves of all his animals
 and whatever else he has on earth. And they answered and said to
 him, He has seven sons and three daughters: suppose they flee for
 protection to other lands and lodge complaints against us for
 behaving like tyrants, and then, they might raise a force against us
 and kill us. And he said to them, Have no fear at all: the greater
 part of his possessions I have already destroyed by fire, the rest I
 have taken from him, behold,² I will destroy³ his children also.

XVIII. When he had said this, he went off and brought down the
 2 house upon my children and killed them. My fellow-countrymen,
 3 when they saw that what he said had really happened, turned on
 4 me suddenly and drove me out and started to lay their hands on
 5 everything in my house. I saw with my own eyes worthless and
 6 disreputable men *sitting* at my tables and on my couches. And I
 7 was unable to utter a word, for I was exhausted like a woman in
 8 labour, whose loins are weakened by the intensity of the pains. But
 I was especially mindful of what the Lord had foretold to me
 through his angel about the campaign *there was to be against me*, as
 well as the panegyrics *that were to follow*, about which he had spoken
 to me too. And I became like someone who wants to go into a city to
 see its wealth and inherit a part of its glory – like (someone with) a
 cargo on board a sea-going ship, who, when out in mid-ocean, sees
 the rising swell and adverse winds, and flings the cargo into the
 sea, saying, I am prepared to lose everything provided I can get
 into this city to inherit better things than chattels and ship. In this
 way I thought of my possessions as nothing when compared with
 that city the angel had spoken to me about.

² So SV: P 'now'.

³ So SV: P om. 'I will destroy'.

XIX. When the final messenger came and informed me of the loss
 2 of my children, I was greatly distressed. And I rent my robe and
 3 said to the man who brought the message, How was it then that
 you escaped? And then, when I understood what had happened, I
 cried out and said,

4 The Lord gave, the Lord has taken away:
 As it pleased the Lord, so has it come to pass.
 Blessed be the name of the Lord.

XX. So, when all that I had was lost, Satan realized that he could
 2 not turn me into a mocker. And he went off and begged my body
 3 from the Lord, so that he might strike me with diseases. Then the
 Lord handed me over to him to do with my body as he would, but
 4 over my life¹ he gave him no authority. And he came to me as I was
 5 sitting on my throne, mourning the loss of my children. And he was
 like a great hurricane and overturned my throne, and I spent
 6 three hours in my throne, unable to get out.² And he struck me with
 7 a cruel disease from head to foot. And in great agitation and
 8 distress I went outside the city and sat on a dunghill. My body was
 eaten by worms, and I drenched the earth with moisture: pus
 9 streamed from me, and³ many were the worms in my body. And if
 ever a worm crawled out, I would pick it up and put it back⁴ in the
 same place, saying, Stay in the same place where you were put, till
 instructions are given by him who gave you your orders.

XXI. And I spent forty-eight years on the dunghill outside the city,
 2 diseased as I was. With my own eyes, my children, I saw my first
 wife carrying water to some fine fellow's house like a maidservant,
 3 so that she might get bread and bring it to me. And cut to the quick
 I would say, O, the pretentious arrogance of the rulers of this city!
 4 How can they treat my wife like a slave-girl? And then I would
 resume my patient musings.

¹ Or 'soul'. Gk. *ψυχή* as in the LXX at Job ii. 6 for the Hebrew *nephesh*.

² So PS: V '... three hours lying on the ground'.

³ So V (reading *καὶ ἰχθῆρες τὸν σῶματός μου ἔρρεον κατ*): PS om. *ἔρρεον κατ*.

⁴ So V: PS 'bring it near'.

XXII. And after eleven years they prevented even the bread from
 being brought to me, scarcely allowing my wife¹ to have her own
 2 food. And when she got it, she would share it out between herself
 and me, saying in her grief, Woe is me! Soon there will not even be
 3 bread for him to eat. And she had no hesitation in going out into
 the market-place to beg bread from the breadsellers, so as to bring
 it to me to eat.

XXIII. And Satan, when he heard about this, disguised himself as
 2 a breadseller. And, quite by chance, my wife went to him and
 3 asked for bread, thinking he was human. And Satan said to her,
 4 Put down the purchase-money, and take what you want. She
 answered him and said, Where am I to get money from? Do you
 5 not know about the evils that have come upon us? Have pity, if you
 6 can: if not, then let it be.¹ And he answered her, saying, Had you
 7 not deserved your ills, they would not have come upon you.² But
 now, if you have no money with you, leave the hair of your head
 with me as a pledge and take three loaves: maybe you will be able
 8 to live *on them* for three days *more*. Then she thought, Well, what is
 the hair of my head to me compared with my hungry husband?
 9 And so with scant respect for her hair, she said to him, Very well,³
 10 take it. Then with a pair of scissors he cut her hair off and gave her
 11 three loaves, publicly. She took them and came and brought them
 to me; and Satan followed her along the road, but so as she should
 not see him,⁴ and led her heart astray.

XXIV. As soon as my wife came near me, she cried out, wailing,
 and said to me, Job, Job, how long will you go on sitting on the
 dunghill outside the city, thinking it will only be for a little while
 2 longer, and waiting and hoping for your deliverance? As for me, I
 wander about from place to place, a vagabond serving-maid; and¹

¹ Lit. 'allowing her'.

¹ Lit. 'but if not, see *to it* yourself'.

² Lit. 'you would not have received them'.

³ Lit. 'Arise and'.

⁴ Lit. 'walking secretly'.

¹ P 'wherefore': SV 'for already' – cp. Job ii. 9 b (LXX).

your memorial has vanished from the earth – that is, the sons and daughters that I bore and endured the pains of labour for, all to no purpose. You yourself sit stinking and infested with worms, and you spend the night under the open sky. And I, again, utterly wretched, work by day and suffer at night to get bread to bring you. For it is difficult enough now to get my own food,² and I share it out between us; for I do not think it right that you should be racked with pain and at the same time have nothing to eat. That is why I made up my mind to go out shamelessly into the market-place. And when the breadseller said to me, Pay me the money and you can take the bread,³ I told him about our poverty. And I heard him say, If you have no money, woman, let me have the hair of your head, and take three loaves; maybe you will *be able to live on them* for three days *more*. And I lost heart and said to him, Very well,⁴ cut it off. And⁵ so he got up and dishonoured me by cutting off my hair with a pair of scissors in the market-place, while a gaping crowd stood by.

XXV. *And they said,*

Who is not amazed that this is Sitidos, the wife of Job, she who used to have fourteen curtains to protect her sitting-room, and a door inside *the other* doors so that only someone who was of real importance could gain access to her?
 Now she exchanges her hair for bread!
 Her camels loaded with good things used to carry *them* abroad for beggars,
 Yet now she gives her hair in return for bread!
 Lo! She who at home had seven tables that were never moved, at which the beggars and every stranger used to eat,
 Yet now she sells her hair for bread!
 See! She who had a basin to wash her feet in, made of gold and silver,

² So (it seems) P: SV Slav. have a longer text.

³ The text here is in considerable confusion. The MSS differ widely and several conjectural restorations have been proposed. Our translation is based on V, which offers a sense that is reasonably consecutive, even if not perfect.

⁴ Lit. 'Arise and'.

⁵ So SV Slav.: P om. 'Very well . . . And'.

But now she goes barefoot,¹ and even gives her hair in exchange for bread!

Lo! This is she who had clothing of fine linen embroidered with gold,
 But now she is dressed in rags and gives her hair in exchange for bread!
 See her that had gold and silver couches,
 But is now selling her hair for bread!
 Once for all, Job,² to cut a long story short,³ I tell you straight, My will is broken and my strength is gone:⁴ get up, take the loaves, and satisfy your hunger; and *then* curse⁵ the Lord and die; and I, at least, shall be spared the exhaustion that comes from *my concern for* your body's pain.

XXVI. And I answered her, Lo, I have been afflicted by diseases for seventeen years, and I have submitted patiently to the worms in my body. But I have never been so dispirited by the pains as by the words you have just uttered, Curse¹ the Lord and die. This is a burden we both of us bear together – the loss of our children and possessions: would you have us now curse¹ the Lord and so deprive ourselves of² the great wealth *that is to be*? Why is it you do not remember the great benefits we once enjoyed? If, then, we have received good at the Lord's hand, should we not also endure evil? But let us be patient till the Lord is moved with pity and shows us mercy. Do you not see the Devil standing behind you and turning what goes on in your mind upside down, so that he can lead me astray as well? For he wants to cast³ you as one of those brainless women who subvert their own husbands' integrity.

¹ Lit. 'she treads the ground with *her feet*'.

² So SV Slav.: P 'Job, Job'.

³ Lit. 'many things there are that have been said'.

⁴ Lit. 'Because of the weakness of my heart my bones are broken'. In Hebrew 'bones' in the plural are not infrequently used for the whole personality: for the parallelism 'heart . . . bones' cp. Isa. lxvi. 14.

⁵ Lit. 'speak a work against'.

¹ Lit. 'Speak a word against'.

² Lit. 'and so be alienated from'.

³ Lit. 'show'.

XXVII And I turned backwards towards Satan, who was behind my wife, and I said, Come out into the open. Stop hiding yourself. Does a lion display his strength in a cage? Does a bird fly away when in a basket? Come out and do battle with me. Then he came out from behind my wife and stood and lamented, saying, Lo, Job, I am exhausted, and I give in to you, though you are human and I am a spirit: you are smitten by disease, but I am in great distress *as well*. For it is as if two athletes were wrestling,¹ and one threw the other; and the one that was on top silenced the one underneath by filling his mouth with sand and twisting his every limb. But the one underneath bore it all with patient endurance, and did not give in², and it was the one on top that *at last* shouted out *that he was beaten*. So you too, Job, were underneath, and smitten by disease; but you have overcome my wrestling tricks that I employed against you. Then Satan went away from me in shame for three whole years. So now, my children, you too must be patient whatever happens to you; for patience is better than anything.

1,2 XXVIII. And after I had been smitten for twenty years, the *neighbouring* kings heard what had happened to me, and they set out and came to me, each one from his own country, to visit me and console me. When they were some distance off, they did not recognize me; but they cried out aloud and lamented, and they rent their robes and sprinkled themselves with earth. And they sat down by me for seven days and seven nights, and not one of them said a word to me. And it was not because they were being patient with me that they waited without speaking: it was because they had known me before these evils in my wealthy days, when I would display¹ to them *my* precious stones, and they would look on with amazement and clap their hands, and say, If all that we three kings possess were brought together into a single place, there would be no

¹ A free translation of an uncertain text.

² Or 'and did not faint'. So SV: if we read without the negative, as in P, the sense would seem to be 'though much weakened'. Again, the text in this verse is very uncertain.

¹ Lit. 'when I would begin to bring up'.

6 comparison with the splendid stones of your kingdom. For I was the leading nobleman of the East. And when they came to *the land of Ausitis*, they asked in the city, Where is Jobab, who is the king of all Egypt?² And people told them about me, He is sitting on the dunghill outside the city, for he has not come up inside the city for twenty years. They asked again about my possessions and it was explained to them what had happened to me.

XXIX. And when they heard *it*, they left the city in company with the citizens, and my fellow-citizens pointed me out to them. But they contradicted *them*, saying that I was not Jobab. While they were still in open disputation, Eliphaz, the king of the Temanites, turned towards me and said, Are you Jobab, our fellow-king? I wept and sprinkled earth upon my head, and by nodding I made it plain to them that I was.

XXX. And when they saw me nod my head, they fell to the ground in a faint. And their armies were alarmed at the sight of the three kings lying prostrate on the ground (*for they remained there* for three hours, like corpses). Then they got up and said to one another, It is he. And finally they sat for seven days, discussing my affairs, reckoning up my cattle and possessions, *and* saying, We were aware, were we not, of the many good things that were sent by him to the villages and cities round about for distribution to the beggars, besides what was given away¹ in his house? How is it that he is now reduced to this corpse-like condition?

XXXI. After they had discussed the matter in this way for seven days, Elihu¹ answered and said to his fellow-kings, Let us go closer to him and examine him carefully to see whether it is really he or not. Now they were about a hundred yards away, because of the stench from my body. And they got up and came closer to me with

² So all MSS. Perhaps an early copyist's slip for 'Ausitis'. V adds 'and of this country'.

¹ So V: PS 'lying about'.

¹ So all MSS. See note at xxxiii. 1.

perfumes in their hands, while their soldiers, accompanying them, burned² incense all round me, so that they could come near me.
 4,5 Three days they spent burning³ incense. And when they came up to me, Elihu took up the tale⁴ and said to me, Are you Jobab, our fellow-king? Are you the man who once was held in great esteem? Are you the man who was like the day's sun throughout the earth? Are you the man who was like the moon and the stars shining at midnight? And I said to him, I am. And at this he raised a great
 6,7 lament and lifted up his voice in a royal dirge, while the other kings and their armies made response.

XXXII. Hear, then, the lament of Elihu, declaring to his servants the wealth of Job:

- 2 You are the man who mustered the seven thousand sheep for the clothing of the beggars!
 Where then is the glory of your throne?
 You are the man who mustered the three thousand camels for the carriage of goods for the poor!
 Where then is the glory of your throne?
 3 You are the man who mustered the three thousand cattle for the poor man's ploughing!
 Where then is the glory of your throne?
 4 You are the man who had the golden couches, but are now sitting on a dunghill!
 Where now is the glory of your throne?
 5 You are the man who had the throne of precious stones, but are now sitting in ashes!¹
 Where now is the glory of your throne?
 6 For who was like you in the midst of your children? For you blossomed together like a fragrant apple-tree!
 Where now is the glory of your throne?
 7 You are the man who established the sixty tables set apart for the beggars!
 Where now is the glory of your throne?

² Lit. 'threw'.

³ Lit. 'supplying'.

⁴ Lit. 'answered'.

¹ So S (= ἐν ὁδοῦ): P 'in a roadway' (= ἐν ὁδοῦ). V om. verses 5 and 6.

- 8 You are the man who had the censers for the sweet-smelling assembly,² but now you live in a stench!
 (Where now is the glory of your throne?)³
 9 You are the man who had the golden lamps upon the silver lampstands, but now you wait for the light of the moon!
 Where then is the glory of your throne?
 10 You are the man who had the ointment *made with resin* from the frankincense-tree, but now you are in want.⁴
 Where then is the glory of your throne?
 11 You are the man who laughed the wrong-doers and sinners to scorn, but now you *yourself* have become a jest!
 Where now is the glory of your throne?
 12 You are Job, who had great glory!
 Where now is the glory of your throne?

XXXIII. Elihu¹ went on with his lament, and his fellow-kings made response, so that there was a great disturbance. And when the noise ceased, Job said to them, Silence!

- Now will I show you my throne,
 And *its* glory and *its* splendour that is among the saints.
 3 My throne is in the realms above the world,
 And its glory and *its* splendour at the right hand of the Father.²
 4 The whole world will pass away and its glory be destroyed,
 And those who are attached to it will perish with it;
 5 But my throne is in the holy land,
 And its glory is in the world of changelessness.
 6 The rivers will dry up,
 And the pride of their waves will go down to the depths of the abyss;
 7 But the rivers of my land, where my throne is,

² So PS: V 'the censers for song *made of precious stones*'.

³ P omits this line altogether: SV insert it between '... assembly' and 'but now ...' above.

⁴ So PS (= ἐν ἀπορία): V 'in rottenness' (= ἐν σαρκί).

¹ So PS: V 'Eliphaz'. 'Eliphaz' would seem to be required all through chaps. xxxi-xxxiii.

² So P: S 'God'; V 'the Saviour'; Slav. 'the heavenly king'.

Do not dry up, nor will they disappear,
But they will last for ever.

8 These kings will pass away, and the leaders will pass on,
And their glory and *their* boast will be like a reflection in a
mirror.³

9 But my kingdom is for ever,
And *its* glory and its splendour are among the Father's
chariots.

1,2 XXXIV. And as I said this to them to silence them, Eliphaz said
angrily to his friends, What use is there in our having come to him
3 as we have, with our armies, to console him? Lo! he even casts
aspersions on us as well: let us, therefore, go back to our own lands.
4 He himself sits in misery, eaten by worms and smelling horribly,¹
and yet he exalts himself against us – Kingdoms pass away and
their governments, he says, but my kingdom² will last for ever!
5 Much disturbed Eliphaz got up and turned away from them in
high dudgeon, saying, I am going; for we have come to console
him, and yet he has rebuffed us in the presence of our own soldiers.

XXXV. Then Bildad took hold of him, saying, You must not speak
like this to a man who is in mourning *for his children* and is suffering
2 under many other afflictions too. We are in the best of health, and
yet, because of the stench, we were not able to get near him without
3 the help of many perfumes. Have you forgotten altogether, Eliphaz,
4 what you were like when you were ill yourself for *only* two days. So
let us now be patient and try to find out¹ what his condition really
is. It may be, may it not, that his mind has gone? It may be, may it
5 not, that he remembers his former good fortune and has been
driven mad by it? For who would not be put out of his mind and
6 driven mad when beset with *such* plagues? But let me approach him
and try to find out what his condition is.

³ So SV: P 'like a mirror'.

¹ Lit. 'in distress of worms and (in) stenches'.

² So SV Slav.: P 'and lo, ours'.

¹ So SV Slav.: P om. 'and try to find out'.

XXXVI. Then Bildad got up and approached me, saying, Are you
2 Job? And I said to him, Yes. And he said, Are you in your right
3 mind? And I said, My mind is not set on earthly things (for the
earth is transient and *so are* they that dwell on it), but my mind¹ is
set on heavenly things, because there is no disturbance in heaven.
4 Bildad answered and said, We know that the earth is transient,
since from time to time it changes: sometimes it is directed rightly,
and sometimes it is at peace, and then at other times it is at war.
5 But about heaven we hear that it enjoys tranquillity. If you are
6 really sane I will ask you a question. If you answer me sensibly to
begin with, I will ask you a second question. And if you answer me
satisfactorily *again*, we shall know for certain that your mind is in
no way impaired.

XXXVII. And again he said *to me*, In whom do you put your trust?¹
2,3 And I said, In the living God. And again he said to me, Who took
4 away your possessions and brought these misfortunes on you? And
5 I said, God. And again he answered and said to me, So you put
your trust in God. Was he not unjust (it is for you to judge)² in
bringing these misfortunes on you or taking your possessions
6 away? If he gave and took away, he ought not to have given
anything at all – no king will ever humiliate his own soldier, his
trusty guardsman (though who is there that can ever comprehend
the depths *of the mysteries* of the Lord and of his wisdom?). Or should
7 we presume³ to attribute injustice to the Lord? Answer me this,
8 Job. And again I say to you, If you are in your right mind, show *me*
(if you understand) how it is we see the sun rise in the east and set
in the west, yet when we get up again in the morning, we find the
same *sun* rising in the east? Explain this to me, if you are God's
servant.

XXXVIII. And to this I said, I do have understanding, and my
mind is sane enough. Why, then, should I not speak of the Lord's

¹ Lit. 'but it'.

¹ Or 'On what do you pin your hopes?'

² Following James: all MSS are corrupt.

³ Lit. 'Or does anyone presume'.

mighty works? Should my mouth fail altogether in its duty to my
 2 Master? God forbid! For who are we to pry into heavenly things,
 3 seeing we are mortal and our portion dust and ashes? So, in order
 to prove to you that I am sane, listen to a question I will put to you.
 Food enters *the body* through the mouth, and through the same
 mouth water too is drunk, and it passes down the same throat; but
 when both go lower still,¹ they are separated from one another.
 4,5 Who, then, makes the separation? Bildad said, I do not know. I
 answered and said to him, If, then, you do not comprehend the
 working of the body, how can you comprehend celestial things.
 6 And Zophar, answering, said, We are not conducting an enquiry
 into what is beyond our powers: what we want to know is whether
 you are in your right mind; and in fact we have discovered that
 7 your powers of thought have not deserted you. What, then, would
 you have us do for you? For, see, we have brought with us² the
 physicians of our three kingdoms. Will you be treated by them, and
 8 so, perhaps, find relief? But I answered and said, My healing and
 my treatment are from the Lord, who is the creator even of
 physicians.

XXXIX. And as I was saying this to them, my wife Sitidos came in
 2 her rags. She had run away from the master, to whom she was in
 service, because she had been prevented from going out in case my
 3 fellow-kings should see her and take her off. And when she came,
 she flung herself at their feet, and she wailed and said, Do you
 4 remember me, Eliphaz and your two friends? *Do you remember* what
 I used to be like among you and how *gorgeously* I used to be arrayed?
 5,6 But now, see how I am dressed when I go out! Then they set up a
 great wailing, till they became doubly weary and grew silent.
 7 Eliphaz took hold of his purple cloak to tear it off and throw it
 8 round my wife. And she begged them saying, Bid your soldiers, I
 ask you, to dig in the ruins of the house that collapsed over my
 children, so that their bones may be preserved as a memorial of
 9 them.¹ For we have not been able to *do it ourselves*² because of the

¹ Lit. 'go into the drain'.

² Following Brock's restoration: all MSS are corrupt.

¹ Or 'for a commemoration of them', or 'for a tomb'.

² may be preserved . . . able: so S(V) Slav.; P corrupt.

10 expense: we shall at least then be able to look upon their bones. Am
 I only a wild beast or have I the womb of a brute that my ten
 11 children are dead, and not one of them have I buried? And they
 were going off to dig, but I restrained them, saying, Do not labour
 12 in vain. You will not find my children, because they have been
 13 taken up into heaven by their maker *and their king*. Then again they
 answered me and said, Who now will not say you are out of your
 mind and mad to say, My children have been taken up into
 heaven? Show us how this can be true.

XL. I answered and said to them, Lift me up, so that I can stand.
 2 So they lifted me up and supported my arms on either side. And
 3 then, standing up, I gave thanks to the Father.¹ And after my
 prayer I said to them, Lift up your eyes to the east and see my
 children with crowns *on their heads* beside the glory of the Heavenly
 4 One. When my wife Sitidos saw *them*, she fell to the ground in
 worship and said, Now I know that I have a memorial with the
 Lord. I will get up and go into the city and shut my eyes a little and
 5 refresh myself for my menial tasks. And she set off to the city, and
 she went into the byre where her own cattle were that had been
 6 seized by the rulers whose slave she was. And beside a manger she
 7 fell asleep and died content. The ruler, who owned her, searched
 8 for her without success. In the evening he went into the cattle-byre
 9 and found her prostrate corpse. All who saw her cried out, lowing
 and wailing over her,² and the noise was heard throughout the city.
 10,11 Then they rushed in to find out what had happened. And they
 found her dead, and the animals standing round and wailing for
 12 her. So they carried her out and buried her; and they laid her in *the*
 13 *ruins of* the house that had collapsed over her children. And the
 beggars in the city made a great lamentation, saying,
 See! This is Sitidos, the wife to boast about and glory in!
 She was not thought worthy of a proper burial!
 14 And the dirge made over her you will find in the Paraleipomena.

¹ So P: S Slav. 'first (om. Slav.) to the Lord and to God'; V 'to God first'.

² Of this incident James wrote (*TS* V. i, p. c): 'The sense of the original . . . is I think this, that when the employer of Sitis found her dead in the stable, *all the beasts* cried out over her *μετὰ μνημάτων κλαυθμῶν*: and the noise they made attracted the citizens, who rushed in and found her dead, and the beasts weeping over her'.

XLI. Eliphaz and the rest sat down beside me after this, arguing
 2 and saying many fine things against me. After twenty seven days
 3 they got up to go to their own country.¹ And then Elihu made them
 swear an oath, saying, Stay with me till I have made things plain to
 him, for you have spent far too many days listening patiently to
 4 Job's boasting about his righteousness. For my part I will not put
 up with it. For from the beginning I, like you,² have kept up the
 lament for him, remembering his former good fortune; and he has
 only used it for self-glorification. High-sounding and presumptuous
 5 are his words, saying, he has his throne in heaven. But listen
 6 to me, and I will show you that he has no portion *there*.³ Then
 Elihu, inspired by Satan, launched into a scurrilous attack upon
 me, as is recorded in the Paraleipomena of Eliphaz.⁴

XLII. After he had ceased his fine words, the Lord appeared to me
 2 and spoke through whirlwind and clouds. And he censured Elihu,
 making it clear to me that he who had been speaking by him was
 3 not a man but a beast. And while the Lord was speaking to me
 through the cloud, the four kings also heard his voice as he spoke.
 4 And after the Lord had finished speaking to me, he said to Eliphaz,
 5 What now Eliphaz? You have sinned and your two friends *also*; for
 6 you were wrong in what you said about my servant Job. So bestir
 yourselves and get him to offer sacrifices on your behalf, that your
 sin may be removed; for had it not been for him, I would have
 7 destroyed you. And they brought me the materials for sacrifice.
 8 And I took them and offered them on their behalf; and the Lord
 accepted *the sacrifice* and forgave them their sin.

XLIII. Then Eliphaz, Bildad, and Zophar perceived that the Lord
 had forgiven them their sin (though he had not deemed Elihu
 2,3 worthy). And Eliphaz was inspired and sang a hymn. And his

¹ So PS: V has a much longer text in these first two verses, giving the substance of the friends arguments against Job.

² Lit. 'I also'.

³ So PS: V 'what his portion is'.

⁴ So the MSS. Should we read 'Elihu'? Cp. note on xxxiii. 1.

other friends and the armies made response to him near the altar.
 4 His hymn was this:¹

Banished are our sins, and buried is our wickedness.

5 Elihu, Elihu, the only wicked one, will have no memorial
 among the living:

His lamp is quenched, its light has failed:²

6 The brilliance of his torch will turn to judgement on himself;
 For he is the *child* of darkness and not of light,
 And the door-keepers of darkness will inherit his glory and
his splendour.

7 His kingdom has passed away: his throne has crumbled into
 dust;

And the honour of his dwelling-place³ is in Hades.

8 He has loved the serpent's beauty and the dragon's scales:
 Its venom and its poison shall be **his food**.⁴

9 Never has he sought the Lord's favour,⁵ nor has he feared
 him,

And even those who are honoured by him he has provoked.

10 The Lord has forgotten him, and the saints⁶ have abandoned
 him;

11 And anger and passion shall be his dwelling-place.³

12 He has no pity in his heart, nor peace in his **mouth**:⁷

The poison of asps he has on his tongue.

13 Righteous is the Lord: true are his judgements.

With him is no favouritism: he will judge us all alike.

14 Lo, the Lord is at hand: lo, the saints⁶ have been made ready,

While crowns with panegyrics lead the way.

15 Let the saints⁶ rejoice, let them be joyful in heart,

16 For they have obtained the glory for which they hoped.

17 Done away is our sin, cleansed is our wickedness.

But wicked Elihu has no memorial among the living.

¹ Lit. 'Thus Eliphaz spoke'.

² Lit. 'he (it) has put out its light'.

³ Lit. 'tabernacle'.

⁴ Reading *εις βορραν*: PSV Slav. *εις βορραν* ('to the north').

⁵ Lit. 'He has not gained the Lord for himself'.

⁶ Or 'holy ones' (i.e. 'angels').

⁷ Reading *εν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ*: P *εν τ. στόματι αὐ.* ('in his body'); SV Slav. om.

XLIV. After Eliphaz had finished the hymn, while all made response to him and circled round the altar, we got up and went into the city where we now have our home. And we held great festivities and took our delight in the Lord; and once again I did my best to help the beggars. And all my friends came to me, and those who knew *how* to do good.¹ And they asked me, saying, What do you ask of us now? And I, with the beggars in mind, to do them good again, asked *them* and said, Give me, each one of you, a lamb to clothe the beggars' nakedness with. And then each of them brought me a lamb apiece and a tetradrachm of gold. And the Lord blessed everything I had and doubled it.

XLV. And now, see, my children, I am about to die. Never forget the Lord. Do good to the beggars, *and* do not neglect the helpless. *And* do not marry wives *that are daughters* of foreigners. And now, my children, I will divide¹ among you everything I have, so that each one of you may be in complete control of the portion that is his.²

XLVI. And they brought what was to be divided to the seven boys.¹ And he set aside nothing from the property for the girls² *at all*. And they were hurt and said to their father, Our lord and father, are we not also your children? Why have you not given us a share in your property? Job said to the girls,² Do not be distressed, my daughters, for I have not forgotten you. In fact I have provided for you³ an inheritance better than that of your seven brothers. Then he motioned to his daughter called Hemera, and he said to her, Take this⁴ ring and go to the strong-room and fetch the three little golden urns, so that I may give you your inheritance. She went away and fetched them. And he opened them and took out

¹ So P: SV 'those who knew that I was doing good'.

¹ Lit. 'Behold, therefore, my children, I divide'.

² With these words Job ends his personal testimony, and at the beginning of the next chapter the narrative, with which the work opened, is resumed. It appears from li. 4 that the narrator is Nereos, Job's brother.

¹ Lit. 'males'.

² Lit. 'females'.

³ Lit. 'I sent to you'.

⁴ Lit. 'the'.

three cords of many colours, such as no man could possibly describe; for they were not of earth but of heaven, flashing with sparks of fire like the rays of the sun. And he gave one cord each to his daughters,⁵ saying, Take them and gird them round you, that they may keep you safe all the days of your life and fill you with every good thing.⁶

XLVII. The other daughter, called Cassia, said to him, Father is this the inheritance you were saying was better than our brothers'? What is the use of these strange cords? How can we live on them? And their father said to them, Not only will you be able to live on them; but these cords will lead you to the greater world – to life in the heavens. Surely, children, you cannot be unaware of the value of these ropes? The Lord thought me worthy of them on the day when he willed to have mercy on me and to cure my body of the diseases and the worms. He called to me and supplied me with these three cords, saying to me, Arise, gird up your loins like a man: I will question you, and do you answer me. I took *the cords* and girded myself; and immediately, from that very moment, the worms disappeared from my body, and so too did the diseases. And after that my body received strength through the Lord, as though it had not suffered anything at all. And I even forgot my distress of mind. And the Lord spoke to me in power, showing me what has been and what will be. Consequently, my children, with these *cords* you will never now have the Enemy arrayed against you nor even his thoughts in your hearts, because it is the Father's¹ amulet. Get up, then, and gird them round you before I die, so that you may be able to see those who are coming for my soul and marvel at God's creatures.

XLVIII. Accordingly, the one called Hemera got up and wound her rope about her, just as her father had said. And she assumed another heart, no longer minding earthly things. And she gave

⁵ So SV: P om. 'each to his daughters'.

⁶ So V: PS 'Take them about your breast, that it may be well (P om.) with you all the days of your life'.

¹ So P: SV Slav. 'the Lord's'.

utterance in the speech of angels, sending up a hymn to God after the pattern of the angels' hymnody; and the Spirit let the hymns she uttered be recorded on her robe.

XLIX. And then Cassia girded herself, and she *too* experienced a change of heart, so that she no longer gave thought to worldly things. And her mouth took up the speech of the *heavenly* powers, and she lauded the worship of the heavenly sanctuary.¹ So if anyone wants to know about the worship that goes on in heaven,² he can find it in the hymns of Cassia.

L. And the remaining one, the one called Amaltheias-Keras, put on her girdle; and she *likewise* gave utterance with her mouth in the speech of those on high. Her heart too was changed and withdrawn from worldly things; and she spoke in the language of the cherubim, extolling the Lord of Virtues, and proclaiming their glory. Anyone who would pursue the Father's glory any further will find it set out in the prayers of Amaltheias-Keras.

1,2 LL.¹ After the three had finished singing *their* hymns, I, Nereos, Job's brother, sat down beside him as he lay *upon his bed*; and I listened to my brother's three daughters as they discussed together the *heavenly* mysteries². And I wrote down this book, except for the hymns and the signs of the word, for these are the mysteries² of God.

LII. So Job lay¹ ill in bed, yet without pain and suffering, for pain

¹ Lit. 'she lauded the work of the High Place'.

² Lit. 'to know the work of the heavens'.

¹ The translation in this chapter follows V, which yields a reasonably consistent sense. P and S are both difficult and in varying degrees very evidently corrupt.

² Lit. 'the great things'.

¹ So V. P and S are corrupt and add 'And after three days' at the beginning (by dittography from the next verse).

was no longer able to affect him because of the sign of the girdle that he wore. And after three days he saw the holy angels² who came for his soul. And he got up immediately and took a lyre and gave it to his daughter Hemera; to Cassia he gave a censer: to Amaltheias-Keras he gave a tambourine; that they might give praise to those who had come for his soul. And as they took them, they saw the shining chariots which had come for his soul. And they gave praise and honour, each in her special tongue. And after this, he who sat in the great chariot got out and greeted Job (this the three daughters saw, as did also their father, but no one else). He took Job's soul, went off with it in his arms, and placed it in the chariot and journeyed to the east. But Job's body was made ready for burial and carried to the grave. His three daughters led the way, with their girdles round them, singing hymns of praise to the Father.³

LIII. And I Nereos, his brother, and the seven boys,¹ together with the poor and orphans and all the helpless, made lamentation. And they said, Woe to us to-day, double woe, for to-day the strength of the helpless has been taken away, the light of the blind has been taken away, the father of the orphans has been taken away, he who received strangers has been taken away, he who clothed the widows² has been taken away. Who, then, will not mourn for the man of God? No sooner had they brought the body near the grave than all the widows and orphans gathered round and prevented his being put in it.³ But after three days they laid him in the grave,

² So V: PS om. 'the holy angels'.

³ So P (lit. 'singing praise in hymns of the Father'): SV Slav. 'singing praise to God in hymns'.

¹ Lit. 'male children'.

² Lit. 'the clothing of the widows'. So P: the other MSS have some additional clauses in the catalogue.

³ Lit. 'in the grave'.

sleeping peacefully as he was, having won for himself a name to be honoured in every succeeding generation. Amen.⁴

⁴ So P Slav.: SV om. 'Amen'. Then S Slav. adds:

'And Job lived after the plague (Slav. + 'and his sufferings') one hundred and seventy years, and the whole span of his life *was* two hundred and forty-eight years. And he saw his children's children (Slav. 'children and grandchildren and great grandchildren') *to the* fourth (Slav. 'third') generation'.

V adds:

'He left seven sons and three daughters; and there were not found under heaven any fairer than Job's daughters. Job was formerly named Jobab; but his name was changed to Job by the Lord. He lived before the plague for eighty-five years; and after the plague he received double of all things, including also his years, one hundred and seventy. So he lived altogether two hundred and forty-eight years. And he saw his children's children to the fourth generation. It is written also that he rose with those whom the Lord raised. To God be glory'.

THE PSALMS OF SOLOMON

INTRODUCTION

The Psalms of Solomon are neither quoted nor referred to explicitly by any of the Fathers. The earliest mention of them is in the catalogue of contents in the *Codex Alexandrinus* of the Bible in the British Library (5th cent.) where 'eighteen Psalms of Solomon' are listed right at the end, after the two Epistles of Clement, which in turn follow the 'Apocalypse of John'. Presumably *Alexandrinus* contained a text of the Psalms, but it does so no longer: its last leaves have been lost, and the text breaks off rather more than half-way through 2 Clement. Later on, the Psalms occur in the List of Sixty Books, as also in the pseudo-Athanasian Synopsis and the Stichometry of Nicephorus. In the last two, however, they are joined together with the Odes – 'Psalms and Ode(s) of Solomon'. They are not mentioned in the Gelasian Decree.

The text of the Psalms is preserved in some ten Greek manuscripts (two of them defective), one Greek fragment (consisting of xvii. 2–xviii. 14),¹ and also in two defective Syriac manuscripts and two Syriac fragments (both, oddly enough, containing xvi. 6–13). The Greek MSS date from the late 10th or early 11th cent. to the early 15th, and in all of them the Psalms appear as one among a number of other works, some Biblical and some ecclesiastical. In the two Syriac MSS, however, the Psalms are preceded by the Odes, but there is no distinction between them: the Psalms follow immediately on the Odes without a break: all are given the title 'Psalms'; and they are numbered consecutively from the beginning of the Odes – thus, Psalm i in our numeration becomes Psalm xliii in the Syriac, and so on up to lx. Neither Syriac MS contains any other work. One of them (Rylands Cod. Syr. 9; 16th cent.) is deficient at the beginning of the Odes and also from Ps. xvii. 38 to the end: the other (B.L. Addit. 14538; 9th or 10th

¹ See W. Baars, 'A New Fragment of the Greek Version of the Psalms of Solomon' in *VT* xi (1961), pp. 441–444.

cent.) contains only Odes xvii. 7–xlii. 20 and Pss. i.i–iii. 5 and x. 4–xviii. 5.

The combination of Odes and Psalms in a single series known as ‘Psalms’ in the Syriac tradition raises the question, Was this a peculiarity of the Syriac-speaking church or was it also known elsewhere? As we have seen, both the pseudo-Athanasian Synopsis and the Stichometry of Nicephorus list the ‘Psalms and Ode(s) of Solomon’ together. It is possible that there is evidence here that the Psalms and Odes were combined in some Greek MSS – though in the reverse order, it would seem, from the order in the Syriac. It is possible, too, that when *Alexandrinus* and the List of Sixty Books mention the ‘Psalms’ only they are referring to a similar combination.² But all this is mere hypothesis. The facts are that only ten Greek MSS of the Psalms are known, all of which have preserved the Psalms without the Odes; and these, together with the Syriac, are the only evidence there is for the text of the Psalms.

It is now generally agreed that the Psalms were originally written in Hebrew. The Greek will accordingly be a version from the Hebrew. It has been suggested that the Syriac is also a version from the Hebrew; but this suggestion has found few supporters, and most regard the Syriac as a secondary version made from the Greek.

There are no obviously Christian passages in the Psalms nor any that look as if they had been worked over by Christian editors. The Psalms are Jewish through and through and breathe the atmosphere of the canonical Psalms of David, in conscious imitation of which they were doubtless written.

The writer himself belongs to the circle of ‘the righteous’ (iii. 3–8), or God’s ‘holy ones’ (ix. 3), or ‘those who fear the Lord’ (xv. 13), as against their opponents ‘the unrighteous’ (xv. 4–13), or ‘sinners’ (ii. 34–35), or ‘lawless ones’ (xiv. 6). These latter are charged, not merely with general misbehaviour, immorality, and ungodliness (e.g. iv. 1–22), but specifically with having set up a non-Davidic monarchy (xvii. 4–6) and with having profaned the Temple and its sacrifices (ii. 3; viii. 11–12). The writer and his

² Though this is most unlikely in the case of *Alexandrinus*, since the text, as it stands, refers explicitly to ‘eighteen’ Psalms.

circle abhor such lawless deeds (xii. 1–4): they pride themselves that they ‘walk in the righteousness of [God’s] ordinances, in the law which he commanded’ (xiv. 2); and they await in patience the advent of the legitimate Davidic Messianic King (xvii. 21–35; cp. xviii. 5–9).

It is not difficult to see here a reflection of the opposition between the Pharasaic and Sadducean parties sometime during the first century BC. References to a foreign conqueror in three of the Psalms enable us to fix the date of these three, at least, more exactly. The foreign conqueror came ‘from the end of the earth’ (viii. 15) and sent off his captives ‘to the west’ (xvii. 12) – so from the west he presumably came. At first he was welcomed by some of the nation, and the way was left open for him to approach Jerusalem (viii. 16–18). Later, it seems, he encountered resistance and used battering-rams to breach the walls (ii. i). Having captured Jerusalem, he was responsible for a general massacre (viii. 19–21) and introduced his soldiers into the Temple where they contemptuously ‘trampled’ the altar (ii. 2). Ultimately he was murdered in Egypt, and his body lay exposed for lack of burial (ii. 26–27). These details correspond very closely with what is recorded elsewhere of the details of Pompey’s capture of Jerusalem in 63 BC and his death in Egypt in 48 BC.

Whether the Psalms were all the work of a single author or not we have no means of knowing. Nor can we tell how close in date the other Psalms are to the three which refer to Pompey. Many moderns think of a ‘school’ as having produced the Psalms rather than a single author, and most would connect it with the Pharisees – hence the popular (but quite unofficial) title ‘Psalms of the Pharisees’. Some, however, would dispute this connection, partly on the ground that the Psalms themselves provide only the most general evidence for it, and partly on the ground that we know as yet far too little about the various movements and parties within Judaism in the 1st cent. BC to make certainty possible – in particular, it seems likely that there was in fact a much greater variety in the groupings and factions at the time than the conventional Pharisee–Sadducee–Essene categorization suggests (in which case the authors of the Psalms may well have belonged to one of these otherwise ‘unknown’ groups).

But in any case, there is no need to suppose that all the Psalms were written at once. Schüpphaus, for example, has maintained that two separate 'clusters' of Psalms can be identified, which, he claimed, represent two separate stages in the development of a single community (though it was for Schüpphaus a Pharisaic community): one cluster stems from the time of the Roman invasion in 63 BC, the other from somewhere between 48 and 43/2 BC.

On any hypothesis, however, the Psalms are patently Palestinian; and the probability is that they were written in Jerusalem.

The translation which follows is based on Gray's. The verse numeration is that of von Gebhardt (with Gray's numeration in brackets).

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I

- 1 I¹ cried to the Lord in my utter affliction,
To God when sinners assailed.
2 Suddenly there was heard the clamour of war before me:
I said, He will listen to me, for I am full of righteousness.
3 I considered in my heart that I was full of righteousness
When I prospered and was rich in children;
4 Their wealth was spread over the whole earth,
Their glory reached the extremity of the earth.
5 They were raised up to the stars:
Men said, They will never fall.
6 But they became insolent in their prosperity,
And have no understanding.²

¹ Jerusalem is speaking.

² So Syr.: Gk. has 'and they brought not (*καὶ οὐκ ἤνεγκαν*)', which may be a corruption of *καὶ οὐκ ἐγνωκαν*, presupposed by Syr.

- 7 Their sins were in secret,
And I knew *it* not.
8 Their lawless deeds *went* beyond those of the heathen before
them;
They utterly profaned the sanctuary³ of the Lord.

II

A Psalm. Of Solomon. Concerning Jerusalem.

- 1 When the sinner became proud he cast down fortified walls
with a battering-ram,
And thou didst not restrain *him*.
2 Foreign nations went up to thine altar,
In pride they trampled *it* with their sandals;
3 Because the sons of Jerusalem had defiled the sanctuary¹ of
the Lord,
Had profaned the offerings to God with lawless deeds.
4 Wherefore he said, Cast them far from me,
*I take no pleasure in them.*²
5 *Her*³ glorious beauty was held of no account before God,
It was utterly dishonoured.
6 *Her* sons and *her* daughters were in grievous captivity,
Their neck bears a seal-ring, a mark⁴ among the nations:
7 He dealt with them in accordance with their sins;

³ Lit. 'holy things'.

¹ Lit. 'holy things'.

² Following Hilgenfeld's emendation (*οὐκ εὐδοκῶ ἐν αὐτοῖς* for *οὐκ εὐδόωκεν αὐτοῖς* in the MSS). If the reading (and punctuation) of the MSS be followed, verses 4-5 will run:

'Wherefore he said, Cast them far from me.
Her glorious beauty did not prosper them,
It was held of no account before God,
It was utterly dishonoured'.

³ i.e. Jerusalem's (cp. verse 20). So M: others 'his'.

⁴ Lit. 'Their neck in (with) a seal, in (with) a mark . . .'. Prisoners had a thong or rope around their necks, fastened with a seal.

- For he abandoned them into the hands of those who prevail.
- 8 He turned away his face from pitying them,
Young and old and their children together;
9 For they did evil together in not listening.
9 (10) And heaven abhorred *them* and the earth detested them,
(11) For no man upon it had done what they did.
10 (12) And the earth shall recognise all thy righteous judgements,
O God.
11 (13) They set the sons of Jerusalem to be mocked because of the
harlots in her:
Every passer by entered in in the full light of day.
12 (14) They used to make mock with their lawless deeds, as they
themselves used to do:
In the full light of day they paraded their iniquities.
13 And the daughters of Jerusalem were profane according to
thy judgement,
(15) Because they had defiled themselves in unnatural
intercourse.
14 I am pained in my bowels and my inward parts at these
things.
15 (16) I will justify thee, O God, in uprightness of heart,
For in thy judgements *lies* thy righteousness, O God.
16 (17) For thou hast rendered to the sinners according to their
deeds,
And according to their sins, *which were* very wicked.
17 (18) Thou hast uncovered their sins, that thy judgement might be
manifest:
(19) Thou hast blotted out the memory of them from the earth.
18 God is a righteous judge, and will respect no one.
19 (20) For the nations reviled Jerusalem, trampling it down:
Her beauty was dragged down from the throne of glory.
20 (21) She girded on sackcloth instead of fine raiment,
A rope about her head in place of a crown.
21 (22) She removed the diadem of glory which God had set upon
her:
(23) In dishonour was her beauty cast upon the ground.
22 (24) And I saw, and entreated the Lord and said,

- Long enough, Lord, hath thy hand been heavy on Jerusalem
with the onset of the nations.
- 23 (25) For they have mocked, and spared not, in wrath and
implacable anger;
(26) For they⁵ will be utterly destroyed, unless thou, Lord,
rebuke them in thy wrath.
24 (27) For it was not out of zeal that they acted, but in lust of soul,
(28) So as to pour out their wrath upon us in plunder.
25 (29) Delay not, O God, to bring recompense upon their heads,
To **change**⁶ the pride of the dragon into dishonour.
26 (30) And I did not wait long before God showed me his **body**,⁷
Stabbed, on the mountains of Egypt,
Esteemed of less account than the least on land and sea –
27 (31) His body, carried about on the waves in great ignominy,
With none to bury *him*, because he⁸ had rejected him in
dishonour.
28 He did not consider that he was man,
(32) Nor did he consider the end.
29 (33) He said, I will be lord of land and sea;
And he did not recognise that God is great,
Mighty in his great strength.
30 (34) He is king in the heavens,
And judges kings and dominions.
31 (35) It is he who raises me up to glory,
And lays low the proud in eternal destruction, in
dishonour,
Because they knew him not.
32 (36) And now behold, princes of the earth, the judgement of the
Lord,
For he is a great king, and righteous, judging *the earth* that
is under heaven.

⁵ i.e. the people of Jerusalem. The passive in the Gk. may, however, rest on a mistranslation.

⁶ Gk. 'say', due to a misinterpretation of an underlying Heb. *lmr* (for *lhm*), taken as *l'mr*.

⁷ Gk. 'his insolence', due to a misinterpretation of an underlying Heb. *gwtw* (for *guytw*), taken as *g'wtw*. The allusion is in all probability to the details of the assassination of Pompey in the neighbourhood of Mount Cassius, near Pelusium in Egypt, in 48 BC.

⁸ i.e. God.

- 33 (37) Bless God, you who fear the Lord with understanding,
For the mercy of the Lord is on those who fear him, in
judgement;
- 34 (38) So as to distinguish between righteous and sinner,
To recompense sinners for ever according to their deeds;
- 35 (39) And to have mercy on the righteous, *delivering him* from the
affliction of the sinner,
And to recompense the sinner for what he has done to the
righteous.
- 36 (40) For the Lord is good to those who call on him in patience,
Acting according to his mercy towards his holy ones,
Setting *them* continuously before him in strength.
- 37 (41) Blessed *be* the Lord for ever before his servants.

III

A Psalm. Of Solomon. Concerning the Righteous.

- 1 Why do you sleep, *my* soul, and *why do you* not bless the Lord?
- 1 (2) Sing a new song to God who is worthy of praise.
- 2 Sing and be wakeful in vigilance for him,
For pleasing to God is a psalm from a glad heart.
- 3 (3) The righteous remember the Lord continually,
With thanksgiving and justification, the Lord's
judgements.
- 4 (4) The righteous *man* will not be heedless when chastened by
the Lord,
His good pleasure is always before the Lord.
- 5 (5) The righteous *man* stumbled, and *yet* held the Lord righteous;
He fell, and watches what God will do for him,
- (6) He gazes eagerly *towards the source* whence his deliverance
will come.
- 6 (7) The steadfastness of the righteous is from God their saviour.
In the righteous *man's* house sin has no permanent
lodging¹:

¹ Lit. 'In the righteous *man's* house there does not lodge sin upon sin': cp. verse
10(12).

- 7 (8) The righteous *man* continually searches his house,
So as to remove unrighteousness arising from unwitting
sin.
- 8 (9) He made atonement for *sins of* ignorance by fasting and
affliction of his soul;
- (10) And the Lord purifies every man that is holy together with
his house.
- 9 (11) The sinner stumbled, and he curses his life,
The day of his birth, and *his* mother's travail.
- 10 (12) He has added sins to sins in his lifetime.
- (13) He fell – how² grievous his fall! And he shall not rise up.
- 11 The destruction of the sinner is for ever,
- (14) And *God's* will not remember him when he visits the
righteous.
- 12 (15) This is the portion of sinners for ever;
- (16) But they that fear the Lord shall rise to life eternal,
And their life *shall be* in the light of the Lord, and shall
come to an end no more.

IV

Conversation of Solomon with the men-pleasers.

- 1 Why do you sit, godless man, in the council of the holy,
When¹ your heart is far removed from the Lord,
Provoking with-transgressions the God of Israel?
- 2 Extravagant in speech, extravagant in appearance above all
men,
Is the man severe in speech when he condemns sinners in
judgement.
- 3 And his hand is first upon him as *if* in zeal,
While¹ he is himself guilty of manifold sins and of
intemperance.

² Gk. 'because': the underlying Heb. *ky*, however, was probably exclamatory.

³ Gk. 'he'.

¹ Gk. 'and'.

- 4 His eyes are upon every woman without discrimination;
His tongue is lying when he makes a contract with an oath.
- 5 At night and in secret he sins as if he were not seen:
With his eyes he speaks to every woman in evil agreement:
- 5 (6) He is quick to enter every house cheerfully as though
without guile.
- 6 (7) May God destroy those who live in hypocrisy in the company
of the holy:
With corruption of his flesh and with penury *may God*
destroy his life.
- 7 (8) May God reveal the works of the men-pleasers:
With mockery and derision *may God reveal* his works.
- 8 (9) And may the holy vindicate the judgement of their God,
When sinners are destroyed from the presence of the
righteous –
- (10) The man-pleaser who proclaims the law² with deceit.
- 9 (11) And their eyes are upon the house of the man *who is* in
security,
That like a serpent they may destroy each other's³ wisdom
with transgressors' words.
- 10 (12) His words are deceptions for the accomplishment of an
unrighteous desire:
- (13) He did not cease until he had succeeded in scattering
families as if in bereavement:
- 11 He laid waste a house for the sake of a lawless desire.
- (14) He deceived with words, *saying*, There is no one who sees and
judges.
- 12 (15) At this he was filled with lawlessness,
And his eyes *turned* to another house,
To destroy *it* with high-flown words;
- 13 *Yet* his soul, like Sheol, is not sated with all these.
- 14 (16) May his portion, Lord, be dishonoured before thee;
May he go forth groaning, and return home cursed.
- 15 (17) May his life be *spent* in anguish and penury and want, O
Lord:

² Lit. 'who speaks law'.

³ each other's: so the Gk., but probably corrupt, though no satisfactory sugges-
tion has been put forward.

- 16 (18) May his sleep be *beset* with grief, and his waking with
anxiety.
May sleep be taken from his eyelids at night:
May he fail dishonourably in every work he undertakes.⁴
- 17 (19) May he enter his house empty-handed,
And may his house be void of everything wherewith to
satisfy his appetite.
- 18 (20) May his old age right up to his death⁵ *be spent* in loneliness
without children.
- 19 (21) May the flesh of the men-pleasers be torn apart by wild
beasts,
And may the bones of the lawless *lie* dishonoured in the
sight of the sun.
- 20 (22) May ravens pluck out the eyes of hypocrites,
(23) For they have laid waste many houses of men
dishonourably,
And have scattered *them* in *their* lust;
- 21 (24) And they were not mindful of God,
Nor did they fear God in all these things;
(25) And they provoked and aroused God's anger.
- 22 May he destroy them from the earth,
Because with deceit they have beguiled the souls of the
innocent.
- 23 (26) Blessed are those who fear the Lord in their innocence:
(27) The Lord will deliver them from deceitful men and
sinners,
And he will deliver us from every snare of the lawless.
- 24 (28) May God destroy those who insolently work every kind of
unrighteousness,
For a great judge, and mighty, is the Lord our God in
righteousness.
- 25 (28) May thy mercy, Lord, be upon all those who love thee.

⁴ Lit. 'work of his hands'.

⁵ Lit. 'to his being taken up' (cp. Luke ix. 51).

V

A Psalm. Of Solomon.

- 1 O Lord God, I will praise thy name with joy,
In the midst of those who have knowledge of thy righteous
judgements.
- 2 For thou art good and merciful, the refuge of the poor:
- 2 (3) When I cry unto thee, do not disregard me in silence.
- 3 (4) For no one will take spoil from a mighty man;
- (5) And who shall take of all that thou hast made, unless thou
thyself give it?
- 4 (6) For man and his portion *lie* before thee in the balance:
He cannot make increase beyond what is prescribed by
thee,¹ O God.
- 5 (7) When we are afflicted we will call upon thee for help,
And thou wilt not turn back our prayer,
Because thou art our God.
- 6 (8) Make not thy hand heavy upon us,
Lest, from distress,² we sin.
- 7 (9) And if thou dost not restore us, *yet* we will not keep away,
But unto thee will we come.
- 8 (10) For if I hunger, I will cry unto thee, O God;
And thou wilt give to me.
- 9 (11) Thou dost feed the birds and the fish,
When thou givest rain to the steppes that green grass may
spring up,
- 10 So as to provide³ fodder on the steppe for every living
thing;
- (12) And if they hunger, they lift their face to thee.
- 11 (13) Kings and rulers and peoples dost thou nourish, O God,
And who is the hope of the poor and the needy, unless it be
thou, Lord?
- 12 (14) And thou wilt listen (for who is good and kind but thou?),

¹ Lit. 'beyond thy judgement'.² Or 'under restraint'.³ So the MSS. Von Gebhardt conjectured 'Thou hast provided'.

Making glad the soul of the humble by opening thy hand
in mercy?

- 13 (15) Man's goodness is grudging and . . . ;⁴
And if he repeat *it* without murmuring, that too is marvel-
lous.
- 14 (16) But thy gift is great in goodness and generous;
And he whose hope is in thee will not be sparing in giving.
- 15 (17) Thy mercy, Lord, is upon the whole earth, in goodness.
- 16 (18) Happy is the man whom God remembers and supplies with
what he needs in moderation.⁵
- (19) If man has an excess, *then* he sins.
- 17 (20) Sufficient are moderate means with righteousness,
And in this the blessing of the Lord becomes abundance
with righteousness.
- 18 (21) **May** those that fear the Lord rejoice⁶ in prosperity,
And *let* thy goodness *be* upon Israel in thy kingdom.
- 19 Blessed *is* the glory of the Lord, for he *is* our king.

VI

In Hope. Of Solomon.

- 1 Happy the man whose heart is set to call upon the name of
the Lord;
- 2 When he makes mention of the name of the Lord, he will
be saved.
- 2 (3) His ways are guided by the Lord,
And the works of his hands are protected by the Lord his
God.
- 3 (4) His soul will not be disturbed with the sight of evil dreams:
(5) When he crosses rivers, and when the seas toss, he will not
be dismayed.
- 4 (6) He arose from his sleep and blessed the name of the Lord:

⁴ Gk. 'and the morrow' (similarly Syr., expanded), which cannot be right.
Possibly the underlying Heb. was *bmhr* ('at a price').⁵ Lit. 'remembers in due proportion of sufficiency'.⁶ May . . . rejoice: MSS 'rejoiced'.

- (7) In peacefulness of heart he sang to the name of his God;
 5 And he entreated the Lord for all his household.
 (8) And the Lord hears¹ the prayer of everyone *who is* in fear of
 God:
 The Lord grants every request of the soul that hopes upon
 him.
 (9) Blessed *is* the Lord who acts mercifully to those who love him
 in truth.

VII

Of Solomon. Of turning.¹

- 1 Remove not thy habitation from us, O God,
 Lest those that hate us without cause assail us.
 2 For thou hast rejected them, O God:
 Let not their foot trample upon thy holy inheritance.
 3 Do thou chasten us in thy good pleasure;
 Yet give *us* not over to the nations.
 4 For if thou sendest death,
 Thou thyself givest it charge concerning us;
 5 For thou art merciful,
 And wilt not be angry and destroy us utterly.
 6 (5) While thy name dwells in our midst, we shall find mercy,
 (6) And no nation will prevail against us;
 7 For thou art our protector,
 (7) And we shall call upon thee, and thou wilt hear us;
 8 (8) For thou wilt pity the race of Israel for ever,
 And wilt not reject *us*;
 9 And we *shall be* under thy yoke for ever,
 And under the lash of thy chastening.
 10 (9) Thou wilt guide us in the time that thou helpst us,
 Showing mercy to the house of Jacob on the day thou didst
 promise them.

¹ Lit. 'heard'.

¹ The Gk. could mean 'conversion' or 'restoration'. Neither, however, is very suitable in the light of the contents of the psalm itself.

VIII

Of Solomon. For victory.

- 1 Distress and the sound of war has my ear heard,
 The noise of the trumpet sounding out slaughter and
 destruction,
 2 The sound of much people as of a great and howling wind,¹
 As a hurricane with mighty fire sweeping through the
 wilderness.
 3 And I said in my heart, Where, then, will God's judgement
 be?²
 4 I heard the sound at Jerusalem, the holy city:
 4 (5) My loins werē broken at hearing *it*,
 5 (6) My knees tottered, my heart was afraid,
 My bones were shaken like flax.
 6 (7) I said, They establish their ways in righteousness.
 7 I considered the judgements of God since the creation of
 heaven and earth:
 I held God righteous in his judgements which have been
 from of old.
 8 (8) God laid open their sins to the sun,
 All the earth came to know the righteous judgements of
 God.
 9 (9) In hidden places beneath the earth *were* their iniquities
performed in provocation:
 (10) They committed incest, son with mother, and father with
 daughter;
 10 (11) They committed adultery, every man with his neighbour's
 wife.
 They made agreements under oath with one another
 concerning these things.

¹ Lit. 'of an exceedingly great wind'.

² Lit. 'Where, then, will God judge him?' – i.e. Israel. It is possible, however, that through a simple misunderstanding on the part of the Gk. translator, two pronouns have been confused – hence the suggested emendation, 'Where, then, will God judge us?'

- 11 (12) They plundered the sanctuary³ of God,
As though there was no heir to redeem.⁴
- 12 (13) They trampled the altar of the Lord, *coming straight* from all
kinds of uncleanness,
And with menstrual blood they defiled the sacrifices as
though they were common flesh.
- 13 (14) They left no sin undone, wherein they did not surpass the
heathen.
- 14 (15) Therefore God mixed for them a spirit to mislead *them,*
And gave them to drink a cup of undiluted wine to *make*
them drunk.
- 15 (16) He brought *the man* that is from the end of the earth, *the man*
whose lash is ruthless:⁵
- (17) He determined upon war against Jerusalem and her land.
- 16 (18) The rulers of the land went to meet him with joy,
They said to him, Welcome is your journey! Come, enter
in with peace.
- 17 (19) They levelled out the rough ways before his entering in,
They opened the gates to Jerusalem, they crowned its
walls.
- 18 (20) He entered, as a father *enters* his sons' house, in peace:
He set down his feet with great assurance.
- 19 (21) He took possession of her fortified towers, and of the wall of
Jerusalem;
- (22) For God led him on in assurance, while they went astray.
- 20 (23) He put to death their rulers, and every man wise in counsel:
He poured out the blood of the inhabitants of Jerusalem
like unclean water:
- 21 (24) He led away their sons and daughters, whom they had
begotten in defilement.
- 22 (25) They did according to their uncleanness, as their fathers *had*
done:
- (26) They defiled Jerusalem and the things consecrated to the
name of God.

³ Lit. 'the holy things'.

⁴ i.e. to recover what had been taken away.

⁵ Lit. 'him who smites mightily'.

- 23 (27) God is shown righteous in his judgements among the nations
of the earth;
- (28) And the holy ones of God are like lambs innocent in their
midst.
- 24 (29) Worthy to be praised is the Lord who judges the whole earth
in his righteousness.
- 25 (30) Behold now, O God, thou hast shown us thy judgment in thy
righteousness:
- (31) Our eyes have seen thy judgements, O God.
- 26 We have justified thy name that is honoured for ever;
- (32) For thou art the God of righteousness, who judges Israel
with discipline.
- 27 (33) Turn, O God, thy mercy upon us,
And have pity on us:
- 28 (34) Gather together the dispersion of Israel with mercy and
goodness,
- (35) For thy faithfulness *is* with us.
- 29 And we stiffened our neck;
And thou art our chastener.
- 30 (36) Disregard us not, O our God,
Lest the nations swallow us up, as though there were none
to deliver.
- 31 (37) But thou art our God from the beginning;
And upon thee is our hope, O Lord.
- 32 (38) And we shall not be distant from thee,
For thy judgements upon us *are* good.
- 33 (39) Upon us and our children *is thy* good will for ever:
O Lord our Saviour, we shall never more be moved.
- 34 (40) Worthy of praise for his judgements *is* the Lord by the mouth
of his holy ones;
And Israel *is* blessed by the Lord for ever.

IX

Of Solomon. For rebuke.

- 1 When Israel was led away in captivity to a foreign land,
When they fell away from the Lord who redeemed them,

- 1 (2) They were cast out from the inheritance which the Lord had given them.
- 2 The dispersion of Israel *was* among every nation, according to the word of God,
- (3) That thou mightest be justified, O God, in thy righteousness by reason of our transgressions;
- (4) For thou art a just judge over all the peoples of the earth.
- 3 (5) For no one who does evil shall be hidden from thy knowledge,
- (6) And the righteous deeds of thy holy ones *are* before thee, O Lord;
And where shall man hide himself from thy knowledge, O God?
- 4 (7) Our actions¹ *are* subject to our own choice and freedom of will,
To do right or wrong in the works of our hands;
- (8) And in thy righteousness dost thou visit the sons of men.
- 5 (9) And he who does right lays up life for himself with the Lord,
And he who does wrong is responsible for his own destruction;
- (10) For the judgements of the Lord *are given* in righteousness for each man and *his* house.
- 6 (11) Unto whom wilt thou show kindness, O God, if it be not to them that call upon the Lord?
- (12) He will purify a soul in sin when confession *and* acknowledgement *is made*;
- (13) For shame is upon us and upon our faces on account of all these things.
- 7 (14) And to whom will he forgive sins, if it be not to those who have sinned?
- (15) Thou shalt bless the righteous and not call *them* to account² for the sins they have committed;
And thy goodness is upon sinners when they repent.
- 8 (16) And now, thou art *our* God, and we are the people whom thou hast loved:

¹ Lit. 'works'.

² The sense of the verb is uncertain – possibly 'and wilt thou not guide *them* (in cases where they have sinned)?'

- Look and show pity, O God of Israel, for we are thine;
And remove not thy mercy from us, lest they assail us.
- 9 (17) For thou didst choose the seed of Abraham above all the nations,
And didst set thy name upon us, O Lord;
- (18) And thou wilt never cast us off.³
- 10 Thou didst make a covenant with our fathers concerning us;
- (19) And we shall hope in thee, as our souls turn *to thee*.
The mercy of the Lord *be* upon the house of Israel for ever and ever.

X

A Hymn. Of Solomon.

- 1 Happy is the man whom the Lord remembers by *giving* a reproof,
And who is fenced off¹ from the evil road by a whip,
That he may be cleansed of sin, so as not to multiply *it*.
- 2 He who prepares his back for lashes shall be purified;
For the Lord *is* good to those who endure *his* discipline.
- 2 (3) For he will make straight the ways of the righteous, and not turn *them* aside by discipline;
- 3 (4) And the mercy of the Lord *is* upon those who love him in truth.
- 4 And the Lord will remember his servants in mercy;
- (5) *For* the testimony *is* in the law of the everlasting covenant,
The testimony of the Lord for the ways of men at *his* visitation.
- 5 (6) Just and holy is our Lord in his judgements for ever,
And Israel shall praise the name of the Lord with gladness.
- 6 (7) And the holy ones shall give thanks in the assembly of the people;

³ Lit. 'And thou wilt not rest (or 'cease') for ever': von Gebhardt, by conjecture, 'and thou wilt not reject *us* for ever'.

¹ Lit. 'encircled': Syr. (by emending the Gk.) 'restrained'.

- And upon the poor shall God have mercy, to the joy of Israel.
- 7 (8) For God is eternally good and merciful,
And the congregations of Israel shall glorify the name of the Lord.
- 8 The salvation of the Lord *be* upon the house of Israel for everlasting joy.

XI

Of Solomon. For expectation.

- 1 Sound in Sion the trumpet to summon the saints,
1 (2) Proclaim in Jerusalem the voice of him who brings good tidings
That the God of Israel has shown mercy in his visitation of them.
- 2 (3) Stand upon the height, O Jerusalem, and behold your children,
From the east and the west, gathered together by the Lord.
- 3 (4) From the north they come in the joy of their God:
From the islands far away has God gathered them.
- 4 (5) High mountains has he made low to *make* a plain for them:
(6) The hills fled at their approach.
- 5 The woods gave them shade as they passed by:
(7) God caused to spring up for them every *kind* of sweet-scented tree;
- 6 That Israel might pass by at the visitation of the glory of their God.
- 7 (8) Put on, O Jerusalem, the garments of your glory:
Make ready the robe of your consecration;
For God has spoken good *concerning* Israel, for ever and ever.
- 8 (9) May the Lord perform what he has spoken concerning Israel and Jerusalem:
May the Lord raise up Israel by his glorious name.
- 9 The mercy of the Lord *be* upon Israel for ever and ever.

XII

Of Solomon. Against the tongue of lawless men.

- 1 O Lord, deliver my soul from the lawless and wicked man,
From the tongue that is lawless and slanderous,
And which utters lies and deceit.
- 2 Infinitely agile are the words of the tongue of the wicked man,
Like fire burning up stubble on a threshing-floor.¹
- 3 *The purpose* of his sojourn is to fill households with a lying tongue,
To cut down the trees of the joy that sets the lawless on fire,²
- 3 (4) To confound households³ in warfare by means of slanderous lips.
- 4 May God remove far from the innocent the lips of the lawless *by bringing them to want*;
And may the bones of slanderers be scattered *far* from those who fear the Lord:
- (5) May the slanderous tongue perish in flaming fire *far* from the holy.
- 5 (6) May the Lord preserve the quiet soul that hates the unjust;
And may the Lord guide the man who makes peace in the home.
- 6 (7) The salvation of the Lord *be* upon Israel his servant for ever;
And may sinners perish altogether at the presence of the Lord;
And may the holy ones of the Lord inherit the promises of the Lord.

¹ So one MS (H), though this may be a secondary conjecture to make sense of the difficult reading of the other MSS and Syr. ('like fire among the people burning up its beauty').

² Both text and interpretation of this verse are very uncertain. 'The trees of joy' are probably the righteous: 'on fire' - *sc.* with envy?

³ Text, 'lawless households'; but the adjective is probably by dittography from the preceding line.

XIII

Of Solomon. A Psalm. Comfort for the righteous.

- 1 The right hand of the Lord sheltered me,
The right hand of the Lord spared us:
- 2 The arm of the Lord saved us from the sword that passes
through,¹
From famine and the death of sinners.
- 3 Evil beasts rushed upon them:
With their teeth they tore their flesh,
With their fangs they crushed their bones.
- 4 (3) But from all these the Lord delivered us.
- 5 (4) The godly² man was troubled on account of his errors,
Lest he should be taken away along with the sinners;
- 6 (5) For the overthrow of the sinner is terrible,
But not one of these things shall touch the righteous.
- 7 (6) For the chastening of the righteous *for sins done* in ignorance
And the overthrow of the sinners are not alike:
- 8 (7) The righteous is chastened with circumspection,
So that the sinner may not rejoice over the righteous;
- 9 (8) For he will admonish the righteous as a beloved son,
And his chastisement is that of a firstborn;
- 10 (9) For the Lord will spare his holy ones,
And will wipe out their errors by *means of* discipline.
- 11 For the life of the just *is* for ever,
(10) But sinners shall be taken away into destruction,
And their memorial shall be found no more.
- 12 (11) But upon the holy is the mercy of the Lord,
And upon those who fear him his mercy.

¹ *Sc.* the land (cp. Ezek. xiv. 17).

² So Wellhausen, by an easy emendation: MSS 'ungodly'.

XIV

A Hymn. Of Solomon.

- 1 Faithful is the Lord to those who love him in truth,
To those who endure his discipline,
- 2 (1) To those who walk in the righteousness of his ordinances,
In the law which he commanded us that we might live.
- 3 (2) The Lord's holy ones shall live by it for ever:
The garden of the Lord, the trees of life, are his holy ones.
- 4 (3) Their planting is rooted for ever:
They shall not be pulled up all the days of heaven;
- 5 For the portion and the inheritance of God is Israel.
- 6 (4) But not so are the sinners and lawless ones,
Who preferred a day in the companionship of their sin:
- 7 Their desire was for the briefness of corruption,
(5) And they remembered not God.
- 8 For the ways of men are known before him at all times,
And he knows the secrets¹ of the heart before they come to
pass.
- 9 (6) Therefore their inheritance *is* Sheol and darkness and
destruction,
And they shall not be found in the day when the righteous
obtain mercy.
- 10 (7) But the Lord's holy ones shall inherit life with joy.

XV

A Psalm. Of Solomon. With a Song.

- 1 When I was in distress I called upon the name of the Lord,
I hoped for the help of the God of Jacob, and was saved;
- 1 (2) For thou art the hope and the refuge of the poor, O God.

¹ Lit. 'store-houses'.

- 2 (3) For who, O God, is strong, except to give thanks to thee in truth?
 (4) And how can a man show his power,¹ except in giving thanks to thy name?
- 3 (5) A new psalm with song in gladness of heart,
 The fruit of the lips together with the tongue in harmony,²
 The first-fruits of the lips from a holy and righteous heart—
- 4 (6) He who performs these things shall never be shaken by evil:
 The flame of fire and the wrath against the unrighteous shall not touch him,
- 5 (7) When it goes forth from before the Lord against sinners,
 To destroy all the substance of sinners;
- 6 (8) For the mark of God is upon the righteous for salvation.
 7 Famine and sword and death *shall be* far from the righteous,
 (9) For they shall flee from the holy as men pursued in war;³
 8 But they shall pursue sinners and overtake *them*,
 And those who act lawlessly shall not escape the judgement of the Lord:
- 9 As by enemies skilled *in war* shall they be overtaken,
 (10) For the mark of destruction is upon their forehead.
- 10 (11) And the inheritance of sinners *is* destruction and darkness,
 And their iniquities shall pursue them to Sheol below:
- 11 (12) Their inheritance shall not be found by their children,
 (13) For sins shall devastate the houses of sinners;
- 12 And sinners shall perish for ever on the day of the Lord's judgement,
 (14) When God visits the earth with his judgement.
- 13 (15) But those who fear the Lord shall find mercy on it,
 And shall live by the compassion of their God;
 But sinners shall perish eternally.

¹ Lit. 'And wherein is a man mighty'.

² Lit. 'The fruit of the lips with a well-tuned instrument of the tongue'.

³ The MSS read 'famine'.

XVI

A Hym. Of Solomon. For Help to the Holy.

- 1 When my soul slumbered, away from the Lord, I almost slipped
 In the lethargy of the sleep of those¹ far from God—
- 2 My soul was almost poured out to death,
 Close to the gates of Sheol, alongside the sinner,
- 3 With my soul separated from the Lord God of Israel—
 Had not the Lord succoured me in his everlasting mercy.
- 4 He goaded me, as a horse is spurred, to awaken me to him,
 My saviour and helper at all times saved me.
- 5 I will give thanks to thee, O God, for thou didst help me, to
 save *me*,
 And thou didst not reckon me among sinners for
 destruction.
- 6 Remove not thy mercy from me, O God,
 Nor mindfulness of thee from my heart until death.
- 7 Hold me back² from wicked sin, O God,
 And from every wicked³ woman who causes the foolish to
 stumble;
- 8 And let not the beauty of a woman who acts lawlessly beguile
 me,
 Nor that of any useless thing which takes its origin in sin.
- 9 Direct the works of my hands before thee,⁴
 And preserve my footsteps in the mindfulness of thee.
- 10 Keep my tongue and my lips in words of truth:
 Anger and unreasoning wrath remove far from me.
- 11 Complaint and faint-heartedness in affliction keep far from
 me,
 When, if I sin, thou chastenest me to turn *me* back.

¹ Reading τῶν for τῶ.

² Lit. 'prevail over me'.

³ Possibly read πορνείας ('of unchastity') for πονηρός ('wicked').

⁴ MSS 'in thy place'.

- 12 But confirm my soul with good will and cheerfulness:
When thou strengthenest my soul, what is given *me* will suffice me.
- 13 For if thou strengthenest not,
Who will endure chastisement in penury?
- 14 When a man is rebuked because of his corruption,
Thy testing of *him* is in his flesh and in the affliction of penury.
- 15 If the righteous endures in all these, he shall receive mercy from the Lord.

XVII

A Psalm. Of Solomon. With Song. Of the King.

- 1 O Lord, thou art our king for ever and ever,
For in thee, O God, shall our soul glory.
- 2 What is the duration of man's life upon earth?
As are his days, so is his hope set upon them.
- 3 But we will hope in God our saviour;
For the might of our God *is* for ever with mercy,
- 3 (4) And the kingdom of our God *is* for ever over the nations in judgement.
- 4 (5) Thou, Lord, didst choose David as king over Israel,
And thou didst swear to him concerning his posterity for ever,
That his kingdom would not fail before thee.
- 5 (6) But, for our sins, there rose up against us sinners:
They assailed us and thrust us out (*they* to whom thou didst give no promise),
- (7) They took possession with violence, and did not praise thy honourable name.
- 6 They set up in splendour a kingdom in their pride,¹
- (8) They laid waste the throne of David in the arrogance of *their* fortune.²

¹ The sense of the Gk. is uncertain: possibly 'as a result of their elevation'.

² Lit. 'change' (i.e. of fate).

- 7 And thou, O God, wilt overthrow them and wilt remove their offspring from the earth,
- (9) When there rises up against them a man that is foreign to our race.
- 8 (10) According to their sins wilt thou recompense them, O God,
That it may befall them according to their works.
- 9 (11) God will show them no pity.
He sought out their offspring, and let not one of them go.
- 10 (12) Faithful is the Lord in all his judgements which he performs on earth.
- 11 (13) The lawless one laid waste our land so that none inhabited it:
They destroyed young and old and their children together.
- 12 (14) In the wrath of his **anger**³ he sent them off to the west,
And the rulers of the land *he exposed* to derision without mercy.
- 13 (15) In *his* foreign ways the enemy acted arrogantly,
And his heart was alien from our God.
- 14 (16) And everything he did in Jerusalem
Was in accordance with what the heathen *do* in their **strong** cities.⁴
- 15 (17) And the children of the covenant ruled over them among peoples of mixed origin:
There was not among them one who dealt honestly and faithfully in the midst of Jerusalem.
- 16 (18) Those who loved the assemblies of the holy fled from them,
As sparrows scattered from their nest.
- 17 (19) They roamed about in deserted places that their souls might be preserved from harm;
And precious in the eyes of those who lived abroad was any that escaped alive from them.
- 18 (20) Over the whole earth were they scattered by lawless men.
- (21) For the heavens withheld the rain from dropping upon the earth:

³ Gk. 'beauty', which can hardly be right. Perhaps an original Heb. 'yww ('his anger') was misread as yyyw ('his beauty'), or alternatively the Gk. κάλλους ('beauty') may be a corruption of καπνοῦ ('smoke' - i.e. 'in his smoking anger', cp. Isa. lxv. 5).

⁴ MSS 'in their cities to their gods'.

- 19 *The* perennial springs from the deeps were stopped up, *and the streams from the high mountains stayed;*
For there was none among them who dealt righteously and justly.
- 20 From their ruler to the lowest of the people, *they were* utterly sinful:
- (22) The king was a transgressor, and the judge disobedient, and the people sinful.
- 21 (23) Behold, O Lord, and raise up for them their king, the son of David,
For the time which thou didst *foresee*, O God, that he may reign over Isrel thy servant.
- 22 (24) And gird him with strength, that he may shatter unrighteous rulers;
- (25) *And* purify Jerusalem of the nations which trample *her* down in destruction.
- 23 (26) In wisdom, in righteousness, may he expel⁵ sinners from *the* inheritance:
May he smash⁵ the sinner's arrogance like a potter's vessel.
- 24 With a rod of iron may he break⁵ in pieces all their substance:
- (27) May he destroy⁵ the lawless nations by the word of his mouth,
- 25 So that, at his rebuke, nations flee before him;
And may he reprove⁵ sinners by the word of their *own* hearts.
- 26 (28) And he shall gather together a holy people, whom he shall lead in righteousness,
And he shall judge the tribes of the people which has been sanctified by the Lord his God.
- 27 (29) And he shall not permit unrighteousness to lodge any more in their midst,
Nor shall there dwell with them any man with knowledge of wickedness;
- (30) For he shall know them, that they are all sons of their God.

⁵ These verbs could be taken as infinitives rather than optatives (i.e. following on 'gird him . . . that . . .').

- 28 And he shall divide them up by their tribes over the land:
- (31) Neither settler nor alien shall live among them any more.
- 29 He shall judge peoples and nations in the wisdom of his righteousness. Selah.
- 30 (32) And he shall have the peoples of the Gentiles to serve him under his yoke;
And he shall glorify the Lord at the centre⁶ of all the earth,
- (33) And he shall purify Jerusalem, making it holy as of old;
- 31 (34) So that nations shall come from the ends of the earth to see his glory,
Bringing as gifts her sons who had fainted,
- (35) And to see the glory of the Lord, with which God glorified her.
- 32 And he *shall be* a righteous king, taught by God, over them,
- (36) And there shall be no unrighteousness in his days in their midst,
For all shall be holy, and their king the anointed Lord.
- 33 (37) And he shall not put his trust in horse and rider and bow,
Nor shall he increase his store of gold and silver for war,
Nor shall he concentrate *his* hopes on numbers for the day of battle.
- 34 (38) The Lord himself *is* his king, the hope of him who is strong in the hope of God;
And he shall have mercy on all the nations *that stand* before him in fear.
- 35 (39) For he will smite the earth with the word of his mouth for ever:
- (40) He will bless the people of the Lord with wisdom and joy;
- 36 (41) And he himself *is* pure from sin, so that he may rule a great people,
That he may rebuke rulers, and remove sinners by the might of *his* word.
- 37 (42) And during his days he shall not be weakened, *relying* on his God;

⁶ Lit. 'mark' (i.e. navel). Others take the phrase as 'conspicuously before'; but it is doubtful whether the Gk. can bear this meaning.

- For God created him strong in the holy spirit,
And wise in prudent counsel, together with strength and
righteousness;
- 38 (43) And the blessing of the Lord *is* with him providing⁷ strength,
And he shall not be weakened.
- 39 (44) His hope *is* upon the Lord:
Who then can prevail against him –
- 40 Strong in his works, and mighty in the fear of God,
(45) Shepherding the flock of the Lord faithfully and righteously?
And he will not let any among them languish in their
pasturing.
- 41 (46) And he shall lead them in equity;
And there shall be no arrogance among them that any of
them should be oppressed.
- 42 (47) This *is* the majesty of the king of Israel, of which God has
knowledge,
So as to raise him up over the house of Israel, to educate
them.
- 43 (48) His words *are* refined more than the very choicest gold:
In the assemblies he will administer justice to the tribes of
a people that has been sanctified:
- (49) His words *are* as the words of holy *men* amidst sanctified
peoples.
- 44 (50) Blessed *are* they who shall be in those days,
Seeing the good things of Israel which God shall accomplish
in the gathering of the tribes.
- 45 (51) May God hasten his mercy upon Israel,
May he deliver us⁸ from the uncleanness of profane
enemies.
- 46 The Lord *is* our king for ever and ever.

⁷ Gk. 'in'.⁸ Gk. 'he will deliver us'.

XVIII

*A Psalm. Of Solomon. Again of the Anointed of the Lord.*¹

- 1 Lord, thy mercy is over the works of thy hands for ever:
Thy goodness is over Israel with a rich gift.
- 2 Thine eyes look upon them, and not one of them is² in want:
- 2 (3) Thine ears listen² to the hopeful prayer of the poor.
- 3 Thy judgements *extend* over the whole earth in mercy,
(4) And thy love *is* upon Abraham's children, the sons of
Israel.
- 4 Thy discipline *is* upon us as on a first-born, an only son,
(5) So as to turn the obedient soul away from ignorant
stupidity.
- 5 (6) May God purify Israel for the day of mercy and blessing,
For the day of election, at the **manifestation**³ of his anointed
one.
- 6 (7) Blessed *are* they who shall be in those days,
Seeing the good things of the Lord which he will perform
for the generation that is to come,
- 7 (8) Under the rod of discipline of the Lord's anointed in the fear
of his God,
In wisdom of spirit, and of justice and of might,
- 8 (9) So as to direct *every* man in works of righteousness in the fear
of God,
So as to establish them all before the Lord,
- 9 (10) A generation excellent in the fear of God in the days of *his*
mercy. Selah.
- 10 (11) Great is our God and glorious, dwelling in the highest,
(12) He who established the luminaries in *their* course for the
determining of seasons from year to year,
And they have not turned aside from the path which he
appointed them.

¹ Or 'anointed Lord' (cp. xvii. 32).² Gk. 'shall be . . . will listen'.³ Following Manson's conjecture of ἀναδειξεί for ἀνάξει in the MSS – a word otherwise unknown.

- 11 (13) Their path each day is in the fear of God,
From the day God created them unto eternity:
- 12 (14) They have not gone astray from the day he created them,
From the generations of old they have not turned aside
from their paths,
Except *when* God ordered them through the command of
his servants.

THE ODES OF SOLOMON: bas
mgo

INTRODUCTION

For the text of the Odes we are dependent on two Syriac MSS (both defective), supplemented by a Greek text of one of the Odes and also by a Coptic version of five of them preserved in the well-known Gnostic work *Pistis Sophia*.

The two Syriac MSS are: (1) Rylands Cod. Syr. 9 (16th cent.: = H) in the John Rylands Library at Manchester, which contains all the Odes except i, ii, and the beginning of iii; and (2) B.L. Addit. 14538 (9th or 10th cent.: = B), which has a much greater deficiency at the beginning, but is complete from the middle of xvii. 7 to the end. The text of the single ode which has survived in Greek (Ode xi) is one of a number of items in a 3rd century papyrus codex in the Bodmer collection at Geneva (Pap. Bod. XI).¹ The five odes preserved in Coptic in the *Pistis Sophia* are i, v, vi, xxii, and xxv. Ode ii is thus unattested by any authority, as is also the beginning of Ode iii.

Ode i is extant only in Coptic and our translation of it has been made by Dr. K. H. Kuhn from Schmidt's text of the *Pistis Sophia*. Otherwise the translation is from the Syriac. It follows mainly the text of H, although from xvii. 7 onwards B has been preferred occasionally: all differences between H and B, however, have been recorded in the footnotes, as well as the Coptic and Greek variants where they occur.

If we take the Odes as they stand, there can be no doubt at all that they are Christian. Christ is mentioned by name: there are references to events in the Gospels (e.g., to the Baptism in xxiv);

¹ The remaining items in the codex are a miscellaneous collection – two psalms from the Old Testament, Jude and the two Epistles of Peter from the New Testament, the apocryphal correspondence of St. Paul with the Corinthians, the Nativity of Mary (The Apocalypse of James), the *Apology* of Phileas, and Melito's *Homily on the Pasch*.

and the prevailing atmosphere is Christian throughout (e.g., the opening of xix could not have been written by anyone who was not a convinced Trinitarian). Nevertheless, several theories of redaction and interpolation have been put forward, the most influential being that of Harnack, who maintained that Odes iv and vi were Jewish in origin (on the basis of the references to the Temple, which Jesus had said was to be destroyed), that xix and xxvii were purely Christian, and that the rest were originally Jewish odes later interpolated by a Christian. But none of these theories has met with any general acceptance.

From a rather different point of view it has been argued that the Odes betray Gnostic influence. In particular, H. Schlier has suggested that they stem from a syncretistic Baptist sect, which in some respects had similar beliefs and practices to the Mandaeans. Yet there is no evidence in the Odes either of the characteristic Gnostic doctrine of emanations from a distant God, or of a radical dualism between matter and spirit: on the contrary, Ode xvi witnesses to a doctrine of Creation which would have been impossible for any thoroughgoing Gnostic. Ultimately, of course, the evaluation of such Gnostic affinities as there are in the Odes depends on the general theory held of the nature of Gnosticism and the date of its rise. But this much is certain, that, while the Odes may very well have been composed in an area where Gnostic (or proto-Gnostic) speculations were current, and their theology affected accordingly, they show no trace of any developed, or logically formulated, Gnostic system.

If, then, we are thinking in terms of a single author (and there is no sound reason for suggesting a plurality of authors) the most that the evidence will permit us to say is that he was a Christian. In all probability he was a Jewish Christian. And, if we are prepared to stress certain parallels between the Odes and the Qumran literature, and at the same time accept the view that the members of the Qumran community were Essenes, we can go on to suppose (with J. H. Charlesworth) that the author either had been himself an Essene before his conversion, or at least subjected to very strong Essene influences.

But whatever the truth, from very early days the Odes were ascribed to Solomon. No claim to Solomonic authorship is made in

the text and there is little to suggest it. It may be that the belief that Solomon was the author arose because of the association of the Odes with the Psalms. This association obtains not only in the Syriac tradition, but also in the Coptic and the Greek. In the two available Syriac MSS both Odes and Psalms are arranged as a single collection with the Odes first: the individual pieces are numbered consecutively i-lx (i.e. 42 Odes + 18 Psalms); and all of them seem to have been known as 'Psalms'. Where our Ode i is quoted in the Coptic *Pistis Sophia* it is described as 'the nineteenth Ode', which is clear enough evidence that in the tradition known to the author of *Pistis Sophia* the Psalms and the Odes were also combined (but in the reverse order to that found in the Syriac), and also that the whole collection was known to the Copts as 'Odes'. The two Greek lists of Biblical books, the pseudo-Athanasian Synopsis and the Stichometry of Nicephorus, both refer to the 'Psalms and Ode(s) of Solomon'. This last phrase is most naturally understood as a reference to two distinct collections, with two separate titles, although it can be interpreted as the title of a single collection – especially as the Stichometry very obviously treats the two together and assigns them in all 2100 *stichoi*. However, in either case, Psalms and Odes are very closely related.

But whether the Odes were composed in the first instance as an entirely independent work or were designed as a Christian supplement to the Psalms, there can be no doubt about the antiquity of the title 'Odes'. Not only is 'Odes' the title of the combined work in the tradition represented by the author of the *Pistis Sophia* (3rd century?): the Greek text of Ode xi, preserved in Bodmer Papyrus XI (also 3rd century), is prefaced by the heading 'Ode of Solomon'; and the Latin apologist Lactantius (c.240–c.320) quotes from Ode xix in such a way as to make it quite clear that he was familiar with a collection of 'Odes' which were numbered as ours are ('Solomon in ode undevicesima ita dicit: *Infirmatus est uterus Virginis . . .*').² The

² Lactantius, *Div. Inst.* IV. xii. 3 (One MS reads 'psalmo' in place of 'ode'). Whether Lactantius was quoting from an independent collection of Odes or from a combined collection of Odes and Psalms cannot, of course, be determined; but if the latter, the Odes will have preceded the Psalms, as in our two Syriac MSS. Nor can we know whether Lactantius was quoting from a Latin version or making his own translation (presumably from the Greek).

title 'Odes' would thus appear to be very ancient indeed, if not original; and it was in all probability inspired by the summary of Solomon's achievements in 1 Kings iv. 32 ('And he uttered three thousand proverbs: and his songs [Sept. 'odes'] numbered a thousand and five').

The quotation of the Odes by Lactantius as if they were Scripture, and also by the author of the *Pistis Sophia*, together with the evidence of the Bodmer papyrus, suggests that they were known and respected over a wide geographical area by the end of the third century at the latest. Comparison with other early writers, however, yields little of any real value. There are possible literary connections between the Odes on the one hand, and Cyril of Jerusalem, the Acts of Thomas, and Ephraem Syrus, on the other. Yet the evidence is far from conclusive. More compelling than any are a number of rather striking similarities between the Odes and Ignatius of Antioch: some of these may be accidental, but there are too many to be entirely so; and, although insufficient to prove literary dependence one way or the other, they leave no doubt that both the author of the Odes and Ignatius were products of the same environment. On the whole, therefore, a date for the Odes c. AD 100–200 is the most probable and Syria and its neighbourhood the most likely place of origin. But when, where, and in what circumstances they were first combined with the Psalms it is impossible to say.

There remains the question of the original language. The fact that the text of the Odes has come down to us in Syriac, Coptic, Greek, and Latin (albeit in a solitary quotation), suggests Greek as the common denominator; and there is no lack of scholars who have argued forcefully for a Greek original. Yet the mere existence of a Greek text, from which Syriac, Coptic, and Latin versions may have been derived, is no guarantee of its originality. From an entirely different angle attention has been drawn to certain Semitic features in the Odes – notably to the regular use of parallelism, and to the occurrence from time to time of indubitably Semitic constructions (e.g. 'He richly blessed me' at xxviii. 4); and arguments have been advanced accordingly in favour of Hebrew, Aramaic, or Syriac originals. Since the author was a Christian, however, he is unlikely to have written in either Hebrew or Aramaic at the date

suggested above, so that, if we are to suppose a Semitic original, Syriac is the most probable. On the other hand, it is claimed that the Semitic features can quite adequately be accounted for by supposing that the author was writing in Greek, but in a consciously 'Biblical' style, and taking as his model the poetical books of the Septuagint. The discovery of the Greek text of Ode xi and its publication in 1959 gave a fresh impetus to the discussion in that it was now at last possible to set the Greek side by side with the Syriac and compare them; even if over a very limited area. But the comparison has resulted in no firmer conclusions than formerly. M. Testuz, who edited the Greek text of Ode xi, declared himself definitely in favour of a Greek original, while freely admitting Semitic influences. However, J. A. Emerton, in 1967, at the end of a very full discussion of all the arguments brought forward to date, could sum up, 'The most probable conclusion to be drawn is that the Odes of Solomon were composed in Syriac'; and J. H. Charlesworth, to judge from the notes in his edition of 1973, would seem inclined to agree.³

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³ A technical point is perhaps worth noting in this connection. In the Odes, the third person preformative of the imperfect begins with *n-* (rather than *y-*). From the evidence of the Syriac inscriptions it seems that the change took place round about AD 200 (see E. Jenni, 'Die altsyrischen Inschriften, 1.–3. Jahrhundert n. Chr.' in *TZ* xxi (1965), pp. 371–385). We cannot, of course, be precise in such matters, and there may well have been a time lag between the change in popular speech in some places and its appearance in inscriptions. Nevertheless, this suggests that we can scarcely date the present Syriac text of the Odes much before AD 200 – though inevitably, in itself, it gives us no help in deciding whether that text is the author's original, or an edited version of the original, or a translation from Greek!

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I¹

- 1 The Lord is upon my head like a wreath,
And I shall not leave him.
- 2 The wreath of truth has been plaited for me,
And it has let thy branches bud within me;
- 3 For it is not like a withered wreath that does not bud:
4 But thou art alive upon my head,
And thou hast budded upon me.
- 5 Thy fruits are full and perfect:
They are full of thy salvation.

II

This ode is not extant.

III

- 1 . . . I clothe.
- 2 And his¹ limbs are with him,
And I hang on them, and he loves me;
- 3 For I should not have known how to love the Lord,
If he had not loved me.
- 4 Who can understand love,
But he who is loved?
- 5 I love the Beloved One, and my soul loves him;
And where his rest is, there too am I.
- 6 And I shall not be a stranger,
Because there is no grudging² with the Most High and merciful
Lord.

¹ Extant only in Coptic.

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² Or 'envy'.

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Because there is no grudging² with the Most High and merciful
Lord.

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¹ There is some confusion in the MS between the readings 'his' and 'my'.

² Or 'envy'.

- 7 I was united to *him*, because the lover has found the Beloved One,
Because I love that Son, I shall become a son;³
8 For he who is joined to him that does not die,
He too will become immortal,
9 And he who takes pleasure in life⁴
Will become a living one.
10 This is the guileless Spirit of the Lord,
That teaches men to know his ways.
11 Be wise, and understand, and be attentive.
Hallelujah.

IV

- 1 No man changes thy holy place, O my God,
And there is no one who will change it and set it in another place,
2 For none has authority over it;¹
For thou didst purpose thy sanctuary before thou madest places:
3 What² is older will not be changed by those that are younger than
it.³
Thou has given thy heart, O Lord, to thy faithful ones:
4 Thou wilt never be ineffectual,
Nor wilt thou be fruitless;
5 For one hour of thy faithfulness⁴
Is better than all days and years.
6 For who will put on thy grace and be rejected?
7 Because thy seal is (kn)own,
And thy creatures are known to it,
8 And (the) hosts (h)old it,
And the elect archangels are clothed in it.
9 Thou hast given us communion with thee:⁵

³ Text 'Because I shall love that Son, in order that I may become a son'.

⁴ Differently pointed, the consonants could mean 'the living one'.

¹ Or 'Because there is no authority over it'.

² Or 'He who'. ³ Or 'he'.

⁴ Or 'faith in thee'.

⁵ Or 'thy fellowship'.

- It was not that thou wast in need of us, but that we were in need of
thee.
10 Sprinkle upon us thy dews,
And open thy rich springs which flow with milk and honey for us.
11 For there is no regret with thee,
That thou shouldest feel regret for anything that thou hast
promised;
12 And the end was manifest to thee.
13 For what thou hast given thou hast given freely,
So that thou shouldest not take them back henceforth;⁶
For everything was manifest to thee, as God,
14 And was prepared from the beginning before thee;
And thou, O God, hast made all.
15 Hallelujah.

V

- 1 I thank thee, O Lord,
Because I love thee.
2 O Most High, do¹ not forsake me,
Because thou art my hope.
3 Freely I received thy grace:
I shall live by it.
4 My persecutors will come, but will not see me:
5 A cloud of gloom will fall (upon) their eyes,
And a mist of obscurity will bring darkness upon them;
6 And they will not have light to see,
That they may not seize me.
7 Their plan will become stupidity,²
And what they have plotted will come back upon their own heads;
8 For they have thought out a plan,
But it will not come to anything for them;

⁶ Text 'So that thou shouldest not henceforth pull and take them'.

¹ This verb may also be translated as an indicative. Conversely, verses 5-7 may express wishes rather than statements.

² Lit. 'swellings'.

9 They have wickedly made preparations,
 But they have been found to be in vain.
 10 For my hope is in the Lord,
 And I shall not be afraid;
 11 And because the Lord is my deliverance,
 I shall not be afraid.
 12 And he is on my head like a crown,
 And I shall not be shaken;
 13 And even if everything is shaken,
 I *shall* remain;
 14 And even if everything that is visible perishes,
 I shall not die:
 15 Because the Lord is with me, and I am with him.
 Hallelujah.

VI

1 As the (wind)¹ moves over the harp, and the strings speak,
 2 So does the Spirit of the Lord speak in my members, and I speak by
 his love.
 3 For he destroys anything foreign,
 And everything is of the Lord.
 4 For so it was from the beginning,
 And will be to the end;
 5 That nothing might withstand him,
 And nothing might rise up against him.
 6 The Lord has multiplied the knowledge of himself,²
 And has been zealous that the things should be known which, by
 his grace, have been given us.
 7 And he has given us his praise for his name:
 Our spirits praise his Holy Spirit.
 8 For a stream went out, and became a great and broad river,
 For it overwhelmed everything, and broke it up, and carried it to
 the temple;³

¹ The word supplied also means 'spirit'.

² Or 'his knowledge'.

³ Or 'and broke up and carried away the temple'.

9 And the restraints of men were not able to restrain it,
 Nor the skill of those who restrain water;
 10 For it came upon the face of the whole earth,
 And filled everything;
 11 And all the thirsty on earth drank,
 And *their* thirst was brought to an end and quenched;
 12 For the drink was given by the Most High.
 13 Blessed, therefore, are the ministers of that drink,
 Those who have been entrusted with his water:
 14 They have refreshed the dry lips,
 And have raised up the will that was paralysed;
 15 And souls that were near to expiring
 They have held back from death;
 16 And limbs that were fallen
 They have straightened and raised up:
 17 They have given strength to their coming,
 And light to their eyes;
 18 For everyone has known them in the Lord,
 And by means of the waters they lived eternal life.⁴
 Hallelujah.

VII

1 Like the course of anger over wickedness,
 So is the course of joy over the Beloved One;
 And he¹ brings in of its fruits without hindrance.
 2 My joy is the Lord, and my course is towards him:
 This my path is beautiful;
 3 For I have a helper to the Lord.
 He made himself known to me, without grudging,² in his
 generosity;
 For in his kindness he set aside his majesty.³

⁴ Or 'And they lived by means of the eternal living waters'.

¹ Or 'it' (i.e. the course).

² Or 'as one without envy'.

³ Lit. 'For his kindness made little his greatness'.

- 4 He became like me, in order that I might accept him:
In appearance he seemed like me, in order that I might put him on.
- 5 And I did not tremble when I saw him,
Because he had pity on me.
- 6 He became like my nature, in order that I might learn *to know* him,
And like my form, in order that I might not turn away from him.
- 7 The Father of knowledge
Is the Word of knowledge:
- 8 He who created Wisdom
Is wiser than his works;
- 9 And he who created me before I came into being
Knew⁴ what I should do when I came into being.
- 10 Therefore he had pity on me in his great pity,
And granted me to ask of him, and to receive of his sacrifice;
- 11 Because he is incorruptible,
The completion of the ages and their Father.
- 12 He granted him to appear to those who are his,
In order that they might recognize him who made them,
And that they might not think that they had come into being of
themselves.
- 13 For to knowledge he set his way:⁵
He made it broad and long, and brought it to all perfection;
- 14 And he set upon it the footprints of his light,
And it⁶ went from the beginning to the end;
- 15 For by him was he served,⁷
And he was well pleased with the Son.
- 16 And because of his deliverance he will take hold of everything;
And the Most High will be known in his saints,
- 17 To proclaim to those who have psalms of the coming of the Lord,
That they may go out to meet him, and may sing to him,
With joy and with the harp of many sounds.
- 18 The seers will go before him,
And be seen before him;
- 19 And they will praise the Lord in his love,

⁴ MS 'knows'.

⁵ Or 'For he appointed knowledge as his way'.

⁶ Some prefer to point the consonants so as to read 'I'.

⁷ Or 'was it made'.

- Because he is near and sees.
- 20 And hatred will be taken away from the earth,
And will be drowned together with jealousy;
- 21 For ignorance has been destroyed,
Because the knowledge of the Lord has come.
- 22 Those who sing will sing of the grace of the Lord Most High,⁸
And will offer their psalms;
- 23 And their heart will be like the day,
And the sound of their voices like the great beauty of the Lord.
And there will be nothing that lives
That is either ignorant or **dumb**;⁹
- 24 For he has given a mouth to his creation,
To open the voice of the mouth to him, and to praise him.
- 25 Praise his power, and proclaim his grace.
Hallelujah.

VIII

- 1 Open, open your hearts to the exultation of the Lord,
And let your love overflow¹ from the heart to the lips,
- 2 To bring forth fruits to the Lord, even a holy life,
And to speak with watchfulness in his light.
- 3 Arise and stand up,
You who once were brought low:
- 4 You who were in silence,
Speak, for your mouths have been opened:
- 5 You who were despised,
From henceforth be raised up, for your righteousness has been
raised up;
- 6 For the right hand of the Lord is with you,
And he is your helper,
- 7 And peace was prepared for you

⁸ Or 'Those who sing of the grace of the Lord Most High will sing'.

⁹ Lit. 'And there will be nothing with life,
Nor with ignorance, nor with sorcery'.

¹ Lit. 'increase'.

Before your war began.
 8 Hear the word of truth,
 And receive the knowledge of the Most High;
 9 Your flesh will not know what I am saying to you,
 Nor your clothing what I am declaring to you.
 10 Keep my secret, you who are kept by it;
 11 Keep my faith, you who are kept by it;
 12 And know my knowledge, you who know me in truth.
 13 Love me with affection,
 You who love.
 14 For I do not turn my face from those that are mine,
 Because I know them;
 15 And before they came into being
 I perceived them;
 And on their faces I set my seal.
 16 I fashioned their members;
 And my breasts I prepared for them,
 That they might drink my holy milk, that they might live by it.
 17 I was well pleased with them,
 And I am not ashamed of them;
 18 For they are my own work,
 And the power of my thoughts.
 19 Who, therefore, will stand against my work,
 Or who is he that is not subject to them?
 20 I willed and formed mind and heart,
 And they are mine;
 And I set my chosen ones at my right hand.
 21 And my righteousness goes before them,
 And they will not be separated from my name,
 Because it is with them.
 22 Pray and continue earnestly in the love of the Lord,
 And, you who are beloved, in the Beloved One;
 And, you who are kept, in him who lived *again*;
 And, you who are delivered, in him who was delivered;
 23 And you will be found incorruptible in all ages because of the name
 of your Father.
 Hallelujah.

-IX

1 Open your ears,
 And I will speak to you;
 2 Give me yourselves,¹
 That I too may give you myself,²
 3 The word of the Lord, and his will,
 The holy purpose which he planned concerning his Christ.
 4 For in the will of the Lord is your life,
 And your perfection is incorruptible.
 5 Become rich in God the Father,
 And receive the mind of the Most High:
 Be strong, and be delivered in his grace.
 6 For I proclaim peace to you, his pious ones,
 That none of those who hear may fall in the war,
 7 And that those also who have known him may not perish,
 And that those who receive *him* may not be ashamed.
 8 Truth is an eternal crown
 (Blessed are those who set it on their heads),
 9 A stone of great price;
 For the wars are on account of the crown;
 10 And righteousness took it
 And gave it to you.
 11 Put on the crown in the true covenant of the Lord;
 And all those who have been victorious will be written in his book;
 12 For their book is the victory that is yours;
 And she³ sees you before her, and wills that you may be delivered.
 Hallelujah.

X

1 The Lord directed my mouth by his word,
 And opened my heart by his light,

¹ Lit. 'your souls'.² Lit. 'my soul'.³ i.e., victory.

- 2 And caused his immortal life to dwell in me,
And granted me to tell of the fruit of his peace,
3 To restore the souls of those who wish to come to him,
And to lead a goodly band of captives back to freedom.
4 I became strong and powerful and led the world captive,
And it became to me to the glory of the Most High, even of God my
Father.
5 And the peoples who were scattered were gathered together,
And I was not defiled by my sins,¹
Because they praised² me in high places.
6 And the footprints of light were set on their hearts,
And they walked in my life and were delivered,
And became my people³ for ever and ever.
Hallelujah.

XI¹

- 1 My heart was circumcised,² and its flowers appeared,
And grace sprouted up in it;
And it bore fruit to the Lord.³
2 For the Most High circumcised² me with his Holy Spirit,
And laid bare my kidneys towards himself;
And filled me with his love.
3 And his circumcision⁴ became my deliverance;
And I ran in the way in his peace,
In the way of truth:
4 From the beginning to the end
I received his knowledge.⁵

¹ A slight change of the pointing would render possible the translation 'by my love'.

³ Or 'And were with me'.

¹ Ode xi is extant in Greek as well as in Syriac, and all but minor ways in which the former differs from the latter are recorded in the notes. Some obvious errors in the Greek are ignored.

³ Gk. 'God'.

⁴ Or 'incision'.

⁵ Or 'knowledge of him'.

- 5 And I was firmly established on the rock of truth,⁶
Where he set me;
6 And speaking waters touched my lips
From the Lord's spring⁷ without grudging;⁸
7 And I drank, and was intoxicated
By the living,⁹ immortal, waters;
8 And my intoxication was not without knowledge,
But I¹⁰ abandoned vanities,
9 And turned¹⁰ towards the Most High, my God,
And became rich through his gift;
10 And I abandoned folly, which is cast over the earth,¹¹
And I stripped it off and cast it from me;
11 And the Lord renewed me with his clothing,
And possessed me¹² with his light,
12 And gave me incorruptible refreshment from above,¹³
And I became like the ground which sprouts and rejoices in its
fruits.
13 And the Lord is like the sun
Upon the face of the ground:
14 He enlightened my eyes,¹⁴
And my face received¹⁵ the dew;
15 And my breath took pleasure
In the pleasant fragrance¹⁶ of the Lord;
16 And he brought me to his paradise,
Where are the riches of the pleasure of the Lord.¹⁷

⁶ Gk. 'a firm rock'.

⁷ Gk. adds 'of life'.

⁸ Or 'From the spring of the Lord who is without envy'.

⁹ Gk. om. 'living'.

¹⁰⁻¹⁰ Gk. 'I turned from vanities'.

¹¹ Or 'folly lying on the ground' - so Gk.

¹² Gk. 'revived me', or 'regained me for himself'.

¹³ Gk. 'And brought me to life again with his incorruption'.

¹⁴ Or 'my eyes shone' - so Gk.

¹⁵ Gk. 'was besprinkled with'.

¹⁶ Gk. 'the fragrance of the kindness'.

¹⁷ Gk. adds, 'I beheld trees, beautiful and bearing fruit,

And their crown was a natural growth;

Their branches sprouted, and their fruits laughed;

Their shoots *came up* from an immortal land.

And the river of joy watered them,

And *flowed* round their land of eternal life.'

(The word translated 'shoots' usually means 'roots'.)

- 17 And I worshipped the Lord because of his glory:
 18 And I said, Blessed, O Lord,
 Are those who have been planted in thy ground,
 And those who have a place in thy paradise,
 19 And grow up in the growth of thy trees,
 And have moved from darkness to light.
 20 Behold, all thy labourers are excellent,
¹⁸Who perform good works,
 21 And turn from wickedness to thy pleasantness,
 And have turned the bitterness of the trees away from them,
 When they were planted in thy ground.¹⁸
 22 And everything has become like a relic of thee,¹⁹
 And an eternal remembrance of thy faithful servants.
 23 For there is much room in thy paradise,
 And there is nothing that is unprofitable;
 But everything is full of²⁰ fruits.
 24 Praise be to thee, O God, ²¹the pleasure that is in the eternal
 paradise.²¹
 Hallelujah.

XII

- 1 He filled me with the words of truth,
 In order that I might speak it;
 2 And truth flowed from my mouth like the flow of waters,
 And my lips declared its¹ fruits.
 3 And he¹ made his¹ knowledge abound in me,
 Because the mouth of the Lord is the true Word,
 And the gate of his light.
 4 And the Most High gave him¹ to his worlds,

¹⁸⁻¹⁸ Gk. 'They make good transformations
 From wickedness to kindness;
 The bitterness of the plants is changed in thy land.'

¹⁹ Gk. 'becomes like thy will'. It then adds 'Blessed are the ministers of thy
 waters'. ²⁰ Gk. 'bears'.

²¹⁻²¹ Gk. 'in the paradise of eternal delight'.

¹ These pronouns can be translated into English as either masculine or neuter.

- The interpreters of his beauty,
 And the narrators of his glory,
 And the confessors of his thought,
 And the preachers of his mind,
 And the sanctifiers (?) of his works.
 5 For the swiftness of the Word cannot be told,
 And like its² telling, so too are its² swiftness and its² speed,
 And his course is without limit:
 6 He never falls, but stands fast,
 And he knows not his descent, nor his way.³
 7 For as is his work, so is his expectation;⁴
 For it is the light and sunrise of thought.
 8 And by him the worlds spoke one to another,
 And those that were silent acquired speech;
 9 And by him friendship and agreement came into being,
 And they spoke one to the other what they had *to say*;
 10 And they were goaded on by the Word;
 And they knew him who made them,
 Because they were in agreement;
 11 For the mouth of the Most High spoke to them,
 And through him his explanation had free course.
 12 For the habitation of the Word is a man,⁵
 And his truth is love.
 13 Blessed are those who have understood everything through him,¹
 And have known the Lord in his truth.
 Hallelujah.

XIII

- 1 Behold, the Lord is our mirror:
 Open your eyes and see them in him;
 2 And learn how your face is,

² i.e. of the swiftness: a slight change in the pointing would render possible the translation 'his'.

³ With a slight emendation, 'And his descent and his way are unknown'.

⁴ The form is anomalous but very close to the word for 'his expectation'.

⁵ Or 'man': or 'the Son of man'.

And utter praises to his Spirit;
 3 And wipe the **filth**¹ from your face,
 And love his holiness and put it on;
 4 And you will be without blemish all the time with him.
 Hallelujah.

XIV

1 Like the eyes of a son on his father,
 So are my eyes, O Lord, continually towards thee;
 2 Because with thee are my breasts and my pleasure.
 3 Turn not thy compassion away from me, O Lord,
 And take not thy kindness from me.
 4 Stretch out thy right hand to me continually, O my Lord,
 And be a guide to me until the end because of thy good pleasure.
 5 I shall¹ be pleasing before thee because of thy glory,
 And because of thy name I shall¹ be delivered from the evil one;
 6 And thy gentleness, O Lord, will¹ abide with me,
 And the fruits of thy love.
 7 Teach me the psalms of thy truth,
 That I may bear fruits in thee;
 8 And open to me the harp of thy Holy Spirit,
 That I may praise thee, O Lord, with every melody.
 9 And according to the abundance of thy compassion, so mayest
 thou grant me;
 And make haste to grant our requests.
 10 And thou art sufficient for all our needs.
 Hallelujah.

XV

1 As the sun is a joy to those who seek its day,
 So my joy is the Lord;

¹ The Syriac word here is otherwise unknown.

¹ These verbs may be optative rather than indicative.

2 Because he is my sun,
 And his rays roused me,
 And his light dispelled all the darkness from my face.
 3 I obtained eyes by him,
 And saw his holy day:
 4 Ears became mine,
 And I heard his truth.
 5 The thought of knowledge became mine,
 And I delighted myself through him.
 6 I forsook the way of error,
 And I went to him and received from him deliverance without
 grudging;¹
 7 And according to his gift he gave to me,
 And according to his great beauty he made me.
 8 I put on incorruption through his name,
 And I put off corruption by his grace.
 9 Death was destroyed from before my face,
 And Sheol was brought to nothing at my word.
 10 And immortal life rose up in the land of the Lord,
 And it became known to his faithful ones,
 And was given unsparingly to all those who trust in him.
 Hallelujah.

XVI

1 As the work of the ploughman is the ploughshare,
 And the work of the helmsman is the steering of the ship,
 So, too, my work is the psalm of the Lord in his praises.
 2 My craft and my occupation are in his praises,
 Because his love nourished my heart,
 And it brought up his fruits to my lips.
 3 For my love is the Lord,
 Therefore I will sing to him;
 4 For I am made strong by his praises,
 And I have faith in him.

¹ Or 'received deliverance from him that is without envy'.

5 I will open my mouth,
 And his Spirit will proclaim in me
 The glory of the Lord and his beauty,
 6 The work of his hands,
 And what his fingers have made,
 7 For the multitude of his mercies,
 And for the might of his Word.
 8 For the Word of the Lord searches out what is unseen,
 And perceives his thought;
 9 For the eye sees his works,
 And the ear hears his thought.
 10 He spread out the earth,
 And set the waters in the sea:
 11 He stretched out the heavens,
 And set in order the stars;
 12 And set in order the creation and established it;
 And he rested from his works.
 13 And the created things run in their courses,
 And perform their tasks,
 And know not how to stand still and be idle;
 14 And the hosts are subject to his Word.
 15 The treasury of the light is the sun,
 And the treasury of the darkness is the night;
 16 And he made the sun for the day that it might be bright,
 And night brings darkness upon the face of the earth.
 17 And they take over, the one from the other;
 They proclaim¹ the beauty of God.
 18 And there is nothing that is apart from the Lord,
 Because he was before anything came into being.
 19 And the worlds came into being by his Word,
 And by the thought of his heart.
 20 Glory and honour be to his name.
 Hallelujah.

¹ Or 'complete'.

XVII

1 I was crowned by my God,
 And my crown is the Living One;
 2 And I was justified by my Lord,
 And my deliverance is incorruptible:
 3 I was released from vain things,
 And I am not a man condemned:
 4 My bonds were severed by his¹ hands:
 I received the face and likeness of a new person;
 And I walked in him² and was delivered,
 5 And the thought of truth led me;
 And I went after it and did not go astray.
 6 And all who saw me were amazed,
 And I seemed to them to be a stranger.
 7 And he who knew and brought me up is the Most High in all his
 perfection;
 And he held me in honour³ in his kindness,
 And he raised my mind to the height of truth.
 8 And thence he gave me the way of his steps,
 And I opened the gates that were shut;
 9 And I broke in pieces the bars of iron;
 But my fetters⁴ grew hot and melted before me.
 10 And nothing seemed to me to be shut,
 Because I was the opening of everything;
 11 And I went to all my⁵ prisoners to release them,
 That I might leave no man bound and⁶ binding.
 12 And I gave my knowledge without grudging,⁷
 And my prayer *was* in my love.
 13 And I sowed my fruits in hearts,
 And I transformed them in myself.
 14 And they received my blessing and lived,

¹ The removal of a point gives this translation instead of the 'her' in the MS.

² Or 'I entered into it'.

³ So H: B 'And he is glorified'.

⁴ Lit. 'my own iron'.

⁵ So H: B 'the'.

⁶ So H: B 'or'.

⁷ Or 'envy'.

15 And were gathered to me and delivered,
Because they became my members,
And I am their head.
16 Glory be to thee, our head, O Lord Christ.
Hallelujah.

XVIII

1 My heart was raised up by the love of the Most High and was
enlarged,
That I might praise him through my name.
2 My members were strengthened,
That they might not fall from his power:
3 Diseases departed far from my body,
And it¹ stood up for the Lord by his will,
Because his kingdom is firm.
4 O Lord, because of those who lack *the knowledge of thee*,
Wilt thou take away² thy word from me?
5 Neither, because of their works,
Wilt³ thou withhold from me thy perfection.
6 The light will not be conquered by darkness,
Nor will truth flee from falsehood.
7 Thy right hand will make our deliverance victorious,
And thou wilt receive from every place,
And wilt preserve, everyone who is held by evil.⁴
8 Thou art my God: falsehood and death are not in thy mouth,
But thy will is perfection;
9 And thou knowest not vanity,
Because it, too, knows not thee;
10 And thou knowest not error,
Because it, too, knows not thee.
11 And ignorance appeared as fine dust,

¹ So H: B 'they'.

² So H: B 'cast'.

³ The verbs in verses 5-7 may be optative.

⁴ Or 'by misfortunes'.

And as the scum of the sea.
12 And vain people thought concerning it that it was great:
They,⁵ too, came to resemble it and became vain.
13 And those who have knowledge understood⁶ and thought,
And were not defiled in their thoughts;
14 Because they were in the mind of the Most High,
And they laughed at those who were walking in error:
15 But they spoke the truth
From the inspiration which the Most High breathed into them.
16 Glory and great honour⁷ be to his name.
Hallelujah.

XIX

1 A cup of milk was offered to me,
And I drank it in the sweetness of the kindness of the Lord.
2 The Son is the cup,
And he who was milked is the Father,
And the Holy Spirit milked him;¹
3 Because his breasts were full,
And it was not desirable that his milk should be emitted without
reason;
4 The Holy Spirit opened her² bosom,
And mixed the milk of the two breasts of the Father,
5 And gave the mixture to the world without their knowing;
And those who receive *it* are in the fulness of the right hand.
6 The womb of the Virgin embraced³ *it*,
And she conceived and bore;
7 And the Virgin became a mother with great compassion;

⁵ So H: B 'And they'.

⁶ Lit. 'knew'.

⁷ Lit. 'beauty'.

¹ So H: B 'And she who milked him is the Holy Spirit' (The Syriac word for 'Spirit' is feminine).

² Cp. note¹. If a point were removed, 'his' (i.e. the Father's) could be read.

³ Or 'caught'.

- 8 And she was in labour, and bore a Son without feeling pain,
Because it did not happen without a reason;
9 And she did not seek a midwife,
Because he delivered⁴ her.
10 She bore as it were a man by the will of God,⁵
And bore *him* and made him known,⁶
And obtained *him* in great power;
11 And she loved *him* in deliverance,
And guarded *him* in kindness,
And made *him* known in greatness.
Hallelujah.

XX

- 1 I am a priest of the Lord,
And to him I minister as priest,
2 And to him I offer the offering of his thought.
3 For not as the world,
Nor as the flesh, is his thought,
Nor as those who serve in a fleshly way.
4 The offering of the Lord is righteousness,
And purity of heart and lips.
5 Offer your¹ kidneys without blemish,
And let not your bowels afflict *another's* bowels,
And let not your soul afflict *another's* soul.
6 You shall not acquire a stranger by the blood of your soul,
Nor shall you seek to defraud your neighbour,
Nor shall you deprive him of the covering of his nakedness.
7 But put on the grace of the ungrudging Lord;²
And come to the³ paradise, and make yourself a garland from his
tree,

⁴ Or 'kept alive'.⁵ Or 'by *her own* will'.⁶ Lit. 'And bore *him* in showing forth'.¹ So H: B 'my'.² Or 'the Lord who is without envy'.³ So H: B 'his'.

- 8 And put *it* on your head, and delight *in it*,
And recline on his serenity.
9 And his glory will go before you,
And you will receive of his kindness and of his goodness,⁴
And grow fat in the glory of his holiness.
10 Glory and honour be to his name.
Hallelujah.

XXI

- 1 I raised my arms¹ on high
To the pity of the Lord,
2 Because he cast away my bonds from me;
And my helper raised me up to his pity and his deliverance.
3 And I put off darkness,
And put on light.
4 And my soul acquired members
In which is no² pain,
Neither distress, nor sufferings.
5 And supremely helpful to me became the thought of the Lord,
And his incorruptible fellowship.
6 And I was raised up in his light,
And I passed³ before his face;
7 And I came near to him,
Praising and thanking him.
8 He made my heart overflow, and it was found in my mouth,
And it appeared on my lips;
9 And the exultation of the Lord and⁴ his praise lit up⁵ my face.
Hallelujah.

⁴ So H: B 'grace'.¹ So H: B 'arm'.² So B: H om. 'no'.³ So B: H 'worked'. The only difference is the position of a point.⁴ So H: B 'in'.⁵ Lit. 'became great upon'.

XXII

- 1 He who brought me down from the height,
And raised me up from the lower regions,
2 And he who gathered the things that were in the middle
And laid them¹ low for me,
3 He who scattered my enemies,
And my adversaries;
4 He who gave me power over bonds,
That I might loose them;
5 He who overthrew by my hands the seven-headed dragon,
(And thou didst set me over his roots,² that I might destroy his
seed) –
6 *It is thou:*³
Thou wast there and didst help me,
And in every place thy name was blessed by me.⁴
7 Thy right hand destroyed his evil venom;⁵
And thy hand made the way level for those who believe in thee,
8 And chose them from the graves,
And set them apart from the dead:
9 It took dead bones,
And covered them with bodies;
10 And they were motionless,
And it gave them help⁶ for life.
11 Thy way and thy person⁷ were incorruptible:
Thou didst bring thy world to corruption,
That everything might be dissolved and renewed,
12 And that the foundation for everything might be thy rock;
And upon it thou hast built thy kingdom;

¹ So B: om. H.² So H: B 'root'.³ The syntactical relationship of this verse to verses 1–5 is difficult.⁴ So H: B 'was encircling me' (and similarly the Coptic).⁵ So H: B 'the venom of evil'.⁶ So H: B 'energy'.⁷ According to the punctuation of the MSS 'thy person' goes with the next line to give 'And thou didst bring thy person into the world, even into corruption'.

And thou didst become⁸ the dwelling-place of the saints.
Hallelujah.

XXIII

- 1 Joy belongs to the saints,
And who will put it on but they alone?
2 Grace belongs to the elect,
And who will receive it but those who have trusted in it from the
beginning?
3 Love belongs to the elect,
And who will put it on but those who have possessed it from the
beginning?
4 Walk in the knowledge of the Most High,¹
And you will know the grace of the Lord² without grudging,³
His exultation and the perfection of his knowledge.
5 And his thought was like a letter,
His⁴ will came down from on high;
6 And it was sent like an arrow from a bow,
That is shot with force;
7 And many hands rushed upon the letter,
To snatch it and take it and read it;
8 And it fled from their fingers;
And they were afraid of it and of the seal which was upon it,
9 Because they were not allowed to loose his⁵ seal,
For the power that was upon the seal was greater than they.
10 But those who saw it went after the letter,
That they might know where it would stop,
And who would read it,
And who would hear it.

⁸ So H: B 'And it became'.¹ So H: B 'of the Lord'.² 'And you will know . . . Lord': om. H.³ Or 'who is without envy'.⁴ So H: B 'And his'.⁵ So H: B 'its'.

- 11 But a wheel received it,
And it came upon it;
12 And with it was a sign
Of kingship and of government.
13 And everything that was moving the wheel
It mowed and cut down;
14 And it gathered a multitude of adversaries;
And it covered up rivers;
15 And it crossed over and uprooted many woods,⁶
And made a broad path.
16 The head came down to the feet,
Because as far as the feet⁷ ran the wheel,
And what was coming⁸ on it.
17 The letter was one of command,⁹
Because¹⁰ all places were gathered together.
18 And on his⁵ head appeared the head that was revealed,
And the Son of truth from the Most High Father.
19 And he took possession of everything and received it;
And the thoughts of many came to nothing.
20 And all who led astray **escaped**¹¹ and fled,
And those who persecuted were extinguished and blotted out.¹²
21 But the letter became a great tablet,
Which was written completely by the finger of God;
22 And the name of the Father was upon it,
And of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit,
To reign for ever and ever.
Hallelujah.

⁶ So H: B 'peoples'.

⁷ So B: H 'foot'.

⁸ So H: B 'had come'. If the word were differently pointed the line might be translated 'And that which was the sign upon it'.

⁹ So H: B 'It was a letter and a command'.

¹⁰ So H: B 'And because'.

¹¹ Text 'were bold'.

¹² So B: H 'irritated'.

XXIV

- 1 The dove flew upon the head of our Lord¹ Christ,
Because he was her head.
2 And she sang over him,
And her voice was heard.
3 And the inhabitants feared,
And the settlers trembled.
4 The birds² forsook their wings,³
And all the reptiles died in their holes.
5 And the depths were opened and were covered *again*,
And they sought the Lord like those in travail;
6 But he was not given to them for food,
Because he was not theirs.
7 But the depths were immersed in the immersion of the Lord,
And those who existed from of old perished in that thought;
8 For they became corrupt⁴ from the beginning,
And the completion of their corruption⁵ was life.
9 And every one of them that was lacking perished,
Because they were not permitted to utter a word⁶ in order to
remain.
10 And the Lord destroyed the thoughts
Of all those with whom the truth was not;
11 For they lacked wisdom,
Those who were proud of heart.
12 And they were rejected,
Because the truth was not with them,
13 Because the Lord made his way manifest,
And enlarged his grace.
14 And those who perceived it
Know his holiness.
Hallelujah.

¹ the head of our Lord: om. H.

² So H: B 'It flew *and*'.

³ The exact meaning of these three words is uncertain; the translation 'took to flight' has also been suggested.

⁴ Or 'travailed'.

⁵ This is the usual meaning. But the cognate verb can mean 'travailed' (cp. note⁴), and so perhaps this noun means 'travail'.

⁶ Or 'Because they had no word to utter'.

XXV

1 I escaped from my bonds,
 And to thee I fled, O my God,
 2 Because thou hast been a right hand of deliverance,
 And my helper.
 3 Thou hast restrained those who rose up against me,
 And I shall not see him again,¹
 4 Because thy person was with me,
 Which saved me in thy grace.²
 5 But I was despised and rejected in the eyes of many,
 And I was in their eyes as lead.
 6 And strength from thee was given me,
 And help.
 7 Thou didst set a lamp for me on my right hand and on my left,
 And there will be³ nothing in me without light.
 8 And I was covered with the covering of thy Spirit,
 And I removed from myself⁴ the⁵ garments of skins,
 9 Because thy right hand raised me up,
 And caused sickness to pass away from me.
 10 And I became mighty in the⁶ truth,
 And holy in thy righteousness.
 11 And all who were opposed to me were afraid of me,
 And I became the Lord's, in the name of the Lord.
 12 And I was justified in his kindness;
 And his rest is for evermore.
 Hallelujah.

XXVI

1 I poured forth praise to the Lord,
 Because I am his.

¹ So H: B 'And they were not seen again'.

² So H: B 'goodness'.

³ So H: B 'That there might be'; and, similarly, the Coptic.

⁴ The consonants might be pointed to read 'Thou didst remove from me'.

⁵ So H: B 'my'.

⁶ So H: B 'thy'.

2 And I will utter his holy psalm,
 Because my heart is with him;
 3 For his harp is in my hands,
 And the psalms of his rest will not be silent.
 4 I will cry to him with all my heart:
 I will praise and exalt him with all my members;
 5 For from the east to the west
 Praise is his,
 6 And from the north to the south
 Thanksgiving is his,
 7 And from the top of the heights to their furthest part
 Perfection¹ is his.
 8 Who can write the psalms of the Lord,
 Or who can recite them?
 9 Or who can instruct his soul for life,
 That his soul may be delivered?
 10 Or who can rest upon the Most High,
 That he may speak from his mouth?
 11 Who is able to interpret the wonders of the Lord?
 For he who interprets will be destroyed,
 And what is to be interpreted will remain.
 12 For it is enough to know and rest;
 For the psalmists remain in rest,
 13 Like a river that has an abundant spring,
 And flow for the help of those who seek it.
 Hallelujah.

XXVII

1 I spread out my hands,
 And sanctified my Lord;
 2 Because the stretching out of my hands is his sign,¹
 3 And my spreading out² is the upright wood.
 Hallelujah.

¹ Or perhaps, 'whole-offering'.

¹ So H: B 'was hindered'.

² The word often means 'simplicity'.

XXVIII

1 Like the wings of doves over their young
 (And the mouths¹ of their young are towards their mouths)
 So, too, are the wings of the Spirit over my heart.
 2 My heart is delighted and leaps for joy,
 Like the babe who leaps in the womb of his mother.
 3 I believed: therefore² I was at rest,
 Because he is faithful in whom I believed.
 4 He richly blessed me,
 And my head is towards him;
 And no sword shall separate me from him,
 Nor blade;
 5 Because I was made ready³ before destruction came,
 And I was placed on his incorruptible wings,⁴
 6 And immortal life came forth,⁵
 And kissed me.
 7 And from it is the Spirit in⁶ me,
 And she⁷ cannot die for she is living.⁸
 8 Those who saw me wondered,
 Because I was persecuted; ~
 9 And they thought that I was swallowed up,
 Because I appeared to them as one of those that perish.
 10 But my oppression
 Became my deliverance.
 11 And I became an abomination to them,
 Because there was no envy in me:
 12 Because I did good to every man,
 I was hated;

¹ So B: H 'mouth'.² So H: B 'therefore, also'.³ So H: B 'I made ready' or 'I was made ready'.⁴ Or 'the wings of incorruption'.⁵ So H: B 'embraced me'.⁶ So H: B 'who is in'.⁷ See note¹ at Ode xix. 2.⁸ So H: B 'life'.

13 And they surrounded me like mad dogs,
 Who ignorantly attack their masters,
 14 Because their intelligence is corrupted,
 And their intellect perverted.
 15 But I was holding waters in my right hand,
 And I endured⁹ their bitterness by my sweetness;
 16 And I did not perish, because I was not their brother,
 Nor was my birth like theirs.¹⁰
 17 And they sought my death, but were not successful,
 Because I was older than their memory,
 And in vain did they attack¹¹ me.
 18 And those who were after me¹²
 Sought in vain to destroy
 The memory of him who was before them;
 19 Because the mind of the Most High is not to be forestalled,
 And his heart is better than all wisdom.
 Hallelujah.

XXIX

1 The Lord is my hope:
 I shall not be ashamed in him.
 2 For according to his glory he made me;
 And according to his goodness,¹ so he gave to me;
 3 And according to his compassion he raised me up;
 And according to his great beauty he exalted me;
 4 And he brought me up from the depths of Sheol,
 And from the mouth of death he drew me.
 5 And I laid low my enemies,
 And he justified me in his grace;
 6 For I believed in the Lord's Christ,

⁹ So H: B 'forgot'.¹⁰ So H: B 'Nor did they recognize my birth'.¹¹ So H: H^{mg} and B 'cast lots upon'.¹² So H: B om. 'me'.¹ So H: B 'grace'.

And it was plain to me that he was the Lord.
 7 And he showed me² his sign,
 And led me in his light;
 8 And he gave me the rod of his strength,
 That I might subdue the thoughts of peoples,
 And lay low the power of mighty men;
 9 To make war by his word,
 And to gain the victory by his might.
 10 And the Lord cast down my enemy by his word,
 And he became like the chaff which the wind carries away.
 11 And I gave praise to the Most High,
 Because he made great his servant and the son of his handmaid.
 Hallelujah.

XXX

1 Draw yourselves water from the living spring of the Lord,
 Because it has been opened to you.
 2 And come, all you who thirst, and take a draught,
 And rest by the spring of the Lord,
 3 Because it is excellent and pure,
 And gives rest to the soul.
 4 For its waters are far pleasanter than honey,
 And the honeycomb of bees is not to be compared with it;
 5 Because it comes out from the lips of the Lord,
 And from the heart of the Lord is its name.
 6 And it came unhindered and unseen,
 And until it was set in their midst men did not know it.
 7 Blessed are those who drank from it,
 And were refreshed by it.
 Hallelujah.

² So B: H 'him'.

XXXI

1 The depths melted before the Lord,
 And darkness was destroyed by his appearance:
 2 Error erred and perished before him,¹
 And folly² became inactive,³ and it sank because of the truth of the
 Lord.
 3 He opened his mouth and spoke grace and joy,
 And spoke a new song of praise to his name;
 4 And he lifted up his voice to the Most High,
 And he presented to him those sons who had come into being
 through him;⁴
 5 And his person was justified,
 Because his holy Father had granted him that it should be so.
 6 Come forth, you who have been oppressed,
 And receive joy;
 7 And take possession of your souls through grace,
 And take to yourselves immortal life.
 8 And they condemned me when I stood up,
 Me, who was uncondemned;
 9 And they divided my spoil,
 Although nothing was owing to them.
 10 But I endured, and was silent and quiet,
 That I might not be moved by them;
 11 But I stood without moving, like a firm rock,
 Which is buffeted by the waves and yet endures;
 12 And I bore their bitterness because of humility,
 In order that I might deliver my people and take possession of
 them,
 13 And that I might not render void the promises to the patriarchs,
 Whose seed I promised to deliver.⁵
 Hallelujah.

¹ Lit. 'from him'.

² So B: H 'contempt'.

³ Lit. 'received (so B: H 'gave') immobility'.

⁴ Or 'who were in his hands' (so H: B 'hand').

⁵ Or 'For the deliverance of whose seed I was promised'.

XXXII

1 The blessed have joy from their heart,
 And light from him who dwells in them,
 2 And the Word from the truth who was¹ from² himself;
 3 Because he became strong in the holy power of the Most High,
 And will remain unmoved for ever and ever.
 Hallelujah.

XXXIII

1 But again grace¹ ran and left corruption,
 And came down upon him to bring him to nothing.
 2 And he destroyed destruction² from before him,
 And spoiled all his work.
 3 And he stood upon a high peak and uttered his voice,
 From one end of the earth to the other;
 4 And he drew to himself all those who obeyed him,
 And he did not appear as an³ evil one.
 5 But a perfect virgin stood,
 Proclaiming, and crying out, and saying,
 6 Turn, you sons of men,
 And you, their daughters, come,
 7 And leave the ways of this corruption,
 And draw near to me.
 8 And I will enter into you,
 And bring you out from destruction,
 And make you wise in the ways of truth.
 9 Do not be corrupted,
 And do not perish.

¹ Or 'came into being'.² B om.¹ 'Grace' is fem.: 'corruption' is masc.² Or 'wrought complete destruction'.³ Or 'the'.

10 Hear me and be delivered,
 For I proclaim among you the grace of God;
 11 And by me you will be delivered and become blessed:
 I am your judge.
 12 And those who have put me on will not be rejected,
 But will obtain incorruption in the new world.
 13 O my elect ones walk in me!
 And I will make my ways known to them that seek me,
 And cause them to trust in my name.
 Hallelujah.

XXXIV

1 There is no difficult way where there is a simple heart,
 Nor a barrier¹ in upright thoughts,
 2 Nor a storm in the depth of an enlightened thought.
 3 Where the man who is virtuous is surrounded on every side,
 There is in him nothing discordant,²
 4 The likeness of what is beneath.
 He is what³ is above;
 5 For everything is above,
 And beneath is nothing,
 But there is believed to be something by those who have no
 knowledge.
 6 Grace was revealed for your deliverance:
 Believe, and live, and be delivered.
 Hallelujah.

XXXV

1 The dew¹ of the Lord overshadowed me in rest,²
 And he set up a cloud of peace above my head,

¹ Or 'offence': the word usually means 'wound'.² Or 'doubtful' (lit. 'divided').³ Or attaching verse 4a to 4b instead of to 3b, read 'Is he who'.¹ Or 'shower'.² So H: B 'gentleness'.

- 2 Which kept me continually,
And became my deliverance³.
3 All *things*⁴ were shaken and agitated,
And smoke and judgement⁵ went out from them;
4 And I was at peace in the legion⁶ of the Lord,
And he was to me more than dew⁷ and more than a foundation.
5 And I was carried as a child by his mother,
And he gave me as milk the dew of the Lord;
6 And I grew up according to his gift,
And I rested in his perfection;
7 And I spread out my hands in the ascent of my soul,
And stood erect⁸ towards the Most High,
And was delivered with⁹ him.
Hallelujah.

XXXVI

- 1 I rested on the Spirit of the Lord,
And she¹ raised me on high;
2 And she made me stand on my feet on the Lord's heights,
Before his perfection and his glory,
While I was praising² *him* in the composition of his psalms.³
3 She bore me before the face of the Lord;
And although I was a son of man,
I was named the Shining⁴ One, the Son of God,
4 While I was praised² among those who are praised,⁵

³ So B: H 'And was mine in deliverance'.

⁴ H might also be translated 'all *people*' or even 'everyone'.

⁵ So H: B 'a judge'. ⁶ Or 'precept'.

⁷ The words 'dew' here and in verse 5, 'overshadowed' in verse 1, and 'child' in verse 5 all come from similar roots. Here the word might be 'shade', written defectively.

⁸ Or 'was directed'.

⁹ Or 'towards' as in 7b.

¹ See note¹ at Ode xix. 2.

² The participle could be either active or passive.

³ B connects this line with the next verse.

⁴ Or 'enlightened'. ⁵ So B: H 'who praise'.

- And was great⁶ among the great ones;
5 For according to the greatness of the Most High, so she made me,
And according to his renewal he renewed me.
6 And he anointed me from his perfection,
And I became one of those near to him.
7 And my mouth was opened like a cloud of dew,
And my heart gushed forth like⁷ a fount of righteousness;
8 And my access to him was in peace,
And I was established in the Spirit of providence.
Hallelujah.

XXXVII

- 1 I spread out my hands towards my¹ Lord,
And towards the Most High I lifted up my voice;
2 And I spoke with the lips of my heart,
And he heard me when my voice reached² him.
3 His word came to me,
That gave me the fruits of my labours,
4 And gave me rest in the grace of the Lord.
Hallelujah.

XXXVIII

- 1 I went up into the light of Truth as if into a chariot,¹
And Truth led me and brought me,
2 And took me across chasms and rifts,²
And delivered me from crags and valleys;³
3 And he became to me a harbour of deliverance,
And placed me on the arms⁴ of immortal life;

⁶ Or 'the greatest'.

⁷ B om.

¹ So H: B 'the'.

² Lit. 'fell to'.

¹ Or, perhaps, 'ship'.

² So H: B 'empty rifts'.

³ Or 'waves'.

⁴ So H: B 'stair'.

- 4 And he went with me and gave me rest, and did not let me err,
Because he was⁵ Truth.
- 5 And I was in no danger, because I walked with him,
And I erred in nothing, because I obeyed him;
- 6 For Error fled from him,
And did not meet him.
- 7 But Truth went along a straight path;
And everything which I did not know
He showed me,
- 8 Even all the drugs of Error,
And all the scourges of death⁶ which are thought⁷ to be sweetness.
- 9 And the corruptor of corruption
I saw while the bride who is corrupted⁸ was adorning herself,
Even the bridegroom who corrupts and is corrupted;
- 10 And I asked Truth, Who are these? And he said to me,
This is the Deceiver,⁹ and *that is* Error;
- 11 And they imitate the Beloved One and his bride,
And cause the world to err, and corrupt it;
- 12 And they invite many to a banquet,
And give them to drink the wine of their intoxication,
- 13 And they cause them to vomit their wisdom and understanding,
And they render them¹⁰ irrational;
- 14 And then they abandon them,
But they go about raving¹¹ and corrupting,¹²
Because they are without understanding,
For neither do they seek it.
- 15 And I acted wisely, so that I did not fall into the hands of the
Deceiver.¹³
And I congratulated myself, because Truth had gone with me.

⁵ So H: B 'was and is'.

⁶ Or 'of death' may go with 'sweetness'. The word translated 'scourges' could also be rendered 'attractions'.

⁷ So B: H 'which men suppose'.

⁸ So H: B has a participle which could be active or passive.

⁹ Lit. 'This is he who causes to err'.

¹⁰ So H: the fem. sing. pronoun in B presumably refers to wisdom.

¹¹ So B: H 'entreating' or 'commanding'.

¹² Or 'corrupted'.

¹³ So H: B plural. See also note⁹ on verse 10.

- 16 And I became strong, and lived, and was delivered,
And my foundations were laid near¹⁴ the Lord;
Because he planted me.
- 17 For he set the root,
And watered it, and made it firm, and blessed it;
And its fruits will be for ever.
- 18 It went deep, and grew tall, and spread out,
And became full and large.
- 19 And the Lord alone was praised
For his planting and for his cultivation,
- 20 For his care and for the blessing of his lips,
For the beautiful planting of his right hand,
And for the discovery¹⁵ of his planting,
And for the intelligence of his mind.
Hallelujah.

XXXIX

- 1 Mighty rivers are the power of the Lord,
Which carry headlong
Those who despise them,
And twist their steps,
And ruin their fords,
- 2 And seize their bodies,
And destroy their souls;
For they are swifter than lightning¹
And faster.
- 3 But those who cross them in faith
Will not be shaken,
And those who walk on them without blemish
Will not be perturbed;
Because the Lord is a sign in them,

¹⁴ Or 'on the hand of'.

¹⁵ Some emend to 'splendour'.

¹ So H: B 'lightnings'.

And the sign becomes the path of those who cross in the name of the Lord.

- 8 Put on, therefore, the name of the Most High, and know him,
And you will cross without danger,
Because the rivers will be obedient to you.
9 The Lord bridged them by his Word,
And walked, and crossed them on foot;
10 And his footprints remain on the waters, and have not been
obliterated,
But are like a piece of wood which is firmly² fixed:
11 On this side and that the waves are lifted up,
But the footprints of our Lord Christ remain,
12 And are not effaced,
Or obliterated;
13 And a path has been established for those who cross after him,
And for those who follow in the steps of his faith,
And worship his name.
Hallelujah.

XL

- 1 As honey drips from the honeycomb of bees,
And milk flows from the woman who loves her children,
2 So, too, is my hope on thee, O my God.
As a spring brings forth its waters,
So my heart brings forth the praise of the Lord,
And my lips utter praise to him.
3 And my tongue is sweet (in) his anthems,¹
And my members grow fat in² his psalms;
4 And my face³ rejoices in his exultation,
And my spirit exults in his love,

² Or 'in truth'.

¹ Or '(in) intimacy with him'.

² So B: H om. 'is sweet . . . fat in', . . . though 'in' was probably read before 'his psalms' and later erased.

³ B 'also'. The following verse could be construed with the subject of 3b.

And my soul shines in him.
5 And he who is fearful will trust in him,
And deliverance will be established in him;
6 And his gain is immortal life,
And those who receive it are incorruptible.
Hallelujah.

XLI

- 1 All¹ his children will² praise the Lord,
And they will³ receive the truth of his faith;
2 And his sons will be known to him:⁴
Therefore let us sing in his love.
3 We live⁵ in the Lord by his grace,
And we receive life through his Christ.
4 For a great day has shone upon us,
And marvellous is he who gave us⁶ of his praises.
5 Let us all, therefore, join together in the name of the Lord,
And let us honour him in his goodness;
6 And let our faces shine in his light,
And let our hearts meditate in his love,
By night and by day:
7 Let us exult on account of the exultation of the Lord.
8 All those who see me will marvel,
Because I am of another race;
9 For the Father of truth remembered me –
He who possessed me from the beginning;
10 For his wealth gave me birth,
And the thought of his heart.
11 And his Word is with us all along our way,
The deliverer who gives new life *to us* does not reject our souls –
12 The man who was brought low,

¹ So H: B 'All of us'.

² The verbs in this verse could express a wish.

³ So H: B 'we shall'.

⁴ B originally read 'And they will be known to his sons'.

⁵ So H: B 'rejoice'. ⁶ B om. 'us'.

And was raised up in his righteousness.
 13 The Son of the Most High appeared
 In the perfection of his Father;
 14 And the light dawned from the Word,
 That was⁷ beforehand in him.
 15 The Christ is one in truth,
 And was known from before the foundation of the world,
 16 That he might give new life to souls for ever in the truth of his
 name.
Let there be a new song of praise to the Lord from those who love
him.
 Hallelujah.

XLII

1 I spread out my hands, and drew near to my Lord,
 Because the stretching out of my hands is his sign,
 2 And my spreading out¹ is the outspread¹ wood,
 Which was set up on the way of the Upright One.
 3 And I became useless
 To those² who knew me,
 In order that I might be hidden from those²
 Who did not take hold of me;
 4 And I will be with those
 Who love me.
 5 All my persecutors died;
 And they who trusted in me sought me, because I am alive;
 6 And I arose and am with them,
 And I will speak through their mouths.
 7 For they rejected those who persecute them,
 And I have laid upon them the yoke of my love.
 8 As the arm of the bridegroom upon the bride,
 So is my yoke upon those who know me;

⁷ Or 'came into being'.

¹ These two words could be translated 'simplicity' and 'simple' respectively.

²⁻² So B: H om.

9 And as the bed that is spread in the bridal chamber,
 So is my love upon those who believe in me.
 10 I was not rejected, even though I was thought to be,
 And I did not perish, even though they supposed it of me.
 11 Sheol saw me and was grieved,
 And Death disgorged me, and many with me:
 12 I was vinegar and bitterness to him,
 And I went down with him as far as his depth extended;
 13 And he let feet and head hang loose,³
 Because they⁴ could not endure my face.
 14 And I made an assembly of living men among his dead,
 And I spoke to them with living lips,
 In order that my word might not be without effect.
 15 And those who had died ran to me,
 And cried and said, Have pity on us, Son of God!
 16 And deal with us according to thy kindness,
 And bring us out of the bonds of darkness,
 17 And open for us the gate,
 That by it we may come out with thee,
 For we see that our death does not touch thee.
 18 May we too be delivered with thee,
 Because thou art our deliverer.
 19 And I heard their voice,
 And set their faith in my heart,⁵
 20 And I set⁶ my name on their heads,
 Because they are free men⁷ and are mine.
 Hallelujah.

³ Or 'let go of feet and head'.

⁴ So H: B 'he'.

⁵ H omits this line.

⁶ So B: H unintelligible.

⁷ Lit. 'they are sons of free men'.

THE TESTAMENT OF SOLOMON

INTRODUCTION

The Testament, which is extant only in Greek,¹ relates how Solomon discovered that his building operations on the Temple were being frustrated by the demon Orniás: how in answer to prayer he was given authority, not only over Orniás but also over all the demons, to 'confine' them and use them as builders; and how, in the exercise of this authority, he summoned them before him one by one and set each a particular task until the Temple was completed. Ostensibly, the Testament is Solomon's warning to Israel against the dangers of apostasy, idolatry, and demon-worship, written shortly before his death and as a result of his own bitter experience (chaps. xv and xxvi). In fact, it is an essay in popular demonology and magic.

We are thus introduced by the Testament to that area of beliefs and practices which is probably best illustrated by the contents of the Hellenistic magical papyri. But we catch glimpses of it also in a variety of sources – for instance, in the incidental allusion in the Gospels, Acts, and Pauline Epistles to 'the rudiments' (or 'elements') of the world,² to 'devils' (or 'demons') as the cause of disease,³ and to the 'casting out'⁴ of them and cures⁵ by 'exorcists'.⁶

In view of the widespread acceptance of these ideas in the ancient world it is hardly surprising that Jews, who reflected on the accounts of the nature and extent of Solomon's wisdom recorded in 1 Kings iv. 29–34 and Wisd. vii. 17–22, should assume that he knew as much about demons as he did about the other departments of nature, and that he had been given power to control them. Josephus, at all events, is a witness to this belief. In his description of Solomon he writes:

¹ G. Graf (*Geschichte christ. arab. Literatur*, I. (= *Studi e Testi*, 118; Vatican, 1944), p. 210) has, however, drawn attention to the existence of a Syriac MS in Paris (B.N. Fonds Syriaque 194; 16th cent.) and an Arabic MS in the Vatican (Vat. ar. 448; 17th cent.), both of which seem to contain texts of the Testament.

² Gal. iv. 3; Col. ii. 8.

³ Matt. xii. 22.

⁵ Luke ix. 42.

⁴ Mark iii. 15, 22.

⁶ Acts xix. 13.

'And God granted him knowledge of the art used against demons for the benefit and healing of men. He also composed incantations by which illnesses are relieved, and left behind forms of exorcisms with which those possessed by demons drive them out, never to return'.⁷

And Josephus goes on to record how he himself had seen a certain Jew, named Eleazar, exorcise a demon in the presence of the Roman Emperor Vespasian and his retinue. Eleazar held under the possessed man's nose a ring 'which had under its seal one of the roots prescribed by Solomon', and then, as the man smelled it, Eleazar dragged the demon out through the man's nostrils. The man immediately fell to the ground. Eleazar then solemnly forbade the demon to re-enter the man, using the name of Solomon and pronouncing over him one of the Solomonic incantations. Josephus does not say explicitly in this passage that Solomon wrote down the 'incantations', and 'forms of exorcism' which he composed. But that he did so is a natural inference. At a later date, Origen certainly knew of exorcists who used 'adjurations written by Solomon'.⁸

But the Testament is very far from being a collection of Solomon's magic formulae. As a 'testament' it belongs to an established literary category – a category, moreover, which it seems was originated by Jews. Further, its main motif (that Solomon acquired power over the demons and used them to build the Temple) reappears in the Talmud.⁹ This means that the Testament's framework, at least, is firmly fixed within Judaism. On the other hand, despite many features in the body of the work that are unmistakably Jewish (such as the name of the demon Asmodeus in chap. v and the phrase quoted at iii. 5 from Wisd. ix. 4), there are many more that are attributable to pagan, and particularly Gnostic, influence. A good illustration here is the summary in chap. xviii of 'the thirty-six elements': these are the well-known *decani* of the Zodiac circle, which are described, for example, by Celsus,¹⁰ though in less detail than in the Testament. And there are, too, a number of distinctively Christian features. Thus,

⁷ Jos., *Ant.* VIII. ii. 5. (§ 45: Loeb Library translation).

⁸ Orig. *Matt. comm. ser.* 110.

⁹ T. B. *Gittin* 68a–b.

¹⁰ Orig. *c. Cels.* viii. 58.

Christ's power over the demons is referred to several times.¹¹ It is true that Christ is not mentioned by name, but the references to his Virgin Birth and Crucifixion are unmistakable.¹² Most interesting of all in this connection is the passage in chap. xi describing the 'legion of demons' subordinate to the 'Lionbearer', who is inhibited 'by the name of him that endured after many sufferings at the hands of men, whose name is Emmanuel, who even now has enchained us and will come to plunge us from a cliff under the water'. This is a clear allusion to the story of the healing of the Gerasene demoniac as recorded in Mark v. 1–20 and Luke viii. 26–39.¹³

Fleck, the first editor of the Testament, regarded it as a Byzantine work of the Middle Ages. Bornemann dated it early in the 4th century on account of the resemblances between its demonology and the demonology of the *Institutes* of Lactantius. Conybeare suggested that an original Jewish document of uncertain date was worked over by a Christian, possibly as early as AD 100. Schürer simply described the Testament as 'Christian' and suggested no date.

In his edition of 1837 Fleck printed the text of a single 16th cent. Paris MS (B.N. Anciens fonds grecs, no. 38 – Colbert 4895). For his edition of 1922 McCown had access to no less than twelve additional MSS (all 15th or 16th cent.) which represent four different recensions (ABCD). As the basis of the Testament McCown postulated an initial Jewish tale, beginning with Solomon's birth and continuing with stories of his dealings with demons and his building of the Temple, roughly similar to what is now found in Recension D, though very far from identical with it. The Testament was an adaptation of this nucleus by a Greek Christian, who wrote, perhaps in Asia, perhaps in Egypt, but more probably in Galilee, somewhere between AD 200 and AD 250 – in any case the Testament must have been in existence by AD 400 at the latest, because it is quoted as 'his (i.e. Solomon's) Testament', in *The Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila*.¹⁴ Recension A differs little from the

¹¹ xi. 6; xv. 10, 11; xvii. 4; xxii. 20.

¹² xii. 3; xv. 10; xxii. 20.

¹³ The parallel version in Matt. viii 28–34 does not mention the name 'Legion'.

¹⁴ Cp. F. C. Conybeare. *The Dialogues of Athanasius and Zacchaeus and of Timothy and Aquila* (= *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, Classical Series, Part viii; Oxford, 1898), p. 70.

original, though it is obviously secondary at the beginning and shows signs of expansion at the end. Recension B, which is independent of A, fills out the details about individual demons and is also inclined to expand the Christian passages: it is to be dated in the fourth or the fifth century. Finally, perhaps as late as the twelfth or thirteenth century, came Recension C, a further recension of Recension B.

Fleck's Paris MS belongs to Recension B, and so both Bornemann's German translation and Conybeare's English translation follow this recension. The text in McCown's edition, however, is based mainly on Recension A; and it was this text that was adopted by Riessler for his German translation in 1927. The text published by Delatte is that of the Paris MS B.N. 2011 (18th cent.): it is a similar, though substantially longer, version of the material in McCown's Recension D. Our own translation is based on McCown.

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Blessed art thou, O Lord God, who didst give to Solomon this authority; to thee be glory and might for ever. Amen.

1. And behold, while the temple of the city of Jerusalem was being
- 2 built and the craftsmen were at work on it, the demon Orniat used to come at sunset and take half the pay of the young overseer¹ and half his rations. And he used to suck the thumb of his right hand every day. And the young man, whom I loved dearly, was wasting away.
- 3 Now I, Solomon, questioned the young man one day and said to him, Did I not think more of you² than all the craftsmen that work

¹ Gk. *πρωτομαίστωρ*: the meaning is unknown.

² Lit. 'love you more'.

4 in the temple of God and grant you double pay and rations? How is it that you are wasting away day by day? But the young man said, Let me tell you, O king, what has happened to me. After we are dismissed from work on the temple of God at sunset, while I am resting, an evil demon comes and takes away half my pay and half my rations, and takes hold of my right hand and sucks my thumb. And behold, my soul is in torment and my body is wasting away day by day.

5 When I heard this, I, king Solomon, went into the temple of God and prayed him with all my soul, praising him day and night, that the demon might be delivered into my hands and that I might have
6 authority over him. And it came to pass, as I was praying to the God of heaven and earth, that a little ring with a seal carved from a precious stone was given me from the Lord Sabaoth by the arch-
7 angel Michael. And he said to me, Take, Solomon, son of David, a gift sent you by the Lord Sabaoth, the Most High God, and you will be able to confine all the demons both female and male, and, through their agency, build Jerusalem while you wear this seal of God.

8 And with very great joy I began to praise and glorify the Lord of heaven and earth. And the next day I ordered the young man to
9 come to me and gave him the seal and said to him, At whatever hour the demon comes upon you throw this ring at the demon's chest and say to him, Solomon summons you to him; and *then* come to me quickly, and do not be frightened or alarmed.³

10 And behold, at the usual hour came Ornias, the cruel demon, like burning fire, to take the young man's wages as was his custom.
11 But the lad, according to Solomon's orders, threw the ring at the demon's chest, saying to him, Solomon summons you to him; and
12 he went off in haste to Solomon. The demon cried out aloud and said to the young man, Why did you do this? Take the ring and give it to Solomon, and I will give you all the silver and gold there is in
13 the earth; only do not take me away to Solomon. And the young man said, As the Lord lives, the God of Israel, I cannot cope with
14 you unless I take you away to Solomon. And the young man came and said to Solomon, King Solomon, I have brought you the

³ Lit. 'taking no thought of what is likely to frighten you.'

demon, as you told me to, and behold, he is standing in front of the gates outside, bound, and crying out in a loud voice that he will give me all the silver and gold there is in the earth to prevent me bringing him to you.

II. And when I, Solomon, heard this, I got up from my throne and saw the demon shivering and trembling; and I said to him, who are you, and what is your name? The demon said, I am called Ornias.
2 And I said to him, Tell me what sign of the zodiac you lie under. And the demon answered and said, The Water-pourer; and I suffocate those who lie under the Water-pourer, who because of
3 *their* lust for women have called upon the sign of the Virgin. I also appear in sleep, changing into three forms: sometimes *I am* like a man lusting for the beauty of young girls not yet fully grown, and at
4 my touch they are in great pain: sometimes I take wings to heavenly regions: sometimes I take on the appearance of a lion. I
5 am an offspring of the archangel, the Power of God, but I am inhibited by the archangel Uriel. When I, Solomon, heard the name of the archangel I prayed and glorified the God of heaven
6 and earth; and when I had sealed the demon I set him to work at stone-cutting, to cut the stones of the temple that were lying by the
7 sea shore and had been brought through the Arabian sea. And he was afraid to touch the cutting tools,¹ and he said to me, I pray you, king Solomon, set me free and I will bring all the demons up to you.
8 Since he refused to be subject to me, I prayed the archangel Uriel to come to my aid; and immediately I saw the archangel Uriel
9 coming down to me from heaven. And he ordered great fish to come up out of the sea, and he dried up their province, and cast his
10 portion upon the ground; and in that way and this he subjected the great demon Ornias so that he cut the stones and contributed to the construction of the temple which I, Solomon, was building.
11 And again I glorified the God of heaven and earth; and I ordered Ornias to go round to his portion, and I gave him the seal and said, Be off! And bring me here the ruler of the demons.

III. Ornias took the ring and went off to Beezebul and said to him,
2 Solomon summons you to him. Beezebul said to him, Tell me, who

¹ Lit. 'to touch iron.'

3 is this Solomon you speak of? Orniás threw the ring at Beezebul's
 4 chest, saying, King Solomon summons you. And Beezebul cried
 out as if at a great burning flame of fire, and he got up and followed
 5 him of necessity and came to me. And when I saw the ruler of the
 demons, I glorified God and said, Blessed art thou, O Lord God
 Almighty, who didst give to thy servant Solomon wisdom that sits
 beside thy throne,¹ and didst make subject to me all the power of
 6 the demons. And I questioned him and said, Tell me, who are you?
 7 The demon said, I am Beezebul, the leader of the demons. I
 commanded that he should stay close beside me and make
 arrangements for the demons to appear before me. He himself
 promised to bring to me all the unclean spirits in chains. And I
 again glorified the God of heaven and earth, giving thanks to him
 at all times.

IV. I enquired of the demon whether there was a female among
 2 the demons. When he said there was, I asked to see her.¹ And
 Beezebul went off and fetched Onoskelis² for me to see.³ She was
 very beautiful in form, and had the body of a fair-skinned woman,
 3 but the shanks of a mule. When she came to me I said to her, Tell
 me who you are. She said, I am called Onoskelis, a spirit in bodily
 4 form, who lurks in holes on earth, for I have my dwelling in caves;
 but my ways are varied. Sometimes I choke a man: sometimes I
 5 pervert them from their nature. My most frequent dwellings are
 cliffs, caves, chasms. Often, too, I have intercourse with men, since
 6 they consider me a woman – most often with the olive-skinned,
 because they share my star, for these worship my star *both* secretly
 and openly, and then do not realize that they harm themselves and
 stimulate me to more mischief. For they want through the recollection
 7 of *it* to get money. But I supply little *even* to those who worship
 me well.

8 I asked her whence she was born. And she said, From an
 unseasonable noise, the so-called echo of the sky when it emits a

¹ Cp. Wisd. ix. 4.

¹ Lit. 'I wished to know'. Some MSS, however, read 'I wished to see'.

² This could be translated 'Donkey Shanks'. She was a well-known Hellenistic
 demon.

³ Lit. 'And going away Beelzebul showed me Onoskelis'.

9 leaden noise, was I born in a wood. I said to her, Under what star
 do you pass? And she said, Under the full moon, because it is under
 the moon that I travel for the most part. I said, What is the angel
 10 that inhibits you? And she said, The very same as in you, O king.
 11 Thinking that this was a piece of foolery, I ordered a soldier to hit
 her; but she cried out and said, I tell you, O king, by the wisdom of
 12 God that is given to you. And I blessed⁴ the name of the Holy One
 of Israel; and I ordered her to spin hemp for the ropes of the work of
 the temple of God. Thus sealed and bound she was inhibited, so
 that I made her stand spinning hemp night and day.

V. And I ordered another demon to be brought to me. And he
 2 brought me Asmodeus,¹ the evil demon, bound. I asked him, Who
 3 are you? And he, with a threatening look, said, And who are you? I
 said to him, Under punishment, as you are, do you *dare* answer me
 like this? And he fixed me with the same look and said, How should
 I answer you? You are a man's son, and I an angel's (though born²
 of a man's daughter), so that no word *from a member* of the heavenly
 4 race to an earthborn is overbearing. My star lurks in heaven and
 men call me the Waggon,³ others Snakefooted. For this reason
 smaller stars too take their position along with my star, for my
 5 father's dignity and throne is in heaven to this day. Do not ask me
 many questions, Solomon, for your kingdom also in due time will
 be torn in pieces: this glory of yours is transient, you have *but* a short
 time to torment us; and *then* we shall again have free range over
 mankind, that they may worship us as gods (for they do not know
 6 the names of the angels that are appointed over us). When I,
 Solomon, heard this, I bound him with greater precaution, and I
 ordered him to be flogged and to confess what he was called and
 7 what was his function. The demon said, I am called renowned
 Asmodeus. I increase men's evil-doing throughout the world. I
 plot against the newly-wed: I mar the beauty of maidens and
 8 estrange their hearts. I said to him, Is this your only function? He

⁴ Lit. 'spoke'.

¹ Cp., Tobit iii. 8, 17. In Hebrew (e.g. T. B. *Gittin* 68a–b) he is Ashmedai.

² Lit. 'and I was born'.

³ Another name of the Great Bear.

replied, Through the stars I spread madness among women, and then *it spreads itself* in great waves; and I have killed up to seven.
 9 And so I adjured him by the name of the Lord Sabaoth, Fear God, Asmodeus; and tell me what angel you are inhibited by. The demon said, Raphael, who stands in the presence of God: I am also driven away by the liver of a fish along with its gall smoked over
 10 saffron ashes. I questioned him again, saying, Do not hide anything from me, because I am Solomon the son of David, and tell me the name of the fish you reverence. And he said, The name is called sheat-fish: it is found in the rivers of Assyria, for there only is it
 11 produced, because I too am found in those parts. And I said to him, Nothing else from you, Asmodeus? And he said to me, The power of God, who through his seal bound me with unbreakable bonds, knows that what I told you is true. But I beg you, king
 12 Solomon, do not condemn me to water. But I smiling said, As the Lord lives, the God of my fathers, you *shall* have iron to wear, and you shall make clay for the construction of the temple. And I ordered that there should be ten water-pots and that they should be heaped upon him. And with a terrible groan the demon began to carry out his orders. Asmodeus did this because he had fore-
 13 knowledge also. And I, Solomon, glorified God, who had given me this authority. The liver of the fish and the gall along with a piece of white storax I burnt over Asmodeus, because of his strength; and his voice was inhibited and his tooth full of sharpness.

VI. And I ordered Beezebul to stand before me again, and I sat him beside me, and I thought it fit to ask him, Why are you the only
 2 ruler of the demons? He said to me, Because I am the only one of the heavenly angels left remaining. For I was a leading heavenly
 3 angel called Beezebul. And with me was a second impious one whom God cut off, and now confined here he rules my folk that are imprisoned in Tartarus: he gets his food in the Red Sea, and in his
 4 own time will come to triumph. And I said to him, What are your functions? And he said to me, I too destroy through tyrants, and cause the demons to be worshipped among men, and excite holy
 5 jealousies in cities and murders, and I bring on wars. And I said to him, Bring me the one you mentioned, who feeds in the Red Sea.

But he said, I will not bring up anyone to you *myself*; but one called Ehippas shall come, who will bind him and bring him up from the
 6 depth. And I said to him, Tell me how he comes to be in the depth of the Red Sea and what his name is. He said, Do not ask me: you cannot learn *it* from me; for he himself will come to you because I
 7 too am with you. I said to him, Tell me, what star are you associated with? He said, What is called the Evening Star among
 8 men. I said, Tell me what angel you are inhibited by. He said, By the all-powerful God: he is called among the Hebrews Patike (he that came down from on high); but he is *the* Emmanuel of the Greeks. And I am afraid of him and tremble before him.¹ If anyone
 9 adjures me by Eloï,² his great name of power, I disappear. When I, Solomon, heard this, I commanded him to saw Theban marbles. When he began to saw, all the demons shouted with a loud voice
 10 because of their king Beezebul. I, Solomon, questioned him, saying, If you want to obtain *your* release, tell me about heavenly things. And Beezebul said, Listen, O king. If you burn gum and incense and sea-bulbs, nard and saffron, and light seven lamps in an earthquake, you will make your house secure. But if (that is, if you are pure) you light them in the early morning sunlight, you will see how the heavenly serpents wind along and draw the
 11 chariot of the sun. When I, Solomon, heard this, I rebuked him and said, Be quiet, and saw the marbles I told you to.

Chaps. VII to XVIII all follow the same pattern. Demons are summoned, questioned as to their names and functions and the angel by whom each is inhibited, and finally assigned to work on the temple. The contents are summarised.

VII. Lix Tetrax,¹ who carries his face high in the air, but the rest of his body winding like a snail. He raises a violent dust storm to frighten Solomon. He is busiest in summer, causing colics and fires and semitertian fever, and is inhibited by the archangel Azrael. He is ordered to throw stones to the craftsmen on top of the temple.

¹ Lit. 'I fear him with trembling'.

² Cp. Mark xv. 34.

¹ An emendation of McCown. These terms occur in the magical formulæ known as *Ephesiaca grammata*.

VIII. Seven intertwined comely demons,¹ the seven elements, world-rulers of darkness, Guile, Strife, Clotho, Storm, Error, Power, Worst: this last one foretells Solomon's succumbing to love. They are set to dig the foundations of the temple.

IX. A headless demon, Murder, seeing through his breasts, continually severing and devouring men's heads, inhibited by the fiery lightning. For the moment he is ordered to remain with Beezebul.

X. A demon like a great dog, called Rod, mastering men's minds through the throat and destroying them, inhibited by Briathus. He offers to show Solomon's servant a green stone in a mountain and Solomon agrees. When he brings it Solomon decrees that he and the headless demon, Murder, should be bound and carry the stone round like a lamp day and night to the craftsmen at work. Later they too are set to work cutting marble.

XI. An Arabian demon like a lion rampant, called Lionbearer. He has a legion of demons subordinate to him; and, when Solomon asks by whom he is inhibited, replies, 'By the name of him that endured after many sufferings at the hands of men, whose name is Emmanuel, who even now has enchained us and will come to plunge us from a cliff under the water.' Solomon orders the legion to carry wood, and the demon to saw it up fine with his nails and feed the furnace.

XII. A three-headed serpent, called Serpent's Crest, inhibited by 'the place of the skull,'¹ for there the Angel of the Great Council fore-ordained that I should suffer, and now openly he will dwell upon a cross.' He tells Solomon that there is much gold hidden in the foundation of the temple. Solomon finds this and orders him to make bricks.

XIII. A female demon with long dishevelled hair, called Obyzuth, attacking women and children, inhibited by the angel Raphael, whose name written on a scrap of paper is a protection against her for women in childbirth. Solomon orders her to be bound by the hair and hung up in front of the temple that the children of Israel can see her and glorify God.

¹ Probably the Pleiades: the third, Clotho, the Spinster, was the name of one of the three Greek fates.

¹ Lit. 'the brain'.

XIV. A demon with the face and feet of a man and the limbs of a serpent, with wings on its back, called Winged Serpent, who causes abortions in pregnancy among beautiful women. He threatens Solomon, and burns up with his breath the forests of Lebanon, the timber destined for the temple. Solomon invokes the angel who inhibits him, Bazazath, and condemns him to saw marbles.

XV. A three headed female demon, called Enepsigus, who is also 'called by countless names.'¹ She has connections with the moon and can be brought down by enchantment, inhibited by Rathanael. She prophesies to Solomon the division of his kingdom and the destruction of the temple, when the jars in which he has enclosed the demons will be broken and they will be dispersed over the world again, until the son of God should be stretched upon a tree, he whose number is 644—i.e., Emmanuel.² Solomon does not believe her until his death, when he writes the Testament to warn the children of Israel about the demons. He orders her to be fettered with unbreakable bonds.

XVI. A demon like a horse in front and a fish behind, living in the sea and causing shipwrecks, who also transforms himself into a man, called Cynopegus,¹ inhibited by Iameth. He is beginning to faint without water, so Solomon puts him in a jar with ten measures of sea water, smears the mouth with asphalt, pitch, and tow, seals it with the ring, and orders it to be stored in the temple.

XVII. An anonymous lascivious spirit of a giant slaughtered in the time of the giants, who lives in tombs and causes men to become demoniacs, inhibited by 'the Saviour that is to descend'. He is confined with the rest.

XVIII. The thirty-six elements, man-shaped, bull-shaped, bird-faced, animal-faced, sphinx-faced, serpent-shaped. Most of them cause physical

¹ Reminiscent of Artemis, who had three forms, being also the moon and, as Hecate, a goddess of the underworld. The epithet *μυριώνυμος* recalls Isis, who also had connections with the moon.

² If the Greek letters of Emmanuel are taken as numerical symbols they add up to 644, though, of course, 644 would normally be expressed by the three letters *χμδ* (as it is here).

¹ The name appears to be a compound of 'dog' and 'fountain', and the demon probably has a connection with Poseidon.

troubles, and often charms and remedies are given for these. They are set to draw water.

XIX. And I, Solomon, was honoured by all men under heaven. I was building the temple of God, and my kingdom was prospering.
 2 All the kings used to come to me to see the temple of God which I was building, and they used to bring me gold and silver and offer bronze and iron and lead and timber for the construction of the
 3 temple. Among them also came Sheba, queen of the South, who was an enchantress of great skill, and she did obeisance to me.

XX. And behold, an aged man, one of the craftsmen, threw himself down before me saying, King Solomon, son of David, have pity on my old age. And I said to him, Tell me, old man, what it is you
 2 want. He said, I appeal to you, O king. I have an only son, and every day he makes some kind of attack on me; for he has hit me in the face and on the head and threatens to murder me. This is why I
 3 have come to you so that you may avenge me. When I heard this, I gave orders that his son should be brought to me. When he came, I
 4 said to him, Is this the truth about you? And he said, O king, I must have been out of my mind to frighten my father in the way I have.¹ Be merciful to me, O king, for such irregular behaviour
 5 makes a sorry story.² So when I, Solomon, had heard the young man, I urged the old man to think it over. But he was unwilling to and said, He should be put to death.

6 And when I saw that the demon Ornias laughed, I was very angry at his laughing in my presence; and I put the other aside and ordered Ornias to come, and I said to him, Accursed one, *how dare*
 7 you laugh at me? He said, I appeal to you, O king. It was not because of you that I laughed, but because of the unfortunate old man and the wretched youth, his son; for in three days he will be dead, and behold, the old man wants to put him to a painful death.
 8,9 And I said, Is this really so? The demon said, Yes, O king. And I ordered the demon to stand aside, and the old man and his son to

¹ Lit. 'I have been full mad to make my father quake through my hand.'

² Lit. 'for it would be contrary to what is established to hear such a parable and distress'.

10 come, and I ordered them to become friends. And I said to the old man, In three days bring your son to me here. They did obeisance and departed.

11 And I gave orders that Ornias should be brought to me again, and I said to him, Tell me how you know this, that in three days the
 12 young man will be dead. And he said, We demons mount upon the vault of heaven and fly amid the stars, and we hear the decrees that
 13 come forth from God and that relate to the lives of men. Then we go, and whether by force of influence, or by fire, or by sword, or by
 14 mishap, we disguise ourselves and destroy. And I asked him, Tell me, then, how is it that you demons are able to go up into heaven.
 15 He said to me, Whatever is done to perfection in heaven, so also is it upon earth; for the rulers and authorities and powers fly above
 16 and are thought worthy of entrance to heaven. But we demons get exhausted, for we have no foothold for ascending or resting, and we
 17 fall away like leaves from trees, and the men that see *it* think stars are falling from heaven. It is not so, O king: we fall because of our
 18 weakness; and, because we have no support from any quarter, we fall down like lightnings upon the earth, and burn up cities, and set
 19 *heaven*. When I, Solomon, heard this, I ordered the demon to be kept under guard for five days.

19 After the five days were over I summoned the old man, and he was unwilling to come. Then he came, and I saw he was broken
 20 and miserable. And I said to him, Where is your son, old man? He said, I am now childless, O king, and I, without hope, keep watch
 21 by my son's tomb. When I, Solomon, heard this, and knew that what had been told me by the demon was true, I glorified the God of heaven and earth.

XXI. And Sheba, the queen of the South, was astonished when she saw the temple I was building, and she gave ten thousand shekels
 2 of bronze. She went into the temple and saw the altar, and the cherubim and seraphim overshadowing the mercy seat, and the two hundred precious stones of the lamps flashing with different
 3 colours, lamps of emerald and hyacinth stones and sapphire. And she saw the vessels of silver and bronze and gold, and the bases of the pillars entwined with bronze wrought like chains. She saw also

4 the brazen sea with its base¹ and the thirty-six bulls. And they were all working in the temple of God – for the wage of one gold talent, except for the demons.

XXII. Now Adarces, king of the Arabians, sent a letter which ran as follows,

Adarces, king of the Arabians, to king Solomon greeting. Behold, we have heard of the wisdom that has been given you and that, man as you are, understanding has been given you from the Lord in respect of the spirits of the air and earth and under the earth. There is a spirit in Arabia; for at dawn there comes a wind which blows until the third hour, and its blast is terrible, and it kills men and cattle, and nothing that breathes can live before the demon. I beg you, therefore, since the spirit is like a wind, to devise something wise in accordance with the wisdom that has been given you by the Lord your God, and deign to send a man able to arrest it. And behold, we will be yours, king Solomon, both I and all my people; and all my land, even all Arabia, will be at peace, if you can bring about this deliverance¹ for us. Wherefore we beg you, do not ignore our supplication, and become our lord for all time, for ever. May my lord fare well always, continually.

6 I Solomon, when I had read this letter, folded it and gave it to my slave, saying to him, After seven days remind me of this letter. Jerusalem had been built, and the temple was being completed. And there was a great corner-stone, that I wanted to put into place as the main corner-stone, to complete the temple of God. And all the craftsmen and all the demons that were co-operating with them came together to bring the stone and set it on the pinnacle of the temple; but they were not strong enough to lift it. But after seven days I remembered the letter of the king of the Arabians; and I called my slaveling and said to him, Load up your camel, and take a wine-skin and this seal, and go to Arabia, to the place where the evil spirit blows, and hold the wine-skin and the ring in front of the mouth of the wine-skin. And when the wine-skin is inflated, you will find that it is the demon who inflates it. Then quickly tie the

¹ The meaning of *ἐπισταθόν* is uncertain. See 1 Kings vii. 23–25; 2 Chron. iv. 2–4.

¹ Lit. 'vengeance'.

wine-skin up tightly, and, when you have sealed it with the ring, load it onto your camel and bring it here. So go, and fare you well.

12 Then the slave did as he was ordered and journeyed to Arabia. And the people there were doubtful whether he would after all be able to arrest the evil spirit. And at daybreak the servant got up and stood in front of the spirit's blast; and he put the wine-skin on the ground, and on it he put the ring also. And it entered the wine-skin and inflated it. But the slave stood and tied the wine-skin tightly at the mouth, in the name of the Lord Sabaoth; and the demon was kept a prisoner³ in the wine-skin. The slave, too, remained for three days to see that all was well;⁴ and the spirit no longer blew, and the Arabians recognised that he had safely confined the spirit. Then he loaded the wine-skin onto his camel. The Arabians sent the slave on his way with gifts and honours, praising God (for they now had peace). But the slave brought the spirit and set it on top of the temple.

17 On the next day I, Solomon, went into the temple; and I was worried about the main corner-stone. And the wine-skin, standing up, walked seven paces, and stood on its mouth and did obeisance to me. And amazed that, although *tied up* in the wine-skin, it still was able to walk, I told it to stand up. The wine-skin stood up, and stood inflated on its feet. And I questioned him, saying, Who are you? The spirit inside said, I am a demon called Ephippas, the Arabian. And I said to him, What angel are you inhibited by? He said, By him who is to be born of a virgin, since angels worship him, and who is to be crucified by the Jews.

XXIII. I said to him, Tell me, what can you do? He said, I can move mountains and transport houses and throw down kings. And I said to him, If you can, lift this stone up to the highest point of the corner of the temple. He said, Not only will I lift this stone up, O king, but with the help of the demon in the Red Sea *I will lift up also* the airy pillar that is in the Red Sea, and you can set it where you will. And, saying this, he slipped in underneath the stone, and he lifted it, and mounted the steps carrying the stone, and placed it at

³ Lit. 'the demon remained'.

⁴ Lit. '... for three days as a demonstration'.

4 the top of the entrance to the temple. I, Solomon, said in elation, Truly now has been fulfilled the scripture that says, The stone that the builders rejected, this became the head of the corner – and so on.

XXIV. And again I said to him, Go, and bring me the pillar in the Red Sea you spoke of. Ehippas went off and brought up the demon and the pillar, both of them carrying it from Arabia. But I, because these two spirits were able to shake the whole world in a single moment, cleverly outwitted them by sealing them around on this side and that, and I said, Keep careful watch. And they have remained supporting the pillar in the air to this day, as a demonstration of the wisdom that was given me. The pillar, of an enormous size, was hanging in the air, supported by the spirits; and from below the spirits supporting it looked as if they were air. When we looked carefully, the base of the pillar seemed slightly askew; and it is so to this day.

XXV. And I asked the other demon, the one who came up from the sea with the pillar, Who are you, and what are you called, and what is your function, for I have heard much about you? And the demon said, I, king Solomon, am called Abezethibu, and once I used to dwell in the first heaven, which is named Ameluth. I, then, am a malevolent winged spirit, with a single wing, who plots against everything that breathes under heaven. I was present when Moses went in to Pharaoh, king of Egypt; and I hardened his heart. I am he whom Jannes and Jambres invoked, when they withstood Moses in Egypt. I am he who wrestled against Moses with wonders and signs. So I said to him, How was it then that you were found in the Red Sea? He said, At the exodus of the sons of Israel I hardened Pharaoh's heart; and I stirred up Pharaoh and his servants and caused them to pursue after the sons of Israel. And Pharaoh followed close upon them and so did all the Egyptians. I was there then, and we followed close; and we all came to the Red Sea. And it came to pass that when the sons of Israel had crossed, the water turned back and covered the entire Egyptian army. I was with them then, and I too was covered by the water; and so I remained in the sea, kept under the pillar, until Ehippas came. I,

Solomon, charged him solemnly to support the pillar till the end of time. And with God's help I adorned his temple with all seemliness. And I continued to rejoice and glorify him.

XXVI. Now I took wives without number from every land and kingdom. And I was on a visit to the king of the Jebusites; and I saw a woman in their kingdom, and fell violently in love, and wanted to add her to my wives. And I said to their priests, Give me this Shumanite (*sic*), because I have fallen violently in love with her. They said to me, If you have fallen in love with our daughter, worship our gods, great Raphan and Moloch, and take her. But I refused to worship and said, I do not worship a foreign god. But they made the girl promise, saying, If it should happen that you go into Solomon's kingdom, say to him, I will not sleep with you, unless you do what my people do:¹ take five locusts and slaughter them in the name of Raphan and Moloch. I, because I loved the damsel (for she was very beautiful), and because I was without understanding, thought nothing of the blood of the locusts; and I took them under my hands and sacrificed in the name of Raphan and Moloch. And I took the girl into my royal palace.

And the spirit of God was taken away from me, and from that day onwards what I said seemed like nonsense. And she forced me to build temples to idols. So I, miserable wretch, did what she told me; and the glory of God departed from me altogether, and my spirit was plunged in darkness, and I became a laughing-stock to idols and to demons.

That is why I have written this my Testament, so that you, who hear may pray, and give heed to the last things and not the first, and so may find a full measure of grace for ever and ever. Amen.

¹ Lit. 'unless you become like my people'.

THE APOCALYPSE OF ELIJAH

INTRODUCTION

Among the Coptic Biblical fragments from Akhmim, acquired for the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris by G. Maspero in the early 1880s, were fourteen papyrus leaves in the Akhmimic dialect and seven in the Sahidic. These proved on examination to be the remains of two distinct codices. The texts were previously unknown, though undoubtedly of an apocryphal work or works. There was a considerable overlap between them so that it was frequently possible to restore gaps in the Akhmimic from the Sahidic and *vice versa*. The presumption, therefore, was that they were, at least in part, two versions in different dialects of the same original(s).

The first editor (U. Bouriant in 1885) took the view that only a single work was involved; and from the fact that Zephaniah appeared as the speaker on one of the Sahidic leaves he concluded that the work was the lost Apocalypse of Zephaniah, known to have existed from its mention in the List of Sixty Books. A similar view was taken by L. Stern in the following year. However, in 1888 a further eight leaves, recently acquired by the Berlin Museum, were identified as belonging to the same codex as the fourteen Akhmimic leaves in the Bibliothèque Nationale; and at the end of the text on one of these leaves (it would seem the last in the codex) was the colophon 'The Apocalypse of Elijah'. Consequently, the codex must have contained more than one work. The question was (and is), How many?

An answer depends partly upon the order in which the loose leaves from both codices are arranged, and partly upon what is presumed to be the relationship between the two codices. The codices certainly overlapped. But that does not necessarily mean that their contents were precisely the same. And Bouriant and Stern had each arranged the Paris leaves in a different order.

In the Introduction to his edition of the texts in 1899 G. Steindorff examined this question in detail and concluded that

three works were involved: (1) an apocalypse of Elijah; (2) an apocalypse of Zephaniah; and (3) an 'Anonymous' apocalypse. This interpretation was decisively rejected by Schürer some ten years later, who maintained not only that there were no adequate grounds for distinguishing the 'Anonymous' from Zephaniah, but also that there were none for distinguishing a separate Elijah apocalypse either. Elijah, he pointed out, was referred to in the text of the alleged separate apocalypse twice, together with Enoch, in the third person;¹ but if Elijah were in fact being represented by the author as the recipient of the revelations and as himself recording them, he might naturally be expected to refer to himself in the first person. Thus, in spite of the colophon at the end of the Akhmimic text, we have to do (so Schürer argued), not with three works, but with one only, and that the Apocalypse of Zephaniah.

Although many subsequent students have been doubtful about Steindorff's 'Anonymous', few, if any, have been prepared to treat the final colophon as cavalierly as did Schürer, especially since the publication in 1912 by E. A. Wallis Budge in his edition of B. L. Or. 7594 (an uncial MS of the mid 4th cent., containing Sahidic texts of Deuteronomy, Jonah, Acts, and Revelation) of what he called 'the opening part of a short composition', written in a cursive hand at the end of Acts. This 'opening part' of Budge's 'short composition' was identified by C. Schmidt in 1925 as the beginning of the Elijah apocalypse isolated by Steindorff;² and so an additional argument was produced in favour of Steindorff's analysis, at least so far as his isolation of the Elijah apocalypse is concerned and his definition of its contents.

The final vindication of Steindorff's view was provided by the discovery of yet another Sahidic text in the Chester Beatty collection in Dublin (P. Chester Beatty 2018). This text had been known to exist since the 1950s, but no details became generally available until A. Pietersma and S. T. Comstock published their edition of it in the autumn of 1981.

The manuscript consists of ten leaves, of which the first five are virtually complete, while the remainder are rather more fragmentary. Quite apart from the fragmentary nature of these last

¹ At iii. 25 and 91.

² i.e. i. 1–15.

leaves, however, the manuscript comes to an abrupt end at iii. 72. On palaeographical grounds the editors argued that this was not due to accidental loss or mutilation, but to the copy that the scribe had before him having ended similarly. Yet, whether or not we are prepared to accept the editors' arguments in their entirety, the fact is that P. Chester Beatty 2018 begins and (for practical purposes) ends with the Elijah apocalypse, and there is no indication that it ever contained anything else: in this respect it differs markedly from the primary Akhmimic and Sahidic texts discovered in the 1880s. It should also be noted that in those texts, complementary as they otherwise were, there was a gap between ii. 13 and ii. 23, caused by the absence of a single leaf of the Akhmimic, where there was no complementary Sahidic: this gap (i.e. ii. 14–22) was covered by the Chester Beatty manuscript, with the result that it at last became possible to read through the text of the apocalypse from beginning to end as a single continuous whole.

In these circumstances no excuse is needed for treating 'Elijah' as a separate entity here, and for leaving 'Zephaniah' and the 'Anonymous' for independent treatment later.

There can be no doubt that the early Church knew of at least one apocryphal work bearing Elijah's name. Origen, in his *Commentary on Matthew* (according to the Latin translation) attributes St. Paul's quotation at I Cor. ii. 9 to 'the Secrets of Elijah the Prophet'.³ Ambrosiaster refers it to 'the Apocalypse of Elijah'.⁴ Jerome, in denying this and explaining the quotation as a free paraphrase of Isa. lxiv. 4, nevertheless admits the existence of an 'Apocalypse of Elijah', from which some said St. Paul was quoting.⁵ Similarly, Epiphanius explains Eph. v. 14 as a quotation from 'Elijah'.⁶ An apocryphal 'Elijah' (without further definition) is mentioned in *The Apostolic Constitutions*;⁷ a work 'Of Elijah the

³ Orig. (*Matt. com. ser.* 117): 'in nullo enim regulari libro hoc positum invenitur, nisi in secretis Eliae prophetae'. The Gk. original is, of course, no longer extant.

⁴ Ambrosiast. (*in I Cor. ii. 9*): 'hoc scriptum est in Esaia profeta aliis verbis (est in apocalypsi Heliac in apocryfis)'.

⁵ Hieron. (*Ep. lvii. 9; in Esai. lxiv. 4–5*).

⁶ Epiph. (*Haer. XLII. xii. 3*): 'τοδτο δε ἐμφέρεται παρὰ τῆ 'Ἠλίου'.

⁷ *Const. Apost. VI. xvi. 3*.

prophet' is listed in the pseudo-Athanasian Synopsis and the Stichometry of Nicephorus; and an 'Apocalypse of Elijah' occurs in the List of Sixty Books. But the only ancient reference, which gives any serious indication of contents, is a passage in the apocryphal Epistle of Titus, published from an 8th cent. Würzburg MS by Dom Donatien de Bruyne in 1925.⁸ The passage, which presumably comes from the Elijah apocryphon mentioned previously in the Epistle,⁹ runs as follows:

'And then the prophet Elijah witnesses to what he saw: "The angel of the Lord", he says, "showed me a deep valley, which is called Gehenna, burning with sulphur and pitch. And in that place are many souls of sinners, and they are tortured there with torments of different kinds. Some suffer through hanging by their genitals, others by their tongues, some by their eyes, and yet others hanging upside down; and women will be tortured through hanging by their breasts, and young men by their hands: some girls are roasted on the gridiron, and some souls are impaled and in perpetual pain. By these different punishments is proclaimed what each one has done: those that suffer through their genitals are the adulterers and pederasts: those that are suspended by their tongues are the blasphemers and false witnesses: those that are hung up by their eyes are those who have caused their own fall through what they see, gazing in concupiscence on the guilty deeds of others: those that were hanging upside down, these are those who hated the righteousness of God, men of evil counsel (no one of them is in agreement with his brother) – rightly, therefore, do they endure the punishment decreed for them. And as for the women that are ordered to be tormented in their breasts, these are those who gave their bodies to men in wantonness; and the men also will be close by them in their torments, hanging by their hands for this very reason."'¹⁰

⁸ D. de Bruyne, 'Epistula Titi, discipuli Pauli, De Dispositione Sanctimonii' in *R Bén xxxvii* (1925), pp. 47–72. A useful discussion of the epistle, especially of its quotations of Biblical and apocryphal texts, was almost immediately afterwards published by A. von Harnack, 'Der apokryphe Brief des Paulusschülers Titus "De dispositione sanctimonii"' in *Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Jahrg. 1925: phil.-hist. Kl.* (Berlin, 1925), pp. 180–213. Harnack assigned the Epistle to the 5th cent. and argued that it was Priscillianist.

⁹ de Bruyne, op. cit., pp. 54–55: . . . 'O divina dei meditatio ut ante praevideret de futuro saeculo, ut Enoch iustus de primo populo reputato constituitur scribere gesta hominum priora, et Helias sanctus huius plebis serotinae novae conscriberet acta . . .'.
¹⁰ de Bruyne, op. cit., p. 58.

Such descriptions of the torments of Hell are not uncommon in apocalyptic literature, especially in the later literature (cp., for example, Apoc. Esdras iv. 7–v. 6 – below, pp. 935–7). But nothing like it is to be found in our Coptic apocalypse.¹¹ Nor are St. Paul's alleged quotations at 1 Cor. ii. 9 and Eph. v. 14 to be found there either, although it is possibly not without significance that the first of them does occur at the very beginning of the apocryphal Titus, where it appears to be cited as if it were a well-known 'word of the Lord'. From the evidence available, therefore, it looks as if there were several apocrypha, bearing the name of Elijah, circulating in the early centuries. They may have been different recensions of the same basic material: they may have been completely independent. We have no means of knowing.

But about our Coptic apocalypse two things may be said with little fear of contradiction: (1) it is of some respectable antiquity; and (2) if not entirely Christian in origin, whatever Jewish sources it may have had have been so thoroughly Christianized as to be virtually unrecognizable.

To take the first point first. The two main MSS containing the Sahidic text (i.e. Steindorff's and the Chester Beatty) are dated either in the late 4th cent. or in the early 5th, and that containing the Akhmimic in the 4th. The cursive hand which made the addition corresponding to the opening verses of the Akhmimic text at the end of Acts in B. L. Or. 7594 is dated to c. AD 350; so that this text must have come into existence in the earlier half of the 4th cent. at the latest. Most Coptic texts of this kind are translations from Greek; and that our apocalypse is no exception was made as certain as can be by the publication by E. Pistelli in 1912 of a small 4th cent. papyrus fragment, the verso of which contains (though in a very mutilated state) the Greek text of iii. 90–92. If we are to allow time for the Greek text to become generally known, to be translated into Coptic, and then to become known in Coptic, it would seem that we must push back the date of composition into the 3rd cent. or even earlier.

The Christian elements in the apocalypse are undeniable, es-

¹¹ The nearest approach is the very general statement at iii. 86–87 (cp. also 'Anon.' Apoc. i. 6, ii. 4, iii. 12–16 – below, pp. 920, 922, 924).

pecially the many apparent reminiscences of the New Testament. It is possible to discount some of the contacts with Revelation (such as 'they shall neither hunger, nor shall they thirst' at i. 10–cp. iii. 61, or 'they will give them the right to eat from the tree of life and to wear white garments' at iii. 60)¹² as no more than part of the common stock-in-trade of apocalyptic literature, whether Jewish or Christian. But it is not so easy to apply this explanation to the description of the Antichrist as 'the Son of Perdition' and 'the Lawless One' at ii. 33–34:¹³ the warning against believing in the Antichrist's claims at iii. 1–2 looks very much as if it derived from Our Lord's words as recorded at Matt. xxiv. 5, 23; and the injunction 'Love not the world nor the things in the world' at i. 2 seems to be an exact quotation of 1 John ii. 15. Furthermore, according to iii. 3, when the Christ comes, he will be preceded by 'the sign of the cross'; and at i. 6–7 there is an unmistakable statement of the Doctrine of the Incarnation ('That is why the God of glory took pity on us: he sent his Son into the world to deliver us from our slavery. When he came to us, he told neither angel nor archangel nor any power; but he assumed the form of a man when he came to us to save us').¹⁴ What is uncertain is whether these Christian elements are an original part of the apocalypse or were superimposed by a Christian editor who re-wrote and expanded a Jewish source (as has been argued by several scholars, notably by Steindorff himself, Bousset, and Rosenstiehl).

In 1897 M. Buttenwieser published from a Munich MS a Jewish Apocalypse of Elijah, which records a revelation made by the archangel Michael to Elijah on Mount Carmel concerning the times of the End. From the historical references in it Buttenwieser thought that the original apocalypse had been written soon after AD 260 and that it had been edited and expanded in the 6th and 7th cents. There are indubitably contacts between this Jewish apocalypse and our Coptic apocalypse, particularly in the historical section in chap. ii of our apocalypse, though none of them are very close. According to Rosenstiehl, our apocalypse, as it now

¹² Cp. Rev. ii. 7, vii. 9, 16.

¹³ Cp. 2 Thess. ii. 3, 8.

¹⁴ Cp. *Ep. ad Diognetum*, vii. 2–4.

stands, dates from the 3rd cent. of our era; and it is the work of an author who refashioned material composed in the 1st cent. BC by a Jew with Essene learnings, who lived in Egypt.

The possibility of a Jewish base must consequently be left open. However, it is worth noting that if that base was in its essentials the same as the nucleus that Buttenwieser discerned in his apocalypse, and he was right in dating that nucleus after AD 260 (a date with which Bousset concurred), then our apocalypse cannot have been the 'Secrets of Elijah' known to Origen (since Origen died *c.* 250). Likewise, Rosenstiehl's 3rd cent. date for the apocalypse as it now stands would seem to suggest the same conclusion. But, as was remarked previously, there were probably several 'Elijahs' circulating in the early centuries in various languages, some of which were only distantly related to one another, if related at all.

The translation which follows is based on the Akhmimic text as printed in Steindorff's edition, the Sahidic texts, when available, being used to fill the gaps in the Akhmimic, whether these gaps be of only a word or two, or more extensive (the minor gaps are indicated by the sign '〈 〉', others by '...'). Occasionally, too, a Sahidic reading has been preferred to the Akhmimic as representing a better text. But in any case, all significant textual variants, or any that might be thought of any special interest, have attention drawn to them in the notes.

The chapter and verse divisions are those adopted by Rosenstiehl; but for convenience Steindorff's page-numeration, according to his ordering of the individual leaves, has been inserted in brackets in the translation where applicable – thus, '(A 19)' indicates page 19 in the Akhmimic codex as reconstructed by Steindorff, to be found on pp. 66–67 of his edition, and '(Sast 6)' indicates page 6 of his Sahidic text, to be found in his edition on pp. 120–125. Similarly in the notes, 'A' and 'Sast' indicate Steindorff's Akhmimic and Sahidic respectively, 'Sa^{CB}' indicates the Chester Beatty Sahidic, and 'Sa^{Sch}' indicates the Sahidic fragment from the beginning of the apocalypse as edited by Schmid.

Thus, apart from the Greek fragment from iii. 90–92, the texts available are:

A: i. 1–ii. 13 ('... saying'); ii. 23 ('The cities...')–iii. 19 ('... all the

- saints'); iii. 33 ('Shameless One . . .')—iii. 69 ('. . . perish in'); iii. 84 ('A righteous judgement . . .')—iii. 99.
 Sa^{GB}: i. 1—iii. 72 ('. . . passed me by').
 SaSt: i. 23 ('because . . .')—ii. 13 ('. . . saying'); iii. 7 ('the sky . . .')—iii. 84 ('. . . give tongue').
 Sa^{Sch}: i. 1—9 ('. . . for you thrones'); i. 12 ('of the earth . . .')—15 ('. . . the Evil One').

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I. (A 19) The word of the Lord came to me, saying, Son of man,¹ say to this people, Why do you² pile sin upon sin and provoke the Lord God who has made you to wrath? Love not the world nor the things in the world, for the boastfulness of the world is of the devil and its destruction. Remember that the Lord of glory,³ who has made all things, has taken pity on you to deliver us from the slavery of this *present* age. For time and time again the Devil has desired to stop the sun from shining on the earth, and to stop the earth from bearing *its* fruit, and wanted to devour men like the fire that runs (A 20) among the stubble,⁴ wanting to devour them like water. That is why the God of glory took pity on us: he sent⁵ his Son into the world to deliver us from *our* slavery. When he came to us, he told neither angel nor archangel nor any power;⁶ but he assumed the form of a man when he came to us to save us.⁷ For this reason (you will) be his sons, since he is your father. Remember he has prepared for you thrones and crowns in heaven, saying, All who obey me shall receive thrones and crowns from what is mine (said the Lord); for I will write my name upon their forehead and seal their (A 21) right hand. They shall neither hunger, nor shall they thirst, nor shall the Son of Lawlessness have his way with them, nor shall thrones hinder them; but they shall walk with angels to

¹ Sa^{CB} and Sch om. 'Son of man'.

² Sa^{CB} and Sch 'Why do you sin and'.

³ Sa^{CB} and Sch om. 'of glory'.

⁴ So Sa^{CB} and Sch. A 'that runs with a voice' (i.e. noisily).

⁵ Sa^{CB} 'he will send'.

⁶ Sa^{CB} and Sch om. 'nor any power'.

⁷ Sa^{CB} adds '(from the) flesh'.

11 my city. But sinners shall be put to shame: they⁸ shall not pass beyond the thrones; but the thrones of death will hold them back and rule over them, because the angels do not acknowledge them⁹ and they have become strangers to God's¹⁰ dwelling-places.

12 Listen, wise men of the earth, and be on your guard against¹¹ the deceivers, of whom there will be many at the end of time. For they will have doctrines that are not of God: they will reject the law of God – men who have made (A 22) their belly their god,¹² saying,

14 Fasting has no substance and God did not create it. They make themselves strangers to the covenant (of God)¹³ and rob themselves of the glorious promises. Such men are never established in firm faith. So do not let them lead you astray. Remember (that) the Lord created fasting when he made the heavens, for men's profit, because of the passions and desires¹⁴ that are at war with you, so that the Evil One may not burn you up.¹⁵ But I have created a pure fasting, said the Lord. The man who fasts always (A 23) will not sin through jealousy or strife.¹⁶ Let the man who is pure fast. But the man who fasts, and is not pure provokes the Lord and the angels also; and he harms his-own soul, laying up for himself a store of retribution for the day of retribution. But I have¹⁷ created a pure fasting with a pure heart and pure hands. It forgives sins: it heals diseases: it drives out demons: it is efficacious at the throne of God, like a sweetener, like a fragrance; for the forgiveness of sins¹⁸ by pure prayer. What respectable workman among you will go out into the fields without (A 24) his tools? Or who will go out to fight in war without a breastplate? Will he not be killed if he is found, because he has despised the king's service? So, too, it is impossible for anybody to come to the holy place and doubt. The man who

⁸ Sa^{CB} om. 'shall be put to shame: they'.

⁹ Lit. 'do not agree with them'.

¹⁰ Lit. 'his'.

¹¹ Lit. 'Listen, wise men of the earth, concerning'.

¹² Slightly emended on the basis of Sa^{CB} and Sch.

¹³ So Sa^{CB} and Sch.

¹⁴ Sa^{CB} adds 'of different kinds'.

¹⁵ Sa^{CB} 'may not deceive you'.

¹⁶ Lit. 'sin with jealousy and strife in him'.

¹⁷ Sa^{CB} 'But the Lord has'.

¹⁸ So Sa^{CB}. A is slightly defective here.

doubts – his prayer is . . . in himself;¹⁹ neither do the angels
26 acknowledge him.²⁰ Be then of one mind always in the Lord,²¹ so
that you may *be able to interpret all things*.²²

II. But as for the Assyrian kings and the destruction of the heaven
and the earth and the things under the earth¹ – from now on they
shall not prevail over (those who are mine), said the Lord; and
2 those who are mine² shall not be afraid (A 25) in the war. When
they (see a king) appearing in the north, (they will call him) the
3 (Assyrian) king (and) the King of Unrighteousness. (He will make
endless) wars on Egypt *and be the cause of* many disturbances: there
will be groaning throughout the land, for your children will be
4 carried away. Many will seek death in those days, but death will
5 elude them.³ And a king will arise in the lands of the west, who will
6 be called the King of Peace. He will run upon the sea like a roaring
7 lion; *and* he will kill the King of Unrighteousness. He will take
8 vengeance on Egypt with much fighting and bloodshed. (A 26) *And*
it will come to pass in those days that †the orders (peace) from
9 (Egypt) and an (empty) gift. † (He will give) peace to the (saints,
10 saying), The name of (God) is one. (He will) do honour to the
11 priests of God⁴ and exalt⁵ the places of the saints.⁶ He will give
†empty† gifts to the house of God: he will wander about in the
12 cities of Egypt in secret and without their knowledge. He will count
the holy places: he will weigh the idols of the Gentiles: he will count
13 their riches: he will set up priests for them. He will order the wise
men of the land and the great men of the people to be arrested and
taken to the metropolis that is by the sea, saying, There is but one
14 single language. And when you hear, There is peace and joy . . .

¹⁹ SaSt 'He who doubts in his prayer is dark in himself' (and similarly Sa^{CB}).

²⁰ Lit. 'agree with him'.

²¹ Sa^{CB} adds 'be wise in the time'.

²² So Sa^{CB} and St. A 'every hour' or 'at every hour'.

¹ Sa^{CB} and St om. 'and the things under the earth'.

² Lit 'and they'.

³ Sa^{CB} and St om. 'but death will elude them'.

⁴ So^{CB} and St. A 'to the saints'.

⁵ Or 'erect'.

⁶ Sa^{CB} and St 'the holy places'.

(Sa^{CB} 7) behold, I will tell you what is distinctive about him,⁷ so
15 that you can recognize him. For he has two sons, one on his right
and one on his left. Now, the one on his right will look like a devil,
and he will defy the name of God (for four kings come from that
16 king). But in his thirtieth year he will come down⁸ to Memphis, *and*
17 he will build a temple in Memphis then. His own son will rise up
against him and kill him: the whole land will be in turmoil on that
18 day. He will issue an edict throughout the whole land that the
priests of the land and all the saints be arrested, saying, All the gifts
and all the good things my father gave you, (Sa^{CB}8) you shall give
19 back twice over. He will shut up the holy places: he will take away
20 their houses:⁹ he will make captives of their children. He will give
orders that they offer sacrifices *which are* abominations and *bring*
deep distress upon the land: he will appear beneath the sun and the
21 moon on that day. The priests of the land will rend their garments.
22 Woe to you, rulers of Egypt, in those days, for your day has passed:
the violence done to the poor will redound on you; and your
23 children will be carried off as spoil. (A 27) The cities of Egypt will
groan in those days, for they will not hear the voice of the seller nor
24 *the voice of* the buyer. The market-places of the cities of Egypt will
gather dust: those in Egypt will weep together: they will seek
25 death, *but* death will elude them and pass them by. In those days
they will run up onto the rocks and jump off, saying, Fall down
26 upon us; and still they will not die.¹⁰ Two further afflictions will
27 come upon the whole land in those days. The king will give orders
that all women with children at the breast be arrested and brought
before him bound, and that they suckle dragons, (A 28) and that
28 their blood be squeezed out of their breasts, and that it be used as
29 poison for arrows.¹¹ Because of the need *for soldiers* for the wars¹² he
will also order that all children of twelve and under be taken and
30 made to learn how to shoot with bow and arrow. *Every* midwife in

⁷ Lit. 'I will tell you his signs'.

⁸ Or 'up'.

⁹ Lit. 'their house'.

¹⁰ Sa^{CB} adds 'but death will elude them'.

¹¹ Lit. 'and that it (or 'they') be given to the poison of the arrows'.

¹² So Sa^{CB} (lit. 'the need of the wars'): A 'the need of (i.e. 'the famine in') the cities'.

the land will mourn; *and* the woman who has children will raise her eyes to heaven, saying, Why ever did I sit on the birth-stool to bring children into the world? The childless and the virgin will rejoice, saying, Now is the time for us to rejoice because we have no children upon earth: our children are in the heavens.

In those days three (A 29) kings will arise among the Persians and will take the Jews that are in Egypt, and transport them to Jerusalem; and they will inhabit it and dwell there. Then if you hear, Safety is¹³ in Jerusalem, *then* rend your garments, you priests of the land, for the coming of (the) Son of Perdition will not long be delayed. The Lawless One will appear in those days in the holy places.

The kings of the Persians will flee in (those) days to Hrearit¹⁴ with the Assyrian kings. Four kings will fight with three. They will spend three years in that place until they can lay their hands upon the riches of the temple¹⁵ there.

In those days (A 30) blood will flow from Kos to Memphis. The river of Egypt will turn into blood, and no one will be able to drink from it for three days. Woe to Egypt and those who live there!

In those days a king will appear in the city called the City of the Sun; ¹⁶and the whole land will be in turmoil. He will hurry up to Memphis in the sixth year of the Persian kings. He will start a rebellion¹⁷ in Memphis: he will kill the Assyrian kings; *and* the Persians will wreak vengeance on the land. He will order the slaughter of all the Gentiles and the lawless: he will order the temples of the Gentiles to be plundered and their priests destroyed: he will order the temples of the saints to be (re)built; *and* he will give double gifts (A 31) to the house of God. He will say, The name

¹³ Sa^{CB} 'Safety and security are'.

¹⁴ Obscure: perhaps a place-name, or alternatively a verb of unknown meaning.

¹⁵ Sa^{CB} om. 'of the temple'.

¹⁶ The translation of verses 39b–42 follows Sa^{CB}, which seems to give a better sense in the context. A reads '... and the whole land will be in turmoil (and) flee up to Memphis. In the sixth year the Persian kings will start a rebellion in Memphis. They will kill the Assyrian king; *and* the Persians will wreak vengeance on the land and order the slaughter of all the Gentiles and the lawless. They will order the holy temples to be (re)built: they will give double gifts (A 31) to the house of God. They will say. The name of God is one'.

¹⁷ Lit. 'he will act treacherously'.

of God is one. The whole land will worship the Persians; and the remnant which has survived the onslaught will say, The Lord has sent us a righteous king so that the land might not become a desert. †He will command not to give any king †¹⁸for three years and six months. The land will be full of good things in great abundance. The living will turn towards the dead and say, Rise up and share with us this life of peace.¹⁹

III. In the fourth year of that king, the Son of Lawlessness will appear, saying, I am the Christ¹ (though he is not). Do not believe him. When the Christ comes, he will come (A 32) encircled by angels, like a flock of doves circling round their dove-cote:² he will walk³ on the clouds of heaven, with the sign of the cross preceding him. The whole world will see him, like the sun that shines from the eastern regions to the western: thus will he come,⁴ with all his angels round him. The Son of Lawlessness will also try to stand in the holy places. He will say to the sun, Fall; and it will fall: he will say, Shine; and it will: he will say, Be darkened; and it will.⁵ He will say to the moon, Turn into blood; and it will. He will go with them through the sky. He will walk upon the sea and (A 33) on the rivers as if on the dry land.⁶ He will make the lame walk: he will make the deaf hear: he will make the dumb speak: he will make the blind see: he will make the lepers clean: he will heal the sick; *and* he will cast out demons from those possessed by them. He will do many signs and wonders in the sight of everyone. He will do everything⁷ that

¹⁸ A possible emendation might be '... anything to the king' (i.e. 'He will command that nothing be given to the king'). Pietersma and Comstock rendered Sa^{CB} 'He will command that no king be given them'.

¹⁹ Lit. 'and be with us in this rest'.

¹ Note that in Coptic *Χριστός* always has the article, whether it is used as a title ('the Christ', 'the Anointed One') or as a proper name ('Christ').

² Lit. 'he comes like a dove-cote, with a crown of doves surrounding him'.

³ Lit. 'he walks'.

⁴ Lit. 'thus he comes'.

⁵ Sa^{CB} reverses the order of the last two commands to the sun and omits the following command to the moon.

⁶ Sa^{CB} and St convert the following sentence into a command introduced by 'He will say, Walk ...', with further variants between the two authorities.

⁷ Lit. 'the works'.

11 the Christ will do,⁸ except only the raising of the dead. By this you will know that he is the Son of Lawlessness, for he has no power
12 over the soul. Behold, I will tell you what his distinguishing
13 features are, so that you may be able to recognize him. He is a
14 spare,⁹ weedy,¹⁰ man, tall,¹¹ thin-legged, with a patch of grey hair
15 at the front of his head, (A 34) *but otherwise* bald, with his
16 eyebrows¹² reaching to his ears, and with leprous sores on the tips
17 of his fingers.¹³ He will transform himself in front of those who look
18 at him:¹⁴ he will become a child: he will become an old man:¹⁵ he
19 will transform all his features; but what distinguishes his head
20 cannot be changed. By this you may be certain that he is the Son of
21 Lawlessness.

16 The virgin, whose name is Tabitha, will hear that the Shameless
17 One has appeared in the holy places. And she will put on her linen
18 garment and pursue him up into Judaea; and she will reproach
19 him all the way to Jerusalem, *criying out*, O Shameless One, O Son of
20 Lawlessness, O you who have been an enemy of all the saints.

20 (SaSt 6) Then the Shameless One will turn in fury upon the
21,22 virgin. He will pursue her to the west. He will suck her blood at
23 eventide, and throw it¹⁶ on the temple; and it¹⁶ will become the
24 salvation of the people. She will arise in the morning, alive, and
25 will reproach him, saying, Shameless One, you have no power over
26 my soul, nor over my body; for I live in the Lord always. (SaSt 7)
And she will say also, My blood you have thrown on the temple has
become the salvation of the people.

25 Then, when Elijah and Enoch hear that the Shameless One has
26 appeared in the holy place, they *will* come down to fight against
him, saying, Are you then not ashamed to cling to the saints,¹⁷ for
you are a stranger, always? You have been an enemy of what is in

⁸ So SaSt: A 'has done', and so apparently Sa^{CB}.

⁹ Lit. 'little'.

¹⁰ Meaning doubtful.

¹¹ So SaSt: A 'young': Sa^{CB} is defective at this point.

¹² Sa^{CB} 'eyelids'.

¹³ Lit. 'there being bareness of leprosy at the front of his hands'.

¹⁴ Sa^{CB} and St 'in front of you'.

¹⁵ Sa^{CB} and St reverse the order ('... old man ... child').

¹⁶ Text 'her' ... 'she' (cp. verse 24).

¹⁷ Sa^{CB} om. 'to cling to the saints'.

27 heaven and what is on the earth: you have been an enemy of the
28 thrones and of the angels, You are a stranger always. You fell from
29 heaven like the morning stars. You abandoned your proper
30 home:¹⁸ you were alienated from your tribe.¹⁹ Are you then not
ashamed to cling to God, for you are the Devil?

31 The Shameless One will hear *it* and be furious, and he will fight
32 with them in the market-place of the great city; and he will spend
33 seven days fighting with them.²⁰ And they will lie dead in the
34 market-place for three and a half days; and all the people will see
35 them. But on the fourth day they will arise and reproach him,
36 saying, O (A 35) Shameless One, O son of Lawlessness,²¹ are you
37 then not ashamed to lead astray the people of God, for whom you
38 have not suffered? Do you not know that we live in the Lord, so that
39 we can reproach you continually when you say, Over these have I
40 prevailed?²² We will lay aside the flesh of the body²³ and kill you,
41 since you *will* have no power to speak on that day. For we are
42 strong²⁴ in the Lord always; but you are ever an enemy of God.²⁵
43 The Shameless One will hear *it* and be furious and fight with them;
and the whole city will gather round them. On that day they will
shout aloud to heaven, shining *like the stars*, and all the people²⁶ and
the whole world will see them. The Son of Lawlessness will not
prevail over them. (A 36) He will vent his fury on the land²⁷ and set
himself to sin against the people. He will hunt down all the saints,
and they will be brought *to him* as prisoners with the priests of the
land. He will kill them and destroy them . . . ,²⁸ and their eyes will
be put out with iron spikes. He will peel off their skins from their

¹⁸ Lit. 'you changed'.

¹⁹ So SaSt (lit. 'the tribe became darkness for you'): Sa^{CB} is fragmentary here, but it certainly read 'your tribe'.

²⁰ Sa^{CB} adds 'and kill them'.

²¹ So A: Sa^{CB} and St om. 'O Son of Lawlessness'.

²² So Sa^{CB} and St: in A the last half of this verse is manifestly corrupt.

²³ So SaSt: A 'spirit'; Sa^{CB} is defective at this point.

²⁴ SaSt 'for we live': Sa^{CB} is defective.

²⁵ Sa^{CB} and St om. 'of God'.

²⁶ Sa^{CB} and St om. 'and all the people'.

²⁷ So Sa^{CB} and St: A 'He will go to the land'.

²⁸ This lacuna in A cannot be filled from Sa, since both Sa^{CB} and SaSt om. verse 41 and verse 42 as far as here.

44 heads:²⁹ he will pull out their nails one by one. He will order
 45 vinegar and lye to be put in their noses. Those who are unable to
 endure the tortures of that king will take *their* money and flee on
 46 ferries to desert places.³⁰ When they die they will be like men
 47 asleep.³¹ The Lord will receive to himself their spirits and their
 souls. Their (A 37) flesh will be *as permanent as* rock:³² no wild beast
 48 shall eat them until the last day of the great judgement. *Then* will
 they rise up and find a place of rest; but they will not share in the
 49 kingdom of the Christ like those who have endured. For the Lord
 said, I will grant them to sit on my³³ right hand. They will obtain
 50 grace for others.³⁴ They will be victorious over the Son of Lawless-
 ness: they will see the destruction of heaven and earth: they will
 51 obtain the thrones of glory and the crowns. Sixty righteous will be
 chosen in those days, who are prepared:³⁵ they will arm themselves
 with the breastplate of God, and run to Jerusalem, and fight with
 52 the Shameless One, saying, All the mighty works (A 38) which the
 prophets did from the beginning, you have done; *but* you could not
 53 raise the dead, for you have no power over the soul. By this we
 54 have recognized that you are the Son of Lawlessness. He will hear
it and be furious, and order fires to be lit on the altars³⁶ and the
 55 righteous to be bound and put on them and burned. And on that
 day many will change their minds and desert him, saying, This is
 not the Christ: the Christ does not kill the righteous: he does not
 pursue honest men: does he not rather seek to persuade them by
 signs and wonders?³⁷

56 In those days the Christ will take pity on his own. He will send

²⁹ Sa^{CB} om. 'He . . . heads'.

³⁰ Sa^{CB} and St 'flee to the ferries (SaSt 'rivers'), saying, Ferry us to the desert'.

³¹ Lit. 'They will sleep like men asleep'.

³² SaSt, wrongly, 'Their flesh tastes like ham (i.e. *πέγνα* for *πέτρα*)': Sa^{CB} is defective.
³³ So Sa^{CB} and St. A 'their'.

³⁴ Sa^{CB} and St om. this sentence.

³⁵ So SaSt: A Sa^{CB} 'Sixty righteous who are prepared for this hour will hear' (Sa^{CB} adds 'in those days').

³⁶ Lit. 'and order altars to be kindled'. Sa^{CB} and St om. the reference to the kindling of the altars, though the righteous are burned on them.

³⁷ So SaSt: A, obviously corruptly, 'he does not pursue men while he will seek, but he persuades them by signs and wonders'. Sa^{CB} is defective but appears to agree substantially with SaSt.

his angels from heaven, in number six hundred and four
 57 thousand,³⁸ each one of them having six (A 39) wings. Their voice
 will shake heaven and earth as they bless and glorify *their Lord*.
 58 Those upon whose forehead the name of Christ is written, and
 59 upon whose³⁹ hand is the seal, both small and great, they will set
 60 upon their wings and protect⁴⁰ them from his wrath. Then will
 Gabriel and Uriel be a pillar of light to lead them⁴¹ into the holy
 land; and they will give them the right to eat from the tree of life,⁴²
 and to (wear white) garments, and to be guarded (by angels).
 61 (They shall) not (thirst),⁴³ nor (shall) the Son of (Lawlessness)
 62 have power over them. (But) on (that day) the land will be in
 turmoil (and the sun be) darkened: peace and the spirit will be
 removed from the earth:⁴⁴ the trees will be uprooted and fall: the
 63 wild beasts and the cattle will die in confusion. (A 40) The birds
 will fall dead upon the ground:⁴⁵ the earth will be dry;⁴⁶ *and* the
 64 waters of the sea will be dried up. The sinners on the earth will
 groan, saying, What have you done to us, Son of Lawlessness, by
 65 saying, I am the Christ, though you are the Devil? You have no
 66 power to save yourself: how can you save us? You have performed⁴⁷
 (signs) before us and⁴⁸ estranged (us) from the Christ who made
 67 us.⁴⁹ (Woe) to us (that we have) listened to you. (Behold, now we)
 68 shall die of famine.⁵⁰ (Where) now is there the vestige of a (right-
 69 teacher) that we can appeal to (him)? Now we shall perish in (SaSt

³⁸ Sa^{CB} and St 'sixty-four thousand'.

³⁹ Sa^{CB} and St add 'right'.

⁴⁰ Lit. 'take'.

⁴¹ Sa^{CB} and St add 'until they bring them'.

⁴² On the restorations from here to the end of A 39 see Schmidt, *Der Kolophon . . .*, p. 321.
⁴³ Sa^{CB} and St 'They shall not hunger nor thirst'.

⁴⁴ Lit. 'They will carry the (peace) from upon the earth and the spirit'. The 'spirit', which is to be 'removed from the earth', is presumably the Divine spirit, which was active initially at the creation (Gen. i. 2) and subsequently 'filled the whole world' (Wisd. i. 7).
⁴⁵ Cp. Anon. Apoc. iii. 26 (below, p. 925).

⁴⁶ Sa^{CB} om. 'the earth will be dry'.

⁴⁷ Sa^{CB} and St add 'empty'. On the restorations from here to the end of A 40 see Schmidt, *Der Kolophon . . .*, p. 321.

⁴⁸ Lit. 'until you'.

⁴⁹ So A SaSt: Sa^{CB} 'everyone'.

⁵⁰ Sa^{CB} and St add 'and tribulation'.

⁵¹ A 'it': Sa^{CB} 'you' (i.e. 'thee'); SaSt leaves the pronoun unexpressed.

70 13)⁵² *the day of wrath*, for we have disobeyed God. We went to the
 71 deep places in the sea; *but* we found no water. We dug in the rivers
 72 to a *depth* of sixteen cubits; *but* we found no water. Then will the
 Shameless One weep⁵³ on that day, saying, Woe is me that my time
 73,74 has passed me by. I said my time would not pass me by. My years
 have become months, my days have vanished like dust driven by
 75 the wind: now I shall perish with you. Run out, therefore, into the
 76 desert; lay hands upon the brigands, *and* kill them. Bring the saints
 77 up; for it is because of them (SaSt 14) that the earth bears fruit. For
 it is because of them that the sun shines upon the earth. For it is
 78 because of them that the dew comes down upon the earth. The
 sinners will weep, saying, You have made us enemies of God. (If
 you can, (get up) and pursue (them).
 79 Then will he spread his fiery wings and fly forth after the saints.
 80,81 He will fight with them again. The angels will hear *of it*, and they
 82 will come down and fight with him in a war with many swords. On
 that day the Lord will hear and order the heaven and the earth in
 83 great anger to send forth fire. And the fire will overwhelm the earth
 to an *extent* of seventy-two cubits: it will devour the sinners and the
 84 devils like stubble. (A 41) A righteous judgement will there be on
 85 that day: the mountains of the earth will give tongue.⁵⁴ The paths
 will speak with one another, Did you hear to-day the sound⁵⁵ of (a)
 man walking, who did not come to the judgement of the Son of
 God?

86 The sins of each will stand against him in the place where they
 were committed – those committed in the day as well as those
 87 committed in the night. The righteous⁵⁶ and the . . . will see the
 sinners in (their) punishments, both those who have persecuted
 88 them and those who have handed them over to death. Then the
 sinners . . . will see the place of the righteous, and thus will they be
 89 favoured.⁵⁷ In those days what the (righteous) (A 42) ask for many

⁵² One folio of A is missing here; but SaSt is available until A resumes at verse 84, as is also Sa^{CB} as far as the end of verse 72.

⁵³ Text 'Then the Shameless One wept'.

⁵⁴ So SaSt: A has ' . . . in a righteous judgement. On that day will the mountains and the earth give tongue'.

⁵⁵ Lit. 'voice'.

⁵⁶ Text 'unrighteous'.

⁵⁷ Lit. 'and thus there will be grace'.

90 times will be given them. On that day will the Lord judge heaven
 and earth. He will judge those who have transgressed in heaven
 and those who have done the same on earth. He will judge the
 shepherds of the people. He will ask them about the sheep; and
 they will be given him, unencumbered by wickedness and lies.⁵⁸

91 Then *will* Elijah and Enoch descend. They *will* lay aside *their*
 92 worldly flesh and take on spiritual flesh. They *will* pursue the Son
 93 of Lawlessness and kill him without his being able to speak. On
 94 that day he will melt before them like (A 43) ice melted by fire. He
 95 will perish like a dragon that has no breath. He will be told, Your
 time has passed you by: now you are to perish together with those
 96 who believe in you. They will be flung into the pit of the abyss, and
 it will be shut over them.

97 On that day the Christ, the King, with all the saints, will come⁵⁹
 98 from heaven. He will burn⁵⁹ the earth, and spend⁵⁹ a thousand
 years upon it; for the sinners had taken possession of it. He will
 make a new heaven and a new earth, no devil . . . will be⁶⁰ in them.
 99 He will reign with the saints, going up (and) down; and they will be
 with the (A 44) angels always, and with the Christ a thousand
 years.

The Apocalypse of Elijah

⁵⁸ Lit. 'there being no deadly deceit in them'.

⁵⁹ Lit. 'comes . . . burns . . . spends'.

⁶⁰ Lit. 'is'.

THE ASCENSION OF ISAIAH

INTRODUCTION

A tradition that Isaiah was 'sawn in two' by Manasseh was known by both Jews and Christians. Most early Christian writers give no details,¹ although some specify that the saw used was made of wood.² The Talmud, however, is more explicit. In one version Isaiah is brought to trial before Manasseh: at the conclusion of the hearing Isaiah pronounces the Name and is immediately swallowed up by a cedar-tree: the cedar is sawn in two, and 'when the saw reached his mouth he died'.³ In another Talmudic version Manasseh resolves to kill Isaiah: Isaiah hears of it and flees and hides himself inside a cedar-tree: unfortunately a piece of his garment sticks out and betrays him: so Manasseh orders the cedar to be cut through; and it is this crime which is alluded to particularly at 2 Kings xxi. 16 ('Manasseh shed so much innocent blood, that he filled Jerusalem with it up to the brim').⁴ Yet another variant of the same story is to be found in a fragment preserved as a gloss attached to Isa. lxvi (the last chapter in the book) in two MSS of the Targum of Jonathan on the Prophets – *Codex Reuchlinianus* and Cod. Vat. Ebr. Urbin. 1: according to this account, Isaiah, outraged by Manasseh's profanation of the Temple, prophesied its destruction by Nebuchadrezzar: when Manasseh heard of it he was filled with fury,

'He said to his servants, Run after him, seize him! They ran after him. He fled from before them, and a carob tree opened its mouth and swallowed him. They brought saws [+ of iron *Cod. Reuch.*] and cut through the tree until Isaiah's blood flowed like water.'⁵

The first indication of the existence of a separate apocryphal

¹ e.g. Tert. (*pat.* 14; *scorp.* 8).

² e.g. Justin (*Tryph.* cxx. 14–15).

³ T. B. *Yebamoth*, 49 b.

⁴ T. J. *Sanhedrin*, x. 2.

⁵ See P. de Lagarde, *Prophetæ Chaldaice* (Leipzig, 1872), p. xxxiii; P. Grelot, 'Deux tosephatas targoumiques inédites sur Isaïe LXVI' in *R. Bibl.* lxxix (1972), pp. 515–518.

work concerned with this incident is found in Origen. 'It is clear', Origen writes, 'that tradition relates that Isaiah the prophet was sawn asunder and the circumstances are recorded in a certain apocryphon.'⁶ In a similar passage he names this apocryphon 'the Isaiah apocryphon'.⁷ And in yet another passage (in Jerome's translation) he mentions a tradition that Isaiah was condemned for blaspheming Moses and the Law;⁸ and the terms in which Origen states this charge have obvious points of contact with Balchira's accusation in Ascension iii. 6-10.

In the century after Origen, Didymus the Blind, when describing the details of Isaiah's martyrdom in the course of his comment on Ps. xxxv. 15, mentions a second charge as having been brought against Isaiah also - that he had described his contemporaries as 'rulers of Sodom' and 'a people of Gomorrah';⁹ and it is to be noted that precisely the same second charge follows immediately on the heels of the blasphemy charge in Ascension iii. 10. Again, when commenting on Eccl. xi. 6, Didymus refers to Christ's journeying through the heavens and adds that his source is the description 'by Isaiah . . . in the Ascension' (a clear allusion to Ascension x. 20-31).¹⁰ Epiphanius, too, about the same time (end of 4th cent.), refers twice to 'The Ascension of Isaiah' as accepted and used by heretics: the Archontici used it:¹¹ the Egyptian heretic Hieracas appealed to it for confirmation of his doctrine of the Spirit; and in this last connection Epiphanius cites Ascension ix. 35-36 in full.¹²

In the early 5th cent. Jerome provides three pieces of evidence:

(1) He records that contemporary Jewish opinion gave two reasons for Isaiah's condemnation - first, Isaiah had offended all classes in Jerusalem by addressing them as 'rulers of Sodom' and 'a people of Gomorrah' (Isa. i. 10); and second, whereas God himself had laid it down through Moses, 'No man may see me and live'

⁶ *Ep. ad Afric.* 9.

⁷ *Comm. in Matt. tom. X.* 18 (on Matt. xiii. 56): cp. *Matt. comm. ser.* 28 (on Matt. xxiii. 37-39).

⁸ *In Es. hom.* i. 5.

⁹ *Comm. in Pss.* 218³⁻¹⁴ (= M. Gronewald, *Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen*, viii (Bonn, 1969), pp. 354-357).

¹⁰ *Comm. in Eccl.* 329²¹⁻²³ (= G. Binder and L. Liesenborghs, *Pap. Texte und Abh.* ix (Bonn, 1969), pp. 66-67).

¹¹ *Haer.* XL. ii. 2.

¹² *Haer.* LXVII. iii. 4.

(Exod. xxxiii. 20), Isaiah had dared to claim 'I saw the Lord' (Isa. vi. 1). The same two charges, as we have seen, are found in conjunction both in the mouth of Balchira at Ascension iii. 6-10 and in Didymus: Jerome, however, has them in the reverse order, influenced, perhaps, by the order of the passages in the canonical Isaiah.¹³

(2) Two interpretations of Isa. lvii. 1-2, Jerome says, are possible. Either the passage can be taken generally as a reference to all those whose 'innocent blood' Manasseh shed, or it can be taken as a prophecy by Isaiah of his own martyrdom. Both interpretations are allowed by the Jews of Jerome's day, and the tradition that Isaiah was 'sawn in two by Manasseh with a wooden saw' is 'a very firmly established tradition among them'.¹⁴

(3) In commenting on Isa. lxiv. 4-5 Jerome remarks that these verses are paraphrased by St. Paul at 1 Cor. ii. 9: he then adds 'The Ascension of Isaiah and the Apocalypse of Elijah also quote this passage'. The quotation is found (in its Pauline form) in the Latin and in the Slavonic versions at Ascension xi. 34, though not in the Ethiopic.¹⁵

In the mid-sixth century the unknown author of the Pseudo-Chrysostom *Opus imperfectum in Matthaeum* gives an account of an interview of Hezekiah with Manasseh and Isaiah, which is not only generally very similar to the scene described in Ascension i, but also exhibits many detailed points of contact.¹⁶ But since Pseudo-Chrysostom mentions no source, it is impossible to say whether he was dependent upon the Ascension as we know it, or (possibly) upon a source of the Ascension, or whether he derived his information independently from tradition.

And finally, in the eleventh century, Georgius Cedrenus says that Isaiah prophesied the coming of the Antichrist, the duration of the Antichrist's rule on earth and his being cast into 'Tartarus', the coming of Christ, and the resurrection to judgement of both good and evil, 'in the Testament of Hezekiah King of Judah'¹⁷ - a

¹³ *Comm. in Es.* i. 10.

¹⁴ *Comm. in Es.* lvii. 1-2.

¹⁵ *Comm. in Es.* lxiv. 4-5.

¹⁶ *Op. imperf. in Matt.* Hom. i (= PG lvi. 626).

¹⁷ *Historiarum Compendium* (= *Corp. scr. hist. Byz.* (ed. I. Bekker; Bonn, 1838, vol. i, pp. 120-121; also PG cxxi. 152).

work whose existence is otherwise unattested. If Cedrenus had not named his source so distinctly, it would naturally be assumed that he was alluding to Ascension iv. 12–18. Was Cedrenus, then, guilty of a slip in naming his source? Or was 'The Testament of Hezekiah' a recognised alternative title for the Ascension? Or was it, perhaps, the title of one of the Ascension's constituent parts, which may still have survived in the eleventh century as a separate work?

The complete text of the Ascension here translated is preserved only in Ethiopic. Three Ethiopic manuscripts are available: A (Bodl. Aeth. d. 13 – formerly Huntington 626; 15th cent.), B (B. L. Or. 501; 15th cent.), and C (B. L. Or. 503; 18th cent.). For comparison with the Ethiopic there are also available: (1) seven leaves of a papyrus codex of the 5th–6th centuries in the Amherst Collection (now part of the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York), giving a Greek text of ii. 4–iv. 4 with some lacunae, first published by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt in 1900; (2) two Latin fragments from a Vatican MS (Vat. lat. 5750; 5th–6th cent.), containing ii. 14–iii. 13 and vii. 1–19, first published by A. Mai in 1828; (3) a Latin text of vi–xi, first printed by Antonius de Fantis in 1522 from an unknown MS and subsequently reprinted from de Fantis by J. K. L. Gieseler, C. F. A. Dillmann, and R. H. Charles ('with certain corrections'); and (4) a Slavonic text of vi–xi, now known from six MSS, first published by A. N. Popov in 1879. All these texts will be found conveniently assembled in parallel columns in Charles's edition (pp. 83–139).¹⁸

As further authorities may be listed: (5) two very fragmentary leaves of a mid-to-late 4th century papyrus codex giving the Sahidic text of iii. 3–6, 9–12, and xi. 24–32, 35–40; (6) thirteen even less well preserved fragments of a papyrus roll giving scraps of an Akhmimic text extending from the very beginning of the book to very near the end, and probably also dating from the 4th cent.; (7) the so-called 'Greek Legend', published by O. von Gebhardt in 1878 from a 12th century Paris MS (B. N. Gr. 1534), which

¹⁸ It is to be observed that Charles printed the Slavonic text in a Latin translation made by Bonwetsch.

contains a number of legends of saints commemorated between 1 March and 31 May – the Isaiah legend seems to be based on at least some knowledge of the contents of the Ascension, and Charles, in reprinting from von Gebhardt the major part of it in his edition (pp. 141–8), has picked out the possible literary parallels by the use of heavy type; and (8) another Slavonic text published by L. Stojanović in 1890.

The translation which follows is a translation of the Ethiopic; and in the apparatus all the more important variants of the three Ethiopic manuscripts are recorded. Similarly recorded are all important variants in the Amherst Greek text (= 'Gk'), in the Latins (Vat. Lat. 5750 = 'L': de Fantis = 'L²'), in the Sahidic (= 'Sah'), in the Akhmimic (= 'Akh.') and in Popov's Slavonic (= 'Slav'). On a few occasions the evidence of the Greek Legend has been cited (= 'Gk^L').

As it now stands in Ethiopic, the Ascension divides naturally into two parts — i–v and vi–xi. The first part describes the events that led up to the death of Isaiah and the details of his martyrdom at the hands of Manasseh: the second part takes the reader back to 'the twentieth year of the reign of Hezekiah' and describes a vision which Isaiah saw in that year, preceded by the title 'The vision which Isaiah the son of Amoz saw'. And this twofold division in the Ethiopic is supported by both L² and Slav., which are not fragments, but versions of the vision *and no more* (i.e. of vi–xi only); and they also both have the title at the beginning 'The vision . . .' Chapters vi–xi, therefore, circulated independently of the rest of the work. It is possible of course that some late editor of the Ascension detached from it the last six chapters and so turned them into a separate work which he called 'The Vision'. Nevertheless the fact that the Ethiopic also has the title before vi makes it much more likely that these chapters were originally separate and that it was only later that they were joined on to i–v because they also were about Isaiah. In any case, vi–xi show clear signs of Christian authorship (e.g. ix. 12–17 and xi. 1–22), whether we are prepared to leave it at that or prefer to particularize further and attribute their origin to 'Christian-Gnostic circles' (so Helmbold).

Chapters i–v raise more difficult questions. Not only is the story of Isaiah's martyrdom rooted firmly in Judaism, but there are in the story as it is told in these chapters not a few features that suggest a Jewish origin for them (e.g. the statement at ii. 2 that Balchira was a Samaritan). On the other hand, there is even more evidence of a Christian origin (e.g. i. 7 and iii. 13–20). At the very beginning there is some confusion about whether Hezekiah's purpose in summoning Manasseh was to give him 'commands' (i. 6; ii. 1) or to 'deliver to him' the written records of his own vision in his fifteenth year and of Isaiah's vision in his twentieth year (i. 2–6). And the progress of the narrative between iii. 12 and v. 1 is very awkwardly interrupted by the details of another vision of Isaiah, in which are discussed the Incarnation, the Crucifixion, the Resurrection, the early history of the Church, the events leading up to the End, and the Last Judgement.

The generally agreed solution of these difficulties is that the basis of i–v is a document recounting Isaiah's martyrdom, probably Jewish in origin, into which a Christian editor has inserted a Christian apocalypse (iii. 13–iv. 22) and made also a number of other additions and adaptations. Whether or not it was this same editor who at the same time added vi–xi to i–v it is impossible to say. Certain it is that, inasmuch as i. 5 looks forward to vi–xi, this verse at any rate is unlikely to have been added until very near the final stage in the Ascension's history.

That this final stage was reached by the mid-fourth century at the latest is proved by the Sahidic fragments. These fragments represent two leaves from a single codex: they preserve sections of text from opposite ends of the book; and they are to be dated c. AD 350–375. If we are prepared to allow a reasonable margin for the circulation of the work in Sahidic before our particular MS was copied, for its translation into Sahidic from Greek, and for its circulation in Greek after final editing, we are taken back to AD 350 as the latest possible date.¹⁹ And the actual date is in all probability very much earlier. Indeed, Charles committed himself to a date in 'the latter half of the second century' and went on to claim that the

¹⁹ If we can rely on the approximate 4th cent. date suggested for the Akhmimic fragments, they will, of course, support this conclusion.

three 'constituents . . . circulated independently as early as the first century'.²⁰

Charles may very well be right. What is important to remember is that Origen's 'Isaiah apocryphon' may have been no more than the section recording the martyrdom, and, further, that although Epiphanius and Jerome refer explicitly to 'The Ascension of Isaiah' as the source of quotations from chaps. ix and xi, this is no clear proof that they knew the book in its final form – 'The Ascension of Isaiah' may have been their name for vi–xi only. This last possibility is, however, unlikely. Whatever Origen's 'apocryphon' may have contained, the likelihood (especially in view of the evidence of the Sahidic fragments) is that 'The Ascension' known to Didymus, Epiphanius, and Jerome, was the Ascension as we know it to-day.

If the section recounting the martyrdom was of Jewish origin, a good case can be made for its having had a Hebrew or Aramaic original, which was later translated into Greek. But the original language of the other two sections was undoubtedly Greek (as was the language of the complete book). And, to judge from the evidence of the surviving Greek fragments, the Ethiopic is a very faithful translation.

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I. And it came to pass in the twenty-sixth¹ year of the reign of Hezekiah, king of Judah, that he summoned Manasseh his son (his only son). And he summoned him in the presence of Isaiah the son

¹ Gk.^L 'twenty-fifth'; Akh. 'sixteenth'.

of Amoz, the prophet, and in the presence of Josab Isaiah's son, in order to deliver to him the truths² the king himself had seen about³ the eternal judgements,⁴ and the torments of Gehenna, and what concerns the prince of this world⁵ and his angels and his sovereignties and his powers, and the expectations for the coming of the Beloved,⁶ which he himself had seen in the fifteenth year of his reign during his illness. And he delivered to him the written records that Samnas the scribe had made,⁷ and also those that Isaiah the son of Amoz had given to him and to the prophets,⁸ so that they might write out and store up with him what he himself had seen in the king's house⁹ about the judgement of the angels and the destruction of this world, and about the garments of the saints and their¹⁰ going forth, and about their¹⁰ transformation, and the persecution and ascension of the Beloved. In the twentieth year of Hezekiah's reign Isaiah had seen the words of this prophecy, and he had delivered them to Josab his son. And while Hezekiah¹¹ was giving his commands, and Josab, Isaiah's son, was standing by, Isaiah said to king Hezekiah (thus Manasseh was not the only other person who heard what Isaiah said¹²), As the Lord lives, whose Name has not been entrusted to this world, and as the Beloved of my Lord lives, and as the Spirit that speaks in me lives, all these commands and all these precepts¹³ will be repudiated by your son Manasseh, and I myself will be tortured by him and so

² Lit. 'words of truth'.

³ Lit. 'and'.

⁴ So A: BC 'the judgements of this world'.

⁵ So Dillmann: A reads 'the place of eternal punishment' and BC read 'the place of punishment of this world'.

⁶ Lit. 'and the words of faith in the Beloved'.

⁷ Lit. 'the written words . . . had written'.

⁸ A 'that Isaiah the son of Amoz and the prophets also had given to him'.

⁹ A 'what the king alone had seen'.

¹⁰ Charles regarded these pronouns as 'all but certainly wrong': in his judgement the 'going forth' and the 'transformation' are the Messiah's. Cp. iii. 13.

¹¹ Lit. 'he'.

¹² Lit. 'but not in the presence of Manasseh only did he say to him'. Could the original here possibly have meant that Manasseh was *not* present at this stage of the proceedings – i.e. that when the essential business had been concluded Manasseh disappeared and only Josab was left, in addition to Hezekiah, to hear Isaiah's oracle?

¹³ Lit. 'words'.

8 depart *this life*. And Balchira will serve Sammael before Manasseh,¹⁴
 and will carry out all his designs; and Manasseh¹¹ will become a
 9 disciple of Beliar rather than of me. And many there are in
 Jerusalem and in Judaea that he will turn away from the true faith;
 and Beliar will make his abode in Manasseh, and by his hands I
 10 shall be sawn in two. When he heard these words Hezekiah wept
 very bitterly, and he rent his garments and put earth upon his head
 11 and fell on his face. But Isaiah said to him, The design of Sammael
 against Manasseh is accomplished *already*: there is nothing you
 12 can do. And Hezekiah determined there and then to kill his son
 13 Manasseh. But Isaiah said to Hezekiah, The Beloved has
 frustrated your plan, and your purpose will not be achieved; for to
 this end¹⁵ have I been called, and I shall inherit what the Beloved
 has in store for me.¹⁶

II. And after Hezekiah died and Manasseh became king, he did
 not remember his father Hezekiah's commands, but forgot them;
 and Sammael made his abode in Manasseh and clung fast to him.
 2 And Manasseh abandoned the service of his father's God and
 3 served Satan and his angels and his hosts. And he turned away his
 father Hezekiah's household from the pursuit of wisdom¹ and from
 4 the service of God. And Manasseh turned away his own heart to
 serve Beliar – for the angel of lawlessness, who is the ruler of this
 world, is Beliar, whose name is Matanbukus. And he delighted in
 Jerusalem because of Manasseh and supported him in his leading
 5 *Judah* astray, and in the lawlessness prevalent in Jerusalem. Magic
 and sorcery and divination and augury and fornication and
 adultery² increased, as also the persecution of the righteous by
 Manasseh and Balchira³ and Tobiah the Canaanite and John of

¹⁴ Eth. reads 'And Sammael Malchira will serve Manasseh', which suggests that Malchira is a sort of surname of Sammael's. The emendation assumes that Malchira is a corruption of the Balchira or Belchira, who appears at ii. 12, iii. 1, etc. (or, perhaps, the original form of the name).

¹⁵ Lit. 'for with this calling'.

¹⁶ Lit. 'inherit the inheritance of the Beloved'.

¹ Lit. 'And he turned away the house of his father which had been before the face of Hezekiah (from) the words of wisdom'.

² Gk. om. 'and adultery'.

³ Gk. om. 'and Balchira'.

6 Anathoth, and by Zadok⁴ the chief of the works. And the rest of
 what happened is recorded in the book of the kings of Judah and
 Israel.

7 And when Isaiah, the son of Amoz, saw the lawlessness that was
 common practice in Jerusalem, and the worship of Satan and his
 wantonness, he left Jerusalem and settled in Bethlehem of Judah.
 8 And there too there was much lawlessness, so that he left Beth-
 9 lehem and settled on a mountain in a desert place. And Micaiah
 the prophet, and the aged Ananias, and Joel, and Habakkuk, and
 his son Josab, and many of the faithful who believed in the ascen-
 sion into heaven, also left *where they were* and settled on the moun-
 10 tain. They were all clothed with garments of hair,⁵ and they were
 all of them prophets: they had nothing with them, but were naked;
 and they all lamented with a great lamentation because of the
 11 apostasy of Israel. And they had nothing to eat but only the wild
 herbs that they gathered on the mountains; and they cooked them
 and lived on them together with the prophet Isaiah. And they
 remained on the mountains and on the hills for two years.

12 And after this, while they were in the desert, there was in
 Samaria a certain man named Balchira,⁶ of the family of Zedekiah,
 the son of Chenaanah, the false prophet, whose home was in
 Bethlehem. (Now Zedekiah,⁷ the son of Chenaanah, was
 Balchira's⁸ father's brother, and in the days of Ahab king of Israel
 he had been the master of the four hundred prophets of Baal, and
 had himself hit Micaiah, the son of Amada, the prophet, and
 13 abused him. And Micaiah had also been abused by Ahab and put
 in prison with the prophet Zedekiah. They were with Ahaziah, son
 14 of Ahab, king of Samaria.⁹ And Elijah the prophet from Thebon¹⁰ in
 Gilead was reproving Ahaziah and Samaria; and he prophesied
 about Ahaziah that he would die upon a bed of sickness, and that

⁴ So Gk. only: Eth. has no name.

⁵ They . . . hair: B om. (perhaps because of the succeeding statement that they were naked).

⁶ So BC here: A 'Belchira'; Gk. 'Belicheiar'. There is considerable variation between the authorities at other occurrences of the name. We print regularly 'Balchira'.

⁷ So Gk.: Eth. 'Hezekiah'.

⁸ Lit. 'his'.

⁹ Charles's restoration of a text which is a jumble, both in Eth. and Gk.

¹⁰ So A:BC 'Zebon'.

Samaria would be delivered into the hands of Shalmaneser,¹¹
 15 because he had slaughtered the prophets of God. And when the
 false prophets who were with Ahaziah, the son of Ahab, and their
 master Jalerjas of mount Ephraim¹² – he¹³ was Zedekiah's brother
 – heard it, they persuaded Ahaziah, king of Gomorrah,¹⁴ and he
 killed¹⁵ Micaiah).

III. And Balchira¹ was well acquainted with the place where
 Isaiah and the prophets who were with him were, and he had seen
 it, for he himself lived near Bethlehem; and he was an adherent of
 Manasseh. And he prophesied lies in Jerusalem; and many of the
 people in Jerusalem attached themselves to him, though he was a
 2 Samaritan. (For when Shalmaneser,² king of Assyria, attacked
 and captured Samaria and took away the nine and a half³ tribes as
 captives and carried them off to the mountains⁴ of the Medes and
 3 the rivers of Gozan,⁵ this *Balchira*, while still a youth, got away and
 came to Jerusalem in the days of Hezekiah, king of Judah; but he
 did not follow the way of life of his Samaritan father, for he was
 4 afraid of Hezekiah. And in Hezekiah's time he was found making
 5 seditious statements⁶ in Jerusalem. And Hezekiah's servants
 accused him, and he made his escape to the neighbourhood of
 6 Bethlehem. And they persuaded . . .⁷) And Balchira accused Isaiah
 and the prophets who were with him, saying, Isaiah and those who
 are with him are prophesying against Jerusalem and against the

¹¹ Eth. 'Leba Nasr'; Gk. 'Alnasar'.

¹² So L¹: Eth. 'Joel' or 'Ijoel'; Gk. 'Islal' (corrupt for 'Israel'?).

¹³ So L¹: Eth. 'Ibchira'; Gk. 'Becheira'.

¹⁴ So Gk. and L¹: Eth. 'Aguaron'. Gomorrah is a contemptuous reference to Samaria (cp. Isa. i. 10; Jer. xxiii. 13–14).

¹⁵ So L¹: Gk. 'they killed'; Eth. om.

¹ So Gk. L¹: Eth. 'And to Belchira'.

² Eth. 'Alagar Zagar'; Gk. 'Algasar'; L¹ 'Salmanassar'.

³ So Gk. and L¹: Eth. om. 'and a half'.

⁴ So Gk.: L¹ 'mountain'; Eth. 'boundaries'.

⁵ So Gk. L¹: Eth. 'Tazon'.

⁶ Lit. 'speaking words of lawlessness'.

⁷ There appears to be a gap in the text at this point. Gk. reads 'And they persuaded' and then carries straight on: similarly Eth. and Sah. with 'And he persuaded'; L¹ om. 'And (t)he(y) persuaded' altogether.

cities of Judah, *saying* that they will be laid in ruins, and against the
 sons of Judah and Benjamin⁸ that they will go into captivity, and
 against you, *my* lord king, that you will go *too*, *loaded* with hooks and
 7 iron chains. But they prophesy falsely against Israel and Judah.
 8 And Isaiah himself has said, I see more than the prophet Moses.
 9 For Moses said, No man can see God and live; but Isaiah has said,
 10 I have seen God, and behold I am *still* alive! You must know, o
 king,⁹ that he is a liar.¹⁰ Furthermore, he has called Jerusalem
 Sodom and addressed the princes of Judah and Jerusalem¹¹ as
 people of Gomorrah. And Balchira¹² brought many charges
 11 against Isaiah and the prophets before Manasseh. Now Beliar had
 taken up his abode in the heart of Manasseh, and in the hearts of
 the princes of Judah and Benjamin, and the king's eunuchs and
 12 counsellors. And what Balchira said pleased Manasseh¹³ greatly,
 and he sent and had Isaiah arrested.
 13 For Beliar was especially furious with Isaiah because of *his*
 vision, and because of his exposure of Sammael, and because it was
 through him that the going forth of the Beloved from the seventh
 heaven had been made known, and his transformation, and his
 descent *to earth*, and the likeness into which he would be trans-
 formed (*that is* the likeness of a man), and the persecution to which
 he would be subjected, and the torments the sons of Israel would
 inflict on him, and the calling and instruction¹⁴ of his twelve
 disciples, and that before the sabbath he would be crucified upon
 14 the tree,¹⁵ and that he would be crucified with wicked men, and
 that he would be buried in the tomb, and the twelve who had been
 with him would have their faith in him shaken, and the guards who
 15 would guard the tomb, and the descent of the angel¹⁶ of the

⁸ So L¹: Eth. om. 'against the sons of Judah and'; Gk. om. 'that they will be laid . . . sons of Judah'.

⁹ Lit. 'O king, know'.

¹⁰ So Gk. L¹: Eth. 'that they are prophets of lies'.

¹¹ So Eth. L¹: Gk. Sah. 'Israel'.

¹² A Gk. Sah. L¹ 'he': BC 'they'.

¹³ Lit. 'him'.

¹⁴ So Eth. (lit. 'and the presence (or 'advent') and teaching'): Gk. 'and the teaching' only.

¹⁵ Gk. om. this clause.

¹⁶ So A Gk.: BC 'angels'.

Christian church which is in the heavens (whom he will summon in the last days), and *that* (Gabriel),¹⁷ the angel of the Holy Spirit, and Michael, the prince of the holy angels, would on the third day open the tomb, and the Beloved himself, sitting upon their shoulders,¹⁸ would come forth and send out his twelve disciples. And they will teach all nations and every language *about* the resurrection of the Beloved; and those who believe in his cross and in his ascension to the seventh heaven (where he came from) will be saved. And many who believe in him will speak by the Holy Spirit. And many wonders and miracles will be performed in those days. And afterwards, before he comes again,¹⁹ his disciples will forsake the teaching of the twelve apostles and their faith²⁰ and their love and their purity. And there will be much strife before he comes.²¹ In those days many there will be who love office, even though they are devoid of wisdom. And there will be many lawless elders and shepherds who oppress their flocks; and they will ravage *them*, because they have not holy shepherds.²² And many will exchange the honour of the garments of the saints for the garments of money-lovers; and there will be much respect of persons in those days, and many friends of this world's pomp. And there will be much backbiting and empty ambition before the Lord comes,¹⁹ and the Holy Spirit will turn away from many; and there will be only a few in those days, whether prophets or any others²³ whose words can be trusted²⁴ – just one here and one there in different places, because of the spirit of error and fornication and empty

¹⁷ There is a lacuna in the Gk. at this point: the suggestion that it was filled by 'Gabriel' is due to Grenfell and Hunt. 'The angel of the Holy Spirit' appears several times in the Ascension (e.g. iv. 21, vii. 23): cp. especially xi. 4.

¹⁸ So BC Gk.: A 'upon the shoulders of the seraphim'.

¹⁹ Lit. 'when he (the Lord) draws near'.

²⁰ A Gk. 'the Faith'.

²¹ So Gk.: Eth. 'much strife at his coming and when he draws near'.

²² Eth. is hopelessly corrupt after 'and they will ravage'. Gk. has a lacuna and resumes with what appears to be the end of a passive participle ('... ed because they have not pure shepherds'). Our translation follows Charles in combining elements from both Eth. and Gk. and assumes that 'pure' in Gk. (*ἀγνός*) is a corruption of an original (*ἀγιός*) preserved in Eth.

²³ So Eth.: Gk. 'and there will not be in those days many prophets'.

²⁴ Lit. 'whose words are strong'.

ambition and love of money²⁵ in those who will be called the servants of the Beloved²⁶ and have received him.²⁶ Shepherds and elders will hate one another. For in the last days there will be great jealousies, because each one will proclaim what he himself thinks is right. And they will ignore the prophecies of the prophets that were before me, and these my visions²⁷ also they will repudiate in order to give free expression to their own lusts.

IV. And now, Hezekiah, and son Josab, at the **consummation** of the world it will happen like this.¹ At the consummation² Beliar, the great prince, will come down, the king of this world, who has had dominion over it since it first came into being: he will come down from his abode in the vault of heaven³ in the form of a man, *as a lawless king and a matricide*. And this king⁴ will persecute the plant which the twelve apostles of the Beloved have planted; and one of the twelve will be delivered into his hand. Beliar⁵ will come in the form of that king,⁶ and all the powers of this world will come with him, and they will do whatever it is he wants. At his command the sun will rise during the night, and he will make the moon appear at mid-day. And he will have his own way in the world over everything: he will act and speak like⁷ the Beloved and will say, It is I who am the Lord, and before me there has been no other. And all the people in the world will believe in him. And they will sacrifice to him and serve him, saying, This is the Lord, and beside him there is no other. And he will turn away the greater part of those

²⁵ Gk. has a lacuna from here to the end of verse 30.

²⁶ Lit. 'that one'.

²⁷ B 'the visions'.

¹ Lit. 'these are the days of the **consummation** of the world'. For 'consummation' Eth. has an unusual form, which might be rendered 'calling', but in any case it can hardly be right. Gk. has been imperfectly preserved, though there is little doubt that the word here was 'filling' or 'filling up'.

² Lit. 'After it is consummated'.

³ Lit. 'from his firmament'.

⁴ The translation here offers a slightly abbreviated version of both Eth. and Gk. texts, neither of which in its present form gives an entirely satisfactory sense.

⁵ C Gk. 'this prince': AB 'this prince Beliar'.

⁶ So BC Gk.: A 'even this king will come'.

⁷ So AC: B 'he will make himself like'.

- 10 who have been united to receive the Beloved after him. And the effect of his miracles will be *felt* in every city and in every place.
- 11,12 And he will set up an image of himself in every city. And he will
- 13 rule for three years and seven⁸ months and twenty-seven days. And of the faithful and of the saints who saw him in whom they hoped (him who was crucified, *that is* Jesus, the Lord Christ) – after that I, Isaiah, had seen him who was crucified and ascended⁹ – and of those too who have believed in him *without seeing him*, few will be left as his servants in those days. They will flee from one desert place to another as they await his coming.
- 14 And after (one thousand) three hundred and thirty-two¹⁰ days the Lord with his angels and with the hosts of the holy ones¹¹ will come from the seventh heaven with the glory of the seventh heaven, and
- 15 he will take Beliar and his hosts away to Gehenna. And he will give rest to the godly that he finds still in the flesh in this world [while the sun will be ashamed¹²] and to all who through faith in him have
- 16 cursed Beliar and his kings. But the saints will come with the Lord, with their garments that are *now* stored up on high in the seventh heaven: with the Lord will come those whose spirits are re clothed, *and* they will come down and will be in the world; and he will strengthen those found in the flesh together with the saints, in the garments of the saints, and the Lord will minister to those who
- 17 have kept watch in this world. And after that, they will change into their garments *from* on high, and their flesh will be left behind in
- 18 this world. Then will the voice of the Beloved rebuke the heaven and the earth¹³ in anger, and the mountains and the hills, and the cities and the desert, and the trees, and the angel of the sun¹⁴ and the *angel* of the moon,¹⁵ and everything Beliar has used to publicize

⁸ So AC: B 'three'.

⁹ Charles thought this parenthesis 'an editorial addition made to adapt the Testament of Hezekiah to its present context'.

¹⁰ A reads 'three hundred and thirty and two' (without 'one thousand'); BC 'thirty times one hundred and thirty-two'.

¹¹ Or 'saints'. ¹² Cp. Isa. xxiv. 23.

¹³ So A: B 'the heaven and that which is of the earth'; C 'that which is in the heaven and that which is of the earth'. Charles, by a slight emendation, 'the things of heaven and the things of earth'.

¹⁴ B om. 'and the angel of the sun'.

¹⁵ So BC: A 'and the moon'.

- himself and his activities in this world. Then will come the resurrection and the judgement; and the Beloved will send fire among them,¹⁶ and it will burn up all the ungodly, and they will be as though they had never been.
- 19 And the rest of the details¹⁷ of the vision is written in the vision of
- 20 Babylon. And the rest of the vision of the Lord, behold, it is written in the parables I have written down in the book which contains my
- 21 public prophecies. And the descent of the Beloved into Sheol, behold, it is written in the place¹⁸ where the Lord says, Behold, my son will understand.¹⁹ And all these things are written in the Psalms,²⁰ in the parables of David, the son of Jesse, and in the Proverbs of Solomon his son, and in the words of Korah and of Ethan the Israelite, and in the words of Asaph, and also in the other psalms which the angel of the Spirit has inspired (*that is* in
- 22 those²¹ which have no name attached to them), and in the words of my father Amos, and of the prophet Hosea, and of Micah, and of Joel, and of Nahum, and of Jonah, and of Obadiah, and of Habakkuk, and of Haggai, and of Zephaniah, and of Zechariah,²² and of Malachi, and in the words of Joseph the just, and in the words of Daniel.

- V. Then Beliar's anger was roused against Isaiah because of these visions, and he took up his abode in Manasseh's heart; and he
- 2 saw Isaiah in two with a wood-saw.¹ And while Isaiah was being sawn, his enemy Balchira stood by, and all the false prophets stood
- 3 by, laughing and rejoicing at what was happening to Isaiah. And Balchira, inspired by Mechembechus,² came near to Isaiah,³

¹⁶ Lit. 'will cause a fire to go up from him'.

¹⁷ Lit. 'words'.

¹⁸ So AC: B 'the psalms'.

¹⁹ i.e. Isa. lii. 13 (LXX).

²⁰ Charles thought 'the Psalms' a gloss, added to explain 'the parables of David'.

²¹ So BC: A 'and in those'.

²² So AC: B 'and of Zechariah, and of Zephaniah'.

¹ The 'wooden saw' of the MSS and the tradition is due, according to Charles, to a misunderstanding of an original Hebrew phrase, 'a saw of wood', which was intended to mean 'a saw for sawing wood', presumably made of metal – indeed, in one passage in Gk.^L (iii. 14–15) it is specifically said to be 'an iron saw'.

² Lit. 'in M.': Dillmann emended 'and M.' to accord with the verbs in the rest of the verse which are plural.

³ Lit. 'stood up before Isaiah'.

4 laughing and making fun⁴ of him. And Balchira⁵ said to Isaiah, Say, I have been wrong⁶ in everything I have said; what Manasseh does is good and right. And what Balchira and those with him do is also good. And this he said to him when they started sawing him in two. But Isaiah was in a vision of the Lord: his eyes were open but he did (not) see them. And Balchira said to Isaiah, Say what I tell you to, and I will make them change their minds; and I will make Manasseh and the princes of Judah and the people and all Jerusalem fall down before you. And Isaiah answered and said, All I can say is, May you be accursed and damned, you and all your powers and all your house.⁷ For you can take nothing from me but only the skin off my body. Then they took Isaiah, the son of Amoz, and sawed him in two with a wood-saw. And Manasseh and Balchira and the false prophets and the princes and the people all stood looking on. But before he was sawn in two he had said to the prophets who were with him, Make your escape into the region of Tyre and Sidon, because God has mixed this cup for me alone. And while he was being sawn in two Isaiah neither cried out nor wept; but he went on speaking by the Holy Spirit until he was sawn right through. This Beliar did to Isaiah using Balchira and Manasseh as his agents; for Sammael had been furious with Isaiah since the days of Hezekiah, king of Judah, because of the vision he had seen about the Beloved, and because of the vision about the destruction of Sammael he had seen through the Lord, when Hezekiah his⁸ father was still king. And he⁹ acted in accordance with the will of Satan.

The Vision which Isaiah, the son of Amoz, saw.

VI. In the twentieth year of the reign of Hezekiah, king of Judah, Isaiah the son of Amoz, and Josab, Isaiah's son, came from Gilgal¹ to Hezekiah in Jerusalem. And Isaiah sat down on the king's couch; and they brought him a seat, but he would not sit on it.² And Isaiah began to talk to king Hezekiah about what was certain

⁴ So C: AB 'laughing, making fun'. Charles omitted 'laughing' as a doublet.

⁵ So B: AC 'Beliar'. ⁶ Lit. 'I have lied'.

⁷ So B: A and C have several small variations.

⁸ i.e. Manasseh's. ⁹ i.e. Manasseh.

¹ So C, supported by G^L: AB 'from Galilee'; L² Slav. om.

² and they brought . . . on it: L² Slav. om.

and sure, and all the princes of Israel and the eunuchs and the king's counsellors were seated round him;³ and there were forty⁴ prophets and sons of the prophets who had come from the villages and the mountains and the plains, when they heard that Isaiah had come from Gilgal⁵ to Hezekiah. And they had come to greet him, and to hear what he said. And they hoped he would lay his hands on them, and that they might prophesy and he would listen to their prophecy;⁶ and all of them were assembled before Isaiah. And while Isaiah was talking about what was sure and certain⁷ to Hezekiah,⁸ they all heard a door opened and the voice of the Holy Spirit.⁹ And the king gathered together all the prophets and all the people that could be found there, and they came; and Micah and the aged Hananiah and Joel and Josab¹⁰ were sitting on his right.¹¹ And when they all heard the voice of the Holy Spirit, all of them worshipped and fell on their knees and glorified the God of truth, the Most High – he who is in the world above, the Holy One, who sits on high, and who takes his rest among the saints.¹² And they gave praise to him who had thus given to a man a door into an unknown world.¹³ And while he was speaking in the Holy Spirit in the hearing of all, he suddenly became silent, and his spirit was caught up into heaven,¹⁴ and he no longer saw the men who were standing in front of him. But his eyes were open although his lips were silent, and the spirit of his body was taken up from him.¹⁵ And

³ L² Slav. 'were standing before him'.

⁴ L² Slav. om.

⁵ So BC L² Slav.: A 'Galilee'.

⁶ So AC: B 'and that he might prophesy and that they might listen to his prophecy'. L² and Slav. have the whole passage differently ordered and slightly abbreviated, though it is clear that they support AC in that it was the prophets who were to prophesy and not Isaiah (as in B).

⁷ Lit. 'was speaking words of truth and of faith' (and similarly in verse 3).

⁸ So AC: B om. 'to Hezekiah'; L² Slav. om. 'and of faith to H.'

⁸⁻⁹ L² Slav. 'the Holy Spirit came upon him, and all saw and heard the words of the Holy Spirit'.

¹⁰ L² Slav. om. 'and Josab'.

¹¹ L² Slav. add 'and on his left'.

¹² Or 'holy ones'. L² Slav. abbreviate ' . . . knees and sang to the Most High God, who takes . . . saints'.

¹³ Lit. 'who thus has given a door in an unknown world, has given it to a man': L² Slav. differ here.

¹⁴ and . . . heaven: L² Slav. om.

¹⁵ and . . . from him: L² Slav. om.

13 only his breath remained in him,¹⁶ for he was in a vision. And the
 angel that was sent to explain things to him in the vision¹⁷ was not
 of this world,¹⁸ nor was he one of the angels of glory of this world,
 14 but had come from the seventh heaven. And, apart from the circle
 of the prophets, the people who were there did (not)¹⁹ believe that
 15 the holy Isaiah had been caught up *into heaven*. For the vision that
 the holy Isaiah saw was not a *vision* of this world, but of the world
 16 that is hidden from man.²⁰ After Isaiah had seen this vision he gave
 an account *of it* to Hezekiah and to his son Josab²¹ and to the other
 17 prophets who had come. But the magistrates and eunuchs and the
 people did not hear *it*, but only Samnas the scribe, and Joachim,
 and Asaph²² the secretary of state; for they were men who did what
 is right and were approved of by the Spirit.²³ And the people did
 not hear *it either*, for Micah and his son Josab had sent them away
 when the wisdom of this world had been taken from him, and he
 was left looking like a corpse.

VII. And Isaiah related the vision he had seen to Hezekiah, and to
 his son Josab, and to Micah, and to the other prophets:

2 When I was prophesying and you were listening to me, I saw a
 glorious angel, whose glory was not like that of the angels I had
 been in the habit of seeing; for he had a glory and a dignity¹ of a kind
 3 so great that I cannot describe the splendour of this angel.² And I
 was looking *at him* when he took me by the hand;³ and I said to him,

¹⁶ L² 'sed inspiratio sancti spiritus erat cum illo', and similarly Slav. without 'sancti'. Both L² and Slav. om the end of this verse and verse 13.

¹⁷ Lit. 'sent to make him see'.

¹⁸ Lit. 'firmament'.

¹⁹ Supplied from L² Slav.; Eth. has no negative.

²⁰ Lit. 'from his (i.e. man's) flesh'. So AC: B 'whilst he (i.e. man) is in the flesh'; L² Slav. 'from all flesh'.

²¹ and to the other . . . vii. 1 his son Josab: L² Slav. om.

²² We should probably emend 'Joachim, son of Asaph' (see 2 Kings xviii. 18, 37, and par.).

²³ Lit. 'and had upon them the soothing odour of the Spirit'.

¹ Lit. 'order': L² Slav. 'light'; L¹ 'holy' (i.e. 'a great and holy glory').

² L² Slav. 'which (i.e. the light) I cannot make known'; L¹ 'which glory I cannot describe'.

³ L¹ 'And he approached and took me by the hand'; L² Slav. 'And he took me by the hand and raised me on high'.

Who are you? What is your name? And where are going to take me?
 4 (For the power to talk to him had been given to me.) And he said to
 me, When I have taken you up and shown you the vision I have
 been sent to show you, then you will understand who I am, but my
 name you shall not know,⁴ because you are to return again to your
 5 flesh. But in the place where I am to take you,⁵ you will see a *vision*,
 6 for I have been sent for this very purpose.⁶ And I was overjoyed
 7 because he spoke gently to me. And he said to me, Are you then
 overjoyed because I have spoken gently to you? And he said, One
 who is greater than I am will you see, and he will speak to you
 8 gently and graciously. And the Father of the One who is greater
than I am will you also see,⁷ for I have been sent from the seventh
 9 heaven to explain all this to you. And we went up, he and I, into the
 vault of heaven, and there I saw Sammael and his hosts; and there
 was much strife there, for the angels⁸ of Satan were all jealous of
 10 one another. And as it is on high, so also is it on earth: what
 happens in the vault of heaven happens similarly here on earth.
 11 And I said to the angel, (What is this strife and)⁹ why this jealousy?
 12 And he said to me, It has been like this since the world was made
 till now;¹⁰ and this strife *will continue* until the One you are to see
 comes and destroys him.
 13 After this he took me up (into the *regions*)¹¹ above the vault,
 14 which is the first¹¹ heaven. And there I saw in the middle of it a
 15 throne;¹² and on its right and on its left were angels. And the angels
 on the left¹³ were not like those on the right; but those on the right
 had a greater glory and they all sang praises together.¹⁴ The throne

⁴ So Eth. L² Slav.: L¹ 'I will not tell you'.

⁵ L¹ L² Slav. 'But when I have taken you up'.

⁶ L² Slav. om. 'for I . . . purpose'.

⁷ There is not a little variation in detail between the authorities here.

⁸ So L¹ (and by implication L² Slav., which have a substantially different text): Eth. 'words' (reading *λόγοι* for *ἄγγελοι*).

⁹ Supplied from L¹: L² Slav. 'What is this strife and jealousy and conflict?'

¹⁰ It has been . . . now: L² Slav. 'this is the Devil's strife'.

¹¹ Supplied from L² Slav.

¹² L² Slav. add 'and on it there sat an angel in great glory'.

¹³ So L¹: Eth. om. 'And the angels on the left'; L² Slav. om. 'And the angels . . . left . . . right'.

¹⁴ Lit. 'with one voice'.

- was in the middle, and they sang praises.¹⁵ And those on the left sang praises after them, but their voices were not like the voices of those on the right and their praises were not like the others' praises.
- 16 And I asked the angel who was accompanying me and said to him,
17 To whom is this praise addressed? And he said to me, **To the glory of him who is in**¹⁶ the seventh heaven, to him who takes his rest in the holy world,¹⁷ and to the Beloved, from whom I have been sent to you.¹⁸
- 18 And again he took me up – into the second heaven (now the height of this heaven is the same as *the distance* from the heaven to the earth¹⁹). And (there, as)²⁰ in the first heaven, *were* angels on the right and on the left, and a throne in the middle, and the praises of the angels in the second heaven; and the one who was seated on the throne in the second heaven had greater glory than all *the rest*.²¹
- 20 And great was the glory in the second heaven, and their praises
21 were not like the praises of those in the first heaven.²² And I fell on my face to worship him; but the angel who was accompanying me²³ would not permit it and said to me, You must not worship any throne or angel that is in the six heavens²⁴ (that is why²⁵ I have been sent to accompany you²⁶), but *you shall worship only him* whom
22 I shall tell you to in the seventh heaven.²⁷ For your throne, your garments, and your crown, which you will see *later*, are set above
23 all these heavens and their angels. And I rejoiced greatly because

¹⁵ The throne . . . praises: L² Slav. om.; L¹ om. 'and they sang praises'.

¹⁶ Eth. 'In the glory of'. The emendation is based on L¹L² Slav., but more particularly on L¹.

¹⁷ So A: the other authorities vary. Charles thought them all corrupt and suggested as a possible original 'to him who inhabits eternity'.

¹⁸ Eth. adds 'thither is it sent'.

¹⁹ So BC L¹: L² Slav. 'from the first heaven to the earth'; A 'from the earth to the heaven'; then Eth. L¹ add 'and to the vault'.

²⁰ Supplied on the basis of L¹L² Slav. 'And I saw there as' (L¹ + 'I had seen').

²¹ and a throne . . . all *the rest*: L² Slav. om.; L¹ breaks off at 'middle'.

²² L² 'And the glory of these angels and their song were more excellent than those of the first angels'; and similarly Slav.

²³ L² Slav. 'instructing me'.

²⁴ So Eth.: L² 'in that heaven'; Slav. 'from heaven'.

²⁵ So L² Slav.: Eth. 'whence'.

²⁶ L² Slav. 'to instruct you'.

²⁷ L² Slav. om. 'in the seventh heaven'.

- those who love the Most High and his Beloved will in the end be taken up there by the angel of the Holy Spirit.
- 24 And he took me up into the third heaven; and, as before, I saw *angels* on the right and on the left, and there also a throne was set in the middle,²⁸ but the memory of this world had no place there.²⁹
- 25 And I said to the angel who was with me (for my face was becoming brighter and brighter³⁰ as I went up from heaven to heaven), Has nothing, then, of that vain world any place here?³¹
- 26 And he answered and said to me, Nothing of *that world* has any place³² because of its frailty, yet nothing is hidden here of what is done there.³³ And I asked³⁴ how it is known, and he answered, saying, When I have brought you up to the seventh heaven, from which I was sent, *that is to the heaven* which is above these *heavens*, you will understand that nothing is hidden from the thrones and from those who live in the heavens and from the angels. And great were the praises which they sang and the splendour of the one who was seated on the throne; and the glory of the angels on the right and on the left was greater than that of the heavens beneath them.³⁵
- 28 And again he took me up – into the fourth heaven; and the height from the third to the fourth heaven was greater than that from the
29 earth to the vault of heaven. And there I saw again angels on the right and *angels* on the left, and one seated on a throne in the
30 middle;³⁶ and there too they sang praises. And the praises and the splendour of the angels on the right were greater than those of *the*
31 *angels* on the left. So also the splendour of the one who was seated on the throne was greater than that of the angels on the right, yet their glory was greater than *the glory* of those who were below.
- ²⁸ So B: AC add 'and one who sat'; L² Slav. invert ' . . . I saw a little throne and angels on the right and on the left'.
- ²⁹ Lit. 'of this world was not named'.
- ³⁰ Lit. 'for the glory of my face was being transformed'.
- ³¹ Lit. 'Is nothing . . . world named here?'
- ³² Lit. 'is named'.
- ³³ So Slav.: Eth. L² 'and nothing is hidden there of what is done'.
- ³⁴ Lit. 'And I desired to understand'.
- ³⁵ Both L² and Slav. have much shorter texts in this verse.
- ³⁶ L² Slav. 'And there I saw a throne and angels on the right and on the left'. L² om. from here to the end of verse 30.

32,33 And he took me up into the fifth heaven. And again I saw *angels* on the right and on the left, and one seated on a throne, more
34 glorious than those of the fourth heaven. But the glory of *the angels*
35 on the right was greater than *the glory* of those on the left.³⁷ And the splendour of the one who was seated on the throne was greater
36 than that of the angels on the right. And their praises were more
37 glorious than those of the fourth heaven. And I praised him who cannot be named, and the only-begotten Son who dwells in the heavens, whose name has not been revealed to any man,³⁸ who has given such great glory to the angels and even greater glory still to the one who is seated on the throne.³⁹

VIII. And he took me up into the air of the sixth heaven and I beheld a glory I had not seen in the five heavens while I was being
2,3 taken up, and angels¹ resplendent in great glory.² And the praises
4 there were sublime³ and wonderful.⁴ And I said to the angel who
5 was accompanying me, What is it that I see, my lord? And he said
6 to me, I am not your lord but your companion.⁵ And again I asked
7 him and said to him, Why are there no companions for the angels
8 on the right?⁶ And he said, From the sixth heaven and above it there are no more *angels* on the left, nor is there a throne set in the middle, but (they have their direction)⁷ from the power of the seventh heaven, where he dwells that cannot be named, and the Elect One, whose name has not been revealed, and whose name none of the
8 heavens can learn.⁸ For it is to his voice alone that all the heavens

³⁷ Eth. adds 'from the third to the fourth heaven'.

³⁸ Lit. 'flesh'.

³⁹ L² Slav. diverge widely from Eth. in their description of the fifth heaven: verses 32–34 are much abbreviated, 35 is lacking, and 37 is altogether different.

¹ Charles emended '... five heavens. For I saw angels ...' on the basis of L² Slav.

² Both L² and Slav. have an additional clause here about the angelic powers.

³ Lit. 'holy'.

⁴ So L² Slav.: Eth. reads *manbar* ('throne'), presumably a corruption of *manker*.

⁵ So Eth.: probably a rendering of an original *συνδουλός* ('fellow-servant'), from which, through a corruption, L² Slav. got 'counsellor' (*σμβουλος*).

⁶ L² Slav. om. this verse.

⁷ Supplied on the basis of L² 'they have their arrangement' and Slav. 'they are administered'.

⁸ L² 'where is the precious Son of God' and Slav. similarly.

and the thrones respond; and I have been empowered and sent to
9 bring you up here so that you may behold this glory, and so that
10 you may see the Lord of all these heavens and of these thrones,
11 transforming himself until he becomes like you in form and in
12 appearance.⁹ And I tell you, Isaiah, no man who is to return into a
13 body of that world has *ever* come up *here* and seen what you see,
14 what you have seen, and what you will see.¹⁰ For you have been
15 permitted to come up here *because you are to share* in the lot of the
16 Lord.¹¹ And I glorified and praised my Lord, because through
17 *sharing in* his lot I was to go up there. And he said to me, Hear then
18 this again from your companion:¹² When by the angel of the Spirit
19 you have been taken up there from that alien body *of yours*,¹³ then
20 will you receive the garment¹⁴ that you will see, and you will *also*
21 see other garments numbered and stored up *there*. And then will
22 you become equal to the angels of the seventh¹⁵ heaven. And he
23 took me up into the sixth heaven, and there were no *angels* on the
24 left nor *was there* a throne in the middle, but all *the angels* looked the
25 same and their praises were equal. And I was allowed to sing
26 praises with them too, and also the angel who was accompanying
27 me,¹⁶ and our praises were like theirs. And they glorified the Father
28 of all,¹⁷ and his Beloved,¹⁸ the Christ, and the Holy Spirit, all
29 together.¹⁹ And *the voices of these angels* were not like the voices of the
30 angels in the five heavens,²⁰ nor like their words; but the voices
31 were different there, and there was much light there. And then,

⁹ L² Slav. om. verse 10. The reference is to the successive transformations described in detail in x. 17ff.

¹⁰ The translation of this verse follows Charles's lead in a slight re-arrangement of the details.

¹¹ Eth. adds first 'in the lot of the cross' and then 'and thence comes the power of the sixth heaven and of the air'.

¹² Hear ... companion: L² Slav. om.

¹³ So AC: B 'when God the Spirit has taken you up in an alien body'; L² Slav. follow a text which is different.

¹⁴ L² 'your garment'; Slav. 'a garment'. Both om. the rest of the verse.

¹⁵ L² 'sixth'.

¹⁶ Lit. 'and with that angel'.

¹⁷ So L² Slav.: Eth. 'And they all named the first (C om.) Father'.

¹⁸ So A: BC 'the Beloved'; L² Slav. 'his beloved Son' and om. 'the Christ'.

¹⁹ Lit. 'all with one voice'.

²⁰ L² Slav. 'the fifth heaven' and om. 'nor like their words'.

when I was in the sixth heaven, I thought the light I had seen in the five heavens²¹ was darkness. And I rejoiced and gave praise to him who had bestowed such lights on those who await his promise.²² And I besought the angel who was accompanying me²³ that I might not *have to* return from there to the world of the flesh. (For truth to tell, Hezekiah and son Josab and Micah,²⁴ there is great darkness here.) And the angel who was accompanying me²⁵ realized what I was thinking and²⁵ said, If you rejoice in this light, how much more will you rejoice in the seventh heaven when you see the lights where are the Lord and his Beloved,²⁶ and also the garments and the thrones and the crowns stored up for the righteous, for those, *that is*, who believe in that Lord who will descend in your *human* form (for great and marvellous is the light that is there).²⁷ But as for your not returning to your body – the time has not come for your coming here. And when I heard *this* I was much troubled; but he said, Do not be troubled.²⁸

IX. And he took me up into the air of the seventh heaven, and again¹ I heard a voice: it said, How far may anyone go up who lives among aliens?² And I was afraid and trembled. And³ as I trembled, behold there came a second voice which said, The holy Isaiah is permitted to come up here, for here is his garment.⁴ And I asked the angel who was with me and said, Who was it who forbade me to go up, and who was it **who permitted**⁵ me? And he said to me, He

²¹ L² Slav. 'the fifth heaven'.

²² L² Slav. 'mercy'. ²³ L² Slav. 'instructing me'.

²⁴ Hezekiah . . . Micah: L² Slav. om.

²⁵ realized . . . and: L² Slav. om.

²⁶ So Eth.: L² Slav. 'where sits the heavenly Father and his only-begotten Son'; Eth. then adds 'whence I have been sent, who is to be called Son in this world. Not yet has he been manifested, he who shall be in the corruptible world'.

²⁷ for those . . . there: L² Slav. om.

²⁸ but . . . troubled: L² Slav. om.

¹ L² Slav. om. 'again'.

² So Eth.: L² Slav. 'who wills to live in the flesh'.

³ Eth. adds 'he said to me'.

⁴ L² Slav. vary in the details of this verse.

⁵ Eth. 'turned to': L² Slav. 'commanded'. The emendation is derived from *ὁ ἐπιτρέπων μοι* in Gk. L² ii. 24.

who forbade you is he **who is over**⁶ the praises of the sixth heaven. And he **who permitted**⁵ you is your Lord,⁷ the Lord of the world, the Lord Christ, who will in the world be called Jesus;⁸ but his name you cannot hear until you have left your body. And he took me up into the seventh heaven, and I saw there a marvellous light and angels innumerable. ⁹And I saw there all the righteous from the time of Adam. And I saw there the holy Abel and all the righteous. And I saw there Enoch and all who were with him,¹⁰ stripped of the garments of the flesh; and I saw them in their garments of the world above, and they were like angels,¹¹ standing there in great glory. But they were not seated on their thrones, and their crowns of glory were not upon them. And I asked the angel who was with me,¹² Why have they received the garments, but not the thrones and crowns? And he said to me, They *will* not receive either *their* crowns or *their* thrones of glory (although they see and know *now* which of them will have the thrones and which the crowns) until the Beloved descends in the form in which you will see him descend. He will indeed descend into the world in the last days – the Lord who will be called Christ after he has descended and become like you in form;¹³ and they will think he is flesh and a man.¹⁴ And the prince¹⁵ of that world will stretch out **his hand against the Son**,¹⁶ and they will hang him on a tree and will kill him,¹⁷ not knowing who he is. And his descent, as you will see, will

⁶ Eth. 'on whom is': L² Slav. read the verse '... is the angel who is over the angels (Slav. om. 'the angels') of the sixth heaven who sing praises'.

⁷ So AB: C 'is our Lord'; L² Slav. 'is the Son of God'.

⁸ L² Slav. om. 'the Lord of the world . . . Jesus'.

⁹⁻¹⁰ L² Slav. 'And I saw certain of the righteous'.

¹¹ L² Slav. om. 'like angels'.

¹² who was with me: L² Slav. 'and I said'.

¹³ like you in form: B 'as you will see'.

¹⁴ Eth. L² and Slav. differ widely in verses 12 and 13, and all three are difficult. Charles suspected a displacement in Eth. and would transfer the clause within brackets in verse 12 to follow 'Christ' in verse 13 ('... called Christ, although they see . . . crowns after he has descended . . .'). ¹⁵ So L² Slav.: Eth. 'god'.

¹⁶ Eth. 'by the hand of his Son'; L² 'his hand against the Son of God (cp. Slav. '... on account of his Son will stretch out his hands against him')'.

¹⁷ (the Son) and they . . . kill him: Eth. 'and they will lay their hands upon him and will hang him on a tree'; L² 'and he will kill him and will hang him on a tree and will kill him'; Slav. 'and they will hang him on a tree and he will kill him'.

be hidden even from the heavens, so that it will not be known who he is. And when he has plundered the angel of death, he will ascend on the third day (and he will have been in the world for five hundred and forty-five days).¹⁸ Then will many of the righteous ascend with him, whose souls do not receive their garments until the Lord Christ ascends and they ascend with him.¹⁹ Then will they receive their [garments and their]²⁰ thrones and their crowns, when he has ascended into the seventh heaven. And I asked him what I had already asked him in the third²¹ heaven. And he said to me, Everything that happens in that world is known here. And while I was still talking to him, one of the angels that stood nearby, who was even more glorious than the angel who had brought me up from earth, showed me a book²² and opened it, and the book had writing in it,²³ but not like *the writing* in the books of this world. And he gave it to me, and I read it; and behold, the deeds of the sons of Israel²⁴ were written in it, and also the deeds of others whom you do (not) know,²⁵ my son Josab.²⁶ And I said, There is indeed nothing that happens in this world that is hidden in the seventh heaven.²⁷ And I saw there many garments stored up, and many thrones and many crowns. And I said to the angel, Whose are these garments, and thrones, and crowns? And he said to me, These *are* the garments *which* many from the world will receive,²⁸

¹⁸ Charles was persuaded that this clause was not part of the original, though he thought that the Eth. translator found it in his Gk. text since the idea is Gnostic. Both L² and Slav., however, omit it, although they have a much fuller text of verses 15 and 16 containing a clear reference to the Descent into Hell.

¹⁹ whose . . . with him: L² Slav. 'and he will send out his preachers into all the world and will ascend into the heavens'.

²⁰ L² Slav. om. 'garments and their'.

²¹ L² Slav. 'first' (but see vii. 27).

²² Eth. 'books' (and plurals similarly throughout this verse).

²³ Lit. 'the book was written'.

²⁴ the sons of Israel: L² Slav. 'Jerusalem'.

²⁵ Eth. 'whom you know'; Slav. 'whom I do not know'; L² 'concerning which I also was'.

²⁶ L² Slav. om. 'my son Josab'.

²⁷ L² Slav. have an additional question at this point about the identity of the 'more glorious' angel, who is named in the answer as Michael (cp. verses 29 and 42).

²⁸ So Eth.: L² 'lose'; Slav. 'he robbed of'. Both L² and Slav. require that 'the one' later in the verse be taken as a reference to the Antichrist.

who believe in the words of the One who is to be named,²⁹ as I told you; and they will observe these things³⁰ and will believe in them,³¹ and they will believe in his cross—for them are **these garments** stored up.³² And I saw One standing, whose glory surpassed that of all the others, and his glory was great and wonderful. And when I saw him,³³ all the righteous I had seen, and the angels also I had seen, approached him, and Adam and Abel and Seth and all the righteous came near him and worshipped him and praised him with one voice; and I too sang praises with them, and my praises were as theirs. And then all the angels came near and³⁴ worshipped and sang praises. And I³⁵ was transformed again³⁶ and became like an angel. Then the angel who was accompanying me said, Worship him; and I worshipped and sang praises. And the angel said to me, This is the Lord of all the splendours you have seen. And while he³⁷ was still speaking I saw another glorious One like him, and the righteous came near him and worshipped and sang praises, and I³⁸ sang praises with them; but my³⁹ glory was not transformed so that I looked like them.⁴⁰ Then the angels came near and worshipped him. And I saw the Lord and a second angel, and they were standing. But the second that I saw was on my Lord's left. And I asked, Who is this? And *the angel who was accompanying me* said to me, Worship him, for this is the angel of the Holy Spirit, who is upon you, and who has spoken also in the other righteous.⁴¹ And the eyes of my spirit were open, and I saw the Great Glory; but I could not

²⁹ L² Slav. om. 'who is to be named'.

³⁰ So AC: B 'observe his commandments'.

³¹ So A: BC 'him'.

³² AC 'but for them are stored up'; B 'which for them are stored up'. L² Slav. om. 'and they will observe . . . stored up'.

³³ And I saw One . . . I saw him: L² Slav. 'And being turned I saw the Lord in great glory, and I feared exceedingly. And'.

³⁴ L² Slav. 'And then Michael came near and worshipped and with him all the angels' (cp. verses 23 and 42).

³⁵ So L² Slav.: Eth. 'he'.

³⁶ So L² Slav.: Eth. om. 'again'.

³⁷ So Slav.: Eth. 'I' (L² om. 'while . . . speaking').

³⁸ So Eth.: L² Slav. 'he'.

³⁹ Eth. 'his', supported by L² Slav. 'and he transformed not himself'.

⁴⁰ Lit. 'transformed after the manner of their appearance'.

⁴¹ L² Slav. ' . . . Holy Spirit, who speaks in you and in all the righteous'.

then look upon *him*, nor could the angel who was with me, nor any
 38 of the angels I had seen worshipping my Lord. Yet I saw the
 39 righteous gazing intently upon the Glory.⁴² And my Lord (and the
 angel of the Spirit too) came near me and said, Privileged indeed
 you are to have been allowed to see God, and privileged also,
 40 because of you, is the angel who is with you.⁴³ And I saw how my
 Lord worshipped, and the angel of the Holy⁴⁴ Spirit too, and both
 41 together gave praise to God.⁴⁵ And then all the righteous came
 42 near and worshipped, and the angels came near and worshipped;
 and all the angels sang praises.⁴⁶

X. And I heard then the voices and the praises that I had heard in
 2 each of the six heavens – that I had heard as I ascended. And all *the*
voices and the praises were addressed to that Glorious One,¹ whose
 3 glory I could not look upon. And I heard and saw the praises *which*
 4 *were being sung* to him. And the Lord and the angel of the Spirit were
 5 hearing and seeing everything.² For all the praises which come up
 6 from the six heavens are not only heard but seen. And I heard the
 angel, who was accompanying me, *speaking to me*; and he said, This
 is the Most High, who sits enthroned above the heavenly hosts,³
 who dwells in the holy world and rests among his holy ones, who
 will be called by the Holy Spirit through the lips of the righteous
 7 the Father of the Lord.⁴ And I heard the voice of the Most High,
 the Father of my Lord, saying to my Lord the Christ, who will be
 8 called Jesus,⁵ Go and descend through all the heavens: descend to

⁴² So L²; Eth. 'upon that One's glory'; Slav. 'upon his glory'.

⁴³ Lit. 'See how it is given to you to see God, and because of your power (B adds 'of coming here') is given to the angel who is with you'.

⁴⁴ BC om. 'Holy'.

⁴⁵ ³⁹ came near . . . to God: L² Slav. 'came near (Slav. + 'to them') and they worshipped (L² + 'him') and sang praises both together'.

⁴⁶ There are a number of minor variations in verses 41 and 42. L² Slav. again have a reference to Michael (cp. verses 23 and 29).

¹ And all . . . Glorious One: L² Slav. 'And all were glorifying him'.

² L² Slav. om. verses 3 and 4.

³ Lit. 'the Most High of the high ones'.

⁴ L² Slav. express the details of this verse rather differently: instead of 'will be called' they have 'is praised', and they omit 'the Father of the Lord'.

⁵ L² Slav. 'the voice of the Eternal saying to the Lord Son'.

the vault of heaven and to the world:⁶ descend to the angel in Sheol;
 9 but to Haguel you shall not go.⁷ And you must transform yourself
 10 so as to be like all those who are in the five heavens. And you must
 take care to transform yourself so as to be like the angels of the
 11 vault of heaven *as well*, and the angels also who are in Sheol.⁸ And
 so none of the angels of the world will know that you are Lord with
 12 me of the seven heavens and of their angels. And they will not know
 that you are with me *until* with a *loud* voice I call *to* the heavens and
 their angels and their lights, right up to the sixth heaven, so that
 you may judge and destroy the princes and the angels and the gods
 of that world and the world *itself* over which they exercise
 13 dominion.⁹ For they have denied me and have said, We alone are,
 14 and who is there apart from us? And afterwards you will ascend
 from the *angels* of death to your *appointed* place;¹⁰ and you will have
 no need to transform yourself as you go up,¹¹ for you will ascend in
 15 glory to sit on my right hand. Then the princes and powers of the
 16 world¹² will worship you. And I heard the Great Glory¹³ giving
 these commands to my Lord.

And so it was that when he had left the seventh heaven, I saw my
 17 Lord in the sixth heaven.¹⁴ And the angel who had accompanied
 18 me¹⁵ from this world was with me, and he said to me, Understand
this, Isaiah, and watch,¹⁶ so that you may see¹⁷ the transformation
 19 and descent of the Lord. And I looked,¹⁸ and when the angels saw

⁶ descend to the vault of heaven and to the world: so A; BC 'descend to the vault of the heaven of the world'; L² Slav. 'and you will be in the world'.

⁷ but . . . go: L² Slav. om.

⁸ who are in the five . . . Sheol: L² om.

⁹ The Eth. MSS differ in this verse and an agreed text is highly uncertain. L² Slav. have a much shorter and simpler text both in verse 11 and in verse 12.

¹⁰ And afterwards . . . place: AC 'And afterwards . . . from the gods of death . . . place'; B 'and when you have died and risen you will ascend to your *appointed* place'; Slav. 'and when you are raised from the earth'; L² om.

¹¹ Lit. 'and you shall not transform yourself in each heaven'.

¹² L² Slav. expand the details here.

¹³ So BC: A 'him of the great glory'.

¹⁴ L² Slav. 'And then the Lord went out from the seventh heaven and descended into the sixth heaven'.

¹⁵ L² Slav. 'who was instructing me', and then om. 'from this . . . and he'.

¹⁶ Lit. 'see'.

¹⁷ So AC: B 'so that you may know'; L² Slav. 'what is'.

¹⁸ L² Slav. om. 'And I looked' (and so similarly at the beginning of verse 20).

him, those in the sixth heaven gave him glory and praised him (for he had not been transformed so as to look like the angels there); and they praised him, and I also praised *him* with them. And I saw that when he descended into the fifth heaven and transformed himself in the fifth heaven to look like the angels there, they did not praise him, for his form was like theirs. And then he descended into the fourth heaven and transformed himself to look like the angels there; and when they saw him, they neither gave him glory nor did they praise him, for his form was like their form.¹⁹ And I saw again that when he descended into the third heaven he transformed himself to look like the angels in the third heaven. And those who kept the gate of the *third* heaven demanded the password, and the Lord gave *it* to them, so that he might not be recognized; and when they saw him, they neither gave him glory nor did they praise him, for his form was like their form. And again I saw²⁰ that when he descended into the second heaven, there again he gave the password, for those who kept the gate demanded *it* and the Lord gave *it* to them. And I saw that when he was made like the form of the angels in the second heaven, they saw him and did not praise him, for his form was like their form. And I saw him again, when he descended into the first heaven, and there too he gave the password to those who kept the gate; and he made himself like the form of the angels who were on the left of the throne there, and they neither gave him glory nor did they praise him, for his form was like their form. But as for me, no one questioned me because of the angel who was accompanying me. And again he descended into the vault of heaven where dwells the prince of this world,²¹ and he gave the password to those on the left; and his form *was* like theirs, and they did not praise him there – instead, they were all jealous of one another and were fighting one another (such is the power of evil there and of jealousy about things that do not matter²²). And I saw

¹⁹ L² Slav. summarize verses 23–28 ('And he came into the third heaven and into the second and into the first, transforming himself in each of them, so that they neither sang praises to him nor worshipped him, for he looked like them. And he showed the signs to the guardians of the gates as he passed through each of the heavens').

²¹ where . . . world = Eth. Slav.: L² om.

²² So AC: B om. 'about . . . matter'; L² Slav. om. 'instead . . . matter'.

that when he descended and made himself like the angels of the air, he looked just like one of them. And he gave no password, for each one of them was *busy* cheating and doing violence to his neighbour.²³

XI. And after this I looked, and the angel who was talking with me, who was accompanying me,¹ said to me, Understand *this*,² Isaiah, son of Amoz, for this is why I have been sent by God.² And I saw clearly a woman of the family of the prophet David, whose name was Mary, and she was a virgin; and she was betrothed to a man whose name was Joseph, a carpenter (and he too was of the stock and family³ of the righteous David, of Bethlehem in Judah; and he had received her as his wife by lot⁴). And when she was betrothed she was found to be with child; and Joseph the carpenter was minded to repudiate her. But the angel of the Spirit⁵ appeared in this world; and after that Joseph did not repudiate her, but kept Mary and told no one anything about it. And he did not approach Mary but kept her as a holy virgin, though a child was in her womb. And he did not live with her *for* two months. And two months afterwards Joseph was in his house and Mary his wife;⁶ and they were alone together. And while they were alone, Mary looked up and saw a little child; and she was frightened. And at

²³ So Eth.: Slav. 'for they did not ask him *for* one'; L² 'and they sang no praises'.

¹ L² Slav. om. 'who was talking . . . accompanying me'.

² So Eth. Slav.: L² 'the Lord'. L² Slav. then give verses 2–22 only in summary ('. . . sent by God) to show you all things, for no man before you has seen, nor will any man after you be able to see, what you have seen and heard. And I saw one like a son of man, and he lived with men in the world, and they did not recognize him').

³ B om. 'and family'.

⁴ Lit. 'and he entered into possession of his lot'. This curious statement is explicable in the light of the tradition that appears in the *Protevangelium* of James (ix. 1, xix. 1) that Mary had been brought up in the Temple, and that when she was twelve years old, all the widowers in the neighbourhood were assembled in the Temple, each bringing a rod, so that a sign from heaven through the rods might indicate which of the widowers should be her husband. When, after prayer, Joseph's rod was handed back to him, a dove flew out of it and settled on his head.

⁵ So AC: B 'Holy Spirit'.

⁶ So AC (though in A it has been almost completely erased): B 'betrothed'.

that very moment⁷ her womb was found⁸ as it had been before she had conceived. And when her husband⁹ Joseph said to her, What is it that has frightened you?, his eyes were opened and he saw the infant and praised the Lord, because *he realized that* God had come into what was his.¹⁰ And there came a voice to them, Tell no one about this vision. Yet the story of the infant spread through Bethlehem. There were some who said, Mary the virgin has borne a child less than two months after she was married. And many said, She has not borne a child, for no midwife has attended *her*, and we have heard no cries of *labour* pains. And they were all kept from recognizing who he was: they all knew about him; but they did not know where he came from. And they¹¹ took him and went to Nazareth in Galilee.¹² And I saw, Hezekiah and son Josab (and I say this also to the other prophets who are standing by¹³) – *I saw that the whole of this* was hidden from all the heavens and from all the princes and from all the gods of this world.¹⁴ And I saw how as a babe at Nazareth he sucked the breast like any other babe,¹⁵ in order not to be recognized. And when he was grown up, great were his marvels and wonders in the land of Israel and at Jerusalem. And then the Enemy, in a fit of jealousy, roused the sons of Israel against him (not knowing who he was), and they handed him over to the king and crucified him; and he descended to the angel of Sheol.¹⁶ In Jerusalem then I saw him hanging upon a cross. And so also after the third day *I saw him* rise again and remain *on earth* for several days.¹⁷ (And the angel who was accompanying me said, Understand *this*, Isaiah.) And I saw him when he sent out the twelve apostles and ascended. And I saw him, and he was in the vault of heaven,¹⁸ but he had not transformed himself; and all the

⁷ Lit. 'And after she was frightened'.

⁸ So A: BC 'she found her womb'.

⁹ her husband = AC (but erased in A): B om.

¹⁰ Lit. 'into his portion'. ¹¹ i.e. Joseph and Mary.

¹² B om. 'in Galilee'. ¹³ Lit. 'who are there'.

¹⁴ So AC: B 'and from him who is of this world'.

¹⁵ Lit. '... breast, and it was according to custom'.

¹⁶ Descent 'to the angel of Sheol' is mentioned in G^L ii. 39.

¹⁷ So AB: C 'for forty days'. Cp. ix. 16.

¹⁸ And I saw him (BC om.) ... vault of heaven: L² Slav. 'And I saw *him* ascending into the vault of heaven'.

angels of the vault and Satan¹⁹ saw him, and they worshipped.²⁰ And there was much lamentation there as²¹ they said, How was it that our Lord descended **into our midst**²² and we did not perceive the glory which was upon him *and* which we see has been upon him from the sixth heaven? And he ascended into the second heaven;²³ and he did not transform himself. But all the angels who were on the right and on the left and the throne in the middle both worshipped him and praised him; and they said, How was it that our Lord was hidden from us while he was descending and we did not perceive *his glory*?²⁴ And so too he ascended into the third heaven; and they praised *him* and said the same. And in the fourth heaven and also in the fifth they said precisely the same. But now they could all see him in his true glory, for he did not transform himself.²⁵ And I saw that when he ascended into the sixth heaven they worshipped him and praised him. And in every heaven the praises increased. And I saw how he ascended into the seventh heaven and all the righteous and all the angels²⁶ praised him; and then I saw him sit down on the right hand of the Great Glory,²⁷ whose glory I told you I was not able to look upon.²⁸ And I saw also the angel of the Holy Spirit²⁹ sitting on the left hand. And this angel said to me, Isaiah, son of Amoz, I set you free;³⁰ for you have seen

¹⁹ L² Slav. om. 'and Satan'.

²⁰ and they worshipped = AC: B om.; L² Slav. 'and they feared greatly and worshipped'.

²¹ L² Slav. om. 'there was ... as'.
²² Eth. 'upon us'; L² in our midst'; Slav. 'in the midst'. Both L² and Slav. continue 'and we did not recognize the king of glory' (omitting 'which ... heaven').

²³ L² Slav. 'And from the first heaven he ascended more glorious'; Sah. 'And he] ascended into the fir[st heaven'.

²⁴ L² Slav. 'How did you pass through us, Lord, and we did not see (Slav. 'recognize') you, nor did we worship you?' Both then summarize verses 27–30 ('And thus he ascended into the second and the third and the fourth and the fifth and the sixth heaven'). Sah. agrees substantially with L² Slav. against Eth. as far as 'the fifth heaven' in the summary in verse 29, but after this it approximates rather more closely to Eth.

²⁵ Lit. 'But there was but a single glory, and from it he did not change himself'.

²⁶ So Eth. Sah.: L² Slav. add 'and all the powers'.

²⁷ So B Sah. Slav.: AC 'of him'; L² om. 'and then I saw ... Glory'.

²⁸ So Eth. Sah.: L² Slav. 'upon whom ('which?') I was not able to look'.

²⁹ So Eth.: Slav. 'the angel of the Spirit'; L² 'a marvellous angel'.

³⁰ So Eth.: L² Slav. 'it is enough for you'; and then Eth. adds 'for these are great things'.

35 what no mortal man has *ever* seen *before*.³¹ Yet you must return to your garments *of the flesh* until your days are completed. Then will you come up here.

36 These things Isaiah saw and told them³² to all who were in attendance, and they sang praises.³³ And he spoke to king 37 Hezekiah and said, Thus have I spoken. And³⁴ the end of the world 38 and all this vision will be fulfilled in the last generations.³⁵ And Isaiah made him swear that he would neither tell the people of 39 Israel nor give³⁶ these words to any man to transcribe. . . . And then shall you read *them*.³⁷ And keep watch in the Holy Spirit, so that you may receive your garments and thrones and crowns of glory, which are stored up *for you* in the seventh heaven.³⁸

41 It was because of these visions and prophecies that Sammael Satan sawed Isaiah, the son of Amoz, the prophet, in two, using 42 Manasseh as his agent. And Hezekiah entrusted all these things to 43 Manasseh in the twenty-sixth year.³⁹ But Manasseh did not remember them, nor did he take any notice of them; and so, by becoming the servant of Satan, he was destroyed.

Here ends the vision of Isaiah the prophet together with his ascension.⁴⁰

³¹ L² Slav. add Isa. lxiv. 4 as quoted by St. Paul at I Cor. ii. 9: they then continue 'And he said to me, Return . . .'

³² So L² Slav.: Eth. 'These things I saw, and Isaiah told them' (which would seem to be supported by Sah.).

³³ So Eth.: L² Slav. 'and when they heard these marvellous things they (L² + 'all') sang praises and glorified God who shows such favour to men'.

³⁴ L² Slav. om. 'and said . . . spoken. And'.

³⁵ B 'at the last day'.

³⁶ L² Slav. 'And he forbade them to tell . . . and to give'.

³⁷ There must be a lacuna here since Isaiah is obviously speaking. The translation follows AC. L² and Slav. both have long and interrelated texts; but they do not help since both are corrupt.

³⁸ L² Slav. 'in the heavens': they then add 'And he finished speaking and went out from king Hezekiah' and om. verses 41-43. Sah. would seem to have ended similarly, although it certainly read 'in the seventh heaven'.

³⁹ B adds 'of his reign'.

⁴⁰ So AC: B om. altogether; L² 'Here ends the vision of Isaiah the prophet'; Slav. has a doxology instead.

THE PARALEIPOMENA OF JEREMIAH

INTRODUCTION

The fact that texts of this work have survived in Greek, in Ethiopic, in at least three different Armenian recensions, and in more than one Slavonic recension, suggests that it was known in antiquity over a wide area and enjoyed considerable popularity. Yet it seems never to have been either quoted or referred to by any of the Fathers. Neither, apparently, does it occur in any of the Greek lists of apocryphal books.¹ It does, however, find a place in both the Armenian and the Slavonic lists.

As a title, 'The Paraleipomena of Jeremiah' represents an abbreviation of what, to judge from the manuscripts, was the popular Greek title - 'The Paraleipomena of Jeremiah the Prophet'. And so similarly the Armenian and the Slavonic traditions. 'Paraleipomena' (i.e. 'things left out'), used absolutely, was the recognized title for the Books of Chronicles in the Greek Old Testament; and, as a result, the term gained a wider currency and came to be used, especially among those concerned with Biblical apocrypha, to describe a new edition of a work already in existence, or, more often, a supplement to it - for example, in The Testament of Job the reader is referred for further details about a more than ordinarily 'scurrilous attack' upon Job to 'the Paraleipomena of Eliphaz'.²

As we have seen, the Greek, Armenian, and Slavonic traditions agree in calling our work 'The Paraleipomena of Jeremiah' (or something similar), but the Ethiopic tradition prefers as a title 'The Rest of the Words of Baruch'; and, since it was in its Ethiopic version that the book first became known to the modern world, it

¹ There is no reason to suppose that the 'Baruch pseudepigraphon', which figures towards the end of the lists in Pseudo-Athanasius and Nicephorus, was intended to refer to the Paraleipomena. No number of *stichoi* is indicated; and if a reference to a work now extant was intended, it is far more likely to have been to the Greek Apocalypse of Baruch.

² Test. Job xli. 6: cp. xl. 14 (see above pp. 642 and 641).

was only natural that it should initially be grouped among the Baruch books. Yet manifestly the book is primarily about Jeremiah and not Baruch: Baruch is an important, but subsidiary, figure; and his importance lies in his function as scribe (as in the canonical Jeremiah). Furthermore, when numbers began to be assigned to the different Baruch books (1 Baruch, 2 Baruch, 3 Baruch, 4 Baruch), there was inevitably confusion about which book was which, and particularly between the last two. If one came across a reference in an author to '4 Baruch' without further explanation, was it to be understood that the reference was to the Paraleipomena of Jeremiah or to the Greek Apocalypse of Baruch? Or, to put the question the other way round, if one wanted to refer to the Paraleipomena should one call it '3 Baruch' (with M. R. James³) or '4 Baruch' (with R. H. Charles⁴)? In consequence, it has become increasingly common to distinguish the two works by reverting to the use of the titles found in the ancient Greek manuscripts, even though we cannot be sure in either case that these titles are original. (And it may be noted, too, that it has also become much more common than once it was to speak of 'The Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch' rather than '2 Baruch').

The attention of the modern West was first drawn to the Paraleipomena by C. F. A. Dillmann's article on the Old Testament pseudepigrapha in the first edition of Herzog's *Real-Encyclopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche* which appeared in 1860.⁵ Dillmann there described it as 'a Christian apocryphon'. Six years later he himself published an edition of the Ethiopic text, which was translated into German by F. Prätorius in 1872, and again by E. König in 1877; and so it became generally available.

An edition of the Greek text was published by A. M. Ceriani in 1868 on the basis of a single 15th cent. MS from Bra in Piedmont, supplemented by evidence from some of the Menaea MSS of the Eastern Church for 4 November (when the Fall of Jerusalem was commemorated). These Menaea MSS preserve only portions of the text in an abbreviated and less pure form, so that, despite the

³ M. R. James, *Apocrypha Anecdota*, ii (= TS V. i (Cambridge, 1897), pp. liii and lxxi).

⁴ R. H. Charles, *APOT* ii, p. 471.

⁵ J. J. Herzog, op. cit., vol. xii, p. 314.

fact that there are additions here and there, they represent what would normally be called a 'short recension': the title in them is usually either 'Narrative about the Capture of Jerusalem and the Lamentation of the Prophet Jeremiah and concerning the Trance of Abimelech' or a variant version of it.⁶

J. Rendel Harris's edition of 1889 provided a critically constructed Greek text (of the 'long recension'), with an apparatus and full Introduction. In constructing his text Harris relied on three Greek MSS (*a* = Cod. Braidensis A. F. ix. 31, 15th cent. - Ceriani's MS; *b* = Cod. S. Sepulcri 34, 11th cent.; and *c* = Cod. S. Sepulcri 6, 10th cent.), the evidence of several of the Menaea ('short recension') MSS, and also of the Ethiopic version for which he professed a high regard.

Since Harris's day a number of other manuscripts have come to light belonging to both recensions; but few of them have as yet been adequately examined. Moreover, the relationship between the two recensions (if, indeed, there are only two), and the versional material in its various recensions, is more than ordinarily complex, and little detailed work has so far been done to unravel the complexity. However, in the brief introductory matter to their pilot edition of 1972 R. A. Kraft and A.-E. Purinton gave a convenient list of all known and 'suspected' witnesses up to that date, together with a suggested classification. With a commendable honesty they emphasized that 'all the materials presented here are in every way provisional'. And it is clear that this statement is intended to cover not only their list of available witnesses and their suggested classification of them, but their eclectic Greek text of the 'long recension' as well.

The scene of the Paraleipomena is set in Jerusalem both at the beginning and the end of the Babylonian exile. Jeremiah goes with the exiles to Babylon: Baruch stays near Jerusalem, lamenting its desolation; and Abimelech (i.e. the Ebed-melech of Jer. xxxviii. 7-13), having been sent to gather figs so that he may not see the

⁶ A fair specimen of this 'short recension' text will be found in A. Vassiliev, *Anecdota Graeco-Byzantina*, i (Moscow, 1893), pp. 308-316. The text is from Vat. Barberini 3 (a. 1497).

impending destruction of the city, falls into a miraculous sleep which lasts for sixty-six years. Since the Lord proclaims 'I will shelter him there until I bring the people back to the city' (iii. 10), the sixty-six years of Abimelech's sleep are presumably of significance in determining the date of the Return.

So, at any rate, Harris, who by identifying the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar in 586 BC with its sack by the Romans in AD 70, and adding 66, arrived at the date AD 136. The author, Harris argued, was clearly a Christian, and in his opinion a Jewish Christian, who was writing a Tract for the Times. After the Second Jewish Revolt had been finally crushed in AD 135, Jerusalem, which had been a ruin for more than sixty years, was rebuilt and renamed Aelia Capitolina. It was to be peopled exclusively by Gentiles, and an imperial edict prohibited Jews from entering on pain of death. The Paraleipomena points out that Jews can evade this edict by forsaking Babylon (i.e. Judaism) and entering their rightful city (i.e. the Christian Church). The book is therefore 'the Church's Eirenicon to the Synagogue, at the time of the Hadrianic edict'.⁷

This view, accepted in its essentials by a number of subsequent scholars, notably by P. Bogaert in the Introduction to his translation of the Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch, has not gone unchallenged. E. Schürer, for example, drew attention to a number of what would seem to be distinctively Jewish features in the work; and later, G. Delling emphasized the fundamental concern with the fate of Jerusalem and the future of the Jewish people, the references to the need for social purity (vi. 13-14, viii. 2-5) being especially significant in this respect. So, according to Delling, it is 'a book for edification', stressing the importance for Jews of the Holy City, the Temple, and the regular life of praise and prayer; and it is to be dated at any time in the first third of the second century AD.

If we take this last view we shall, of course, have to explain the Christian elements in the book as later additions. There is no difficulty in explaining ix. 10-32 in this way (as does Delling): ix. 10-32 gives a circumstantial account of how Jeremiah was re-

⁷ J. R. Harris, *The Rest of the Words of Baruch*, p. 14.

stored to life three days after his natural death, how he prophesied the advent of Christ and what followed from it (including the explicit reference to 'the Son of God who awakens us out of sleep, Jesus Christ'), and how this prophecy provoked the Jews to stone him; and it may well have been added as a suitable tail-piece in order to Christianize an otherwise purely Jewish work.

But is the work, apart from ix. 10-32, purely Jewish? There are, in particular, several apparent reminiscences of the New Testament, such as 'Jerusalem which is above' (v. 34; cp. Gal. iv. 26), 'teaching them to keep themselves from the pollutions of the Gentiles' (vii. 32; cp. Acts xv. 19-20), and 'the true Light which lighteth me' (ix. 3; cp. John i. 9). Are these examples to be explained as genuine reminiscences of Christian writings on the part of a Christian author? Or, are they Christian intrusions into a Jewish document? Or, are they, perhaps, mere verbal coincidences?

If we are prepared to accept the book as a unity and regard it as Christian throughout, the original language is likely to have been Greek. If it was Jewish, apart from the later Christian modifications, then it may have been written originally either in Greek, or in Hebrew or Aramaic. The mention of 'Zar' as a god's name at vii. 25 has sometimes been held to point to a Hebrew original, inasmuch as *zar* is the common Hebrew word for 'strange(r)' or 'foreign(er)'. But this argument is not conclusive. It cannot be supposed that the hypothetical translator into Greek did not know what *zar* meant and therefore transliterated, since in the very next verse he refers to Jeremiah's grief because his contemporaries 'were invoking a foreign god' (vii. 26). Nevertheless, 'thou god Zar' is undoubted proof that the Greek text had a Semitic background, even if it was not a translation from Hebrew. And another piece of evidence that tells in the same direction is the use of δ *Ἰκάνος* for 'the Almighty' at vi. 3, which accords with the practice of the later translators of the Old Testament (i.e. Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion), who normally render the Hebrew *shaddai* in this way, though usually without the article.

Finally, a number of contacts with the other apocryphal Jeremiah or Baruch books deserve notice. Thus, the account of Jeremiah's hiding of the Temple vessels at iii. 7-8 is paralleled or echoed, not only in 2 Macc. ii. 4-5, but also in Syr. Apoc. Bar. vi.

7–10, in the apocryphal Life of Jeremiah in *The Lives of the Prophets*,⁸ and in the Garshuni 'Jeremiah Apocryphon' edited by A. Mingana in the first volume of the *Woodbrooke Studies* in 1927.⁹ Again, the story of Abimelech and his long sleep reappears in the 'Jeremiah Apocryphon',¹⁰ and it is also apparently referred to in the Prologue to Gk. Apoc. Bar. (v. 2). Especially important are the dozen or so parallels with Syr. Apoc. Bar., the more striking of which occur in the same relative order in both books (e.g. Par. Jer. i. 1–2 || Syr. Bar. ii. 1–2; Par. Jer. iv. 3–4 || Syr. Bar. x. 18; Par. Jer. vii. 8–12 || Syr. Bar. lxxvii. 19–26). Theoretically it is possible to explain these parallels either by supposing that the author of the Paraleipomena knew and used the Syriac Apocalypse, or that the author of the Syriac Apocalypse knew and used the Paraleipomena, or that both authors knew and used a common source. Among those who have discussed the question, P. Bogaert preferred the first alternative,¹¹ and G. W. E. Nickelsburg the third.¹²

It is perhaps also worth noting that the statement of the people after Jeremiah's prophecy of the advent of Christ at ix. 20 ('These are the very same words that were spoken by Isaiah, the son of

⁸ Life of Jeremiah, 9–12 (See C. C. Torrey, *The Lives of the Prophets* (= *JBL Monograph Series*, i; Philadelphia, 1946), pp. 22 and 36).

⁹ A. Mingana, *Woodbrooke Studies*, i (Cambridge, 1927), pp. 125–138 and 148–233 (= *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, xi (Manchester, 1927), pp. 329–342 and 352–437): see especially pp. 171–173 (= *Bulletin* . . ., pp. 375–377). The apocryphon had previously been translated into French by E. Amélineau in his *Contes et romans de l'Égypte chrétienne*, ii (Paris, 1888), pp. 97–151, under the title 'Histoire de la captivité de Babylone'. Another edition of the text, together with a French translation, was published by L. Leroy and P. Dib under the title 'Un apocryphe carchouni sur la captivité de Babylone', in *Revue de l'Orient chrétien*, xv (Paris, 1910), pp. 255–274, 398–409 and xvi (Paris, 1911), pp. 128–154. To what extent this apocryphon should be regarded as a completely separate work, and not just another (though widely divergent) recension of the Paraleipomena, is debateable.

¹⁰ A. Mingana, op. cit., pp. 167 and 185–187 (= *Bulletin* . . ., pp. 371 and 389–391).

¹¹ As had previously, for example, R. H. Charles, *The Apocalypse of Baruch* (London, 1896), p. xviii.

¹² Nickelsburg rightly points out in this connection that the author of 2 Maccabees claims to be dependent for his story of Jeremiah and the Temple furnishings on an extant written source (2 Macc. ii. 4), so that presumably there were written Jeremiah-Baruch traditions in circulation which antedated the Syriac Apocalypse.

Amoz, when he said, I beheld God and the Son of God') shows acquaintance with a detail in the tradition of Isaiah's martyrdom which reappears elsewhere in Origen,¹³ in Jerome,¹⁴ and in the apocryphal Ascension of Isaiah.¹⁵

Our translation is, in all essentials, a translation of the text as printed by Harris, which, as explained above, represents the 'long recension'.

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- I. It came to pass, when the Israelites were taken captive by the king of the Chaldaeans, God spoke to Jeremiah saying, Jeremiah, my chosen one, get up and leave this city, you and Baruch, for I am about to destroy it because of the many sins of those who live in it.
 2 For your prayers are like a solid pillar in the middle of it, and like a
 3 wall of adamant around it. Get up now, both of you, and leave it,
 4 before the army of the Chaldaeans surrounds it. And Jeremiah answered, saying, I beseech thee, Lord, permit thy servant to speak before thee. And the Lord said to him, Speak, Jeremiah, my
 5 chosen one. And Jeremiah spoke, saying, Lord Almighty, wilt thou deliver the chosen city into the hands of the Chaldaeans, so that the king can boast, together with his hosts, and say, I have prevailed
 6 against the holy city of God? No, my Lord: if it is thy will, let it be
 7 destroyed by thine own hands. And the Lord said to Jeremiah, Since you are my chosen one, get up and leave this city, you and Baruch, for I am about to destroy it because of the many sins of
 8 those who live in it. For neither the king nor his army will be able to
 9 enter it, unless I first open its gates. So get up, and go to Baruch, and tell him what I have said. And then, get up both of you at
 10 midnight,¹ and go onto the city walls, and I will show you that
 11 unless I first destroy the city they will not be able to enter it. And when he had said this, the Lord left Jeremiah.

- II. And Jeremiah rent his clothes and put dust upon his head; and
 2 he went in to the sanctuary of God. And when Baruch saw him with dust sprinkled on his head and his clothes rent, he cried out

¹ Lit. 'at the sixth hour of the night'.

aloud, saying, Father Jeremiah, What is the matter with you?¹
 3 What sin have the people committed *now*? (And he said this because,
 whenever the people sinned, Jeremiah would sprinkle dust on his
 4 head and pray for the people, that their sin might be forgiven. *That*
is why Baruch asked him, saying, Father, what is the matter with
 5 you?²) And Jeremiah said to him, See that you *too* rend your
 clothes, but rather let us rend our hearts; and let us not draw water
 for the drinking-troughs, but rather let us weep and fill them with
 6 tears, for the Lord will have no mercy on this people. And Baruch
 7 said, Father Jeremiah, what has happened? And Jeremiah said,
 God is delivering the city into the hands of the king of the
 8 Chaldaeans, to take the people captive to Babylon. And when
 Baruch heard this, he too rent his clothes and said, Father
 9 Jeremiah, who has told you this? And Jeremiah said to him, Stay
 with me *here* a little longer, until midnight,² and you will learn that
 10 what I have told you is true. So they remained by the altar
 weeping.

III. And when midnight came¹ Jeremiah and Baruch went up
 together onto the city walls in accordance with the Lord's instruc-
 2 tions to Jeremiah. And behold, a trumpet-blast sounded, and
 angels came forth from heaven with torches in their hands; and
 3 they stood on the city walls. And when Jeremiah and Baruch saw
 them, they wept, saying, Now we know indeed that what we were
 4 told is true. And Jeremiah pleaded with the angels, saying, Do not
 destroy the city yet, I beg you, before I have had an opportunity to
 say something to the Lord. And the Lord said to the angels, Do not
 destroy the city before I have spoken with Jeremiah, my chosen
 one. And *Jeremiah* said, Lord, I pray *thee*, bid me speak before thee.
 And the Lord said, Speak, Jeremiah, my chosen one. And
 5,6 *Jeremiah* said, Behold, Lord, now we know that thou art delivering
 thy city into the hands of its enemies, and they will carry off the
 7 people to Babylon. What should we do with the sacred things *in* thy
temple and the vessels used in thy service? What wouldest thou have

¹ Lit. 'What is it to you?'

² Lit. 'until the sixth hour of the night'.

¹ Lit. 'And when the hour of the night came'.

8 us do with them? And the Lord said to him, Take them and consign
 them to the earth,² saying, Listen, O earth, to the voice of him who
 created you in the abundance of the waters, who sealed you with
 seven seals in seven periods of time, and who will afterwards
 receive your beauty: guard the vessels of the service till the coming
 9 of the Beloved One. And Jeremiah said, I beseech thee, Lord, show
 me *too* what I should do about Abimelech the Ethiopian, for he has
 done many kindnesses to the people, and to thy servant Jeremiah
 (for it was he who hoisted me up out of the muddy pit), and I would
 not wish him to see the city's destruction and desolation, and be
 10 distressed about it. And the Lord said to Jeremiah, Send him to the
 vineyard of Agrippa by the mountain *road*; and I will shelter him
 11 there until I bring the people back to the city. And the Lord *also*
 said to Jeremiah, Go with your people to Babylon, and stay with
 12 them and preach to them,³ until I bring them back to the city. But
 13 leave Baruch here until I speak to him. And when he had said this,
 14 he left Jeremiah and went up into heaven. And Jeremiah and
 Baruch went into the sanctuary and consigned the vessels of the
 service to the earth,⁴ as the Lord had instructed them, and the
 earth swallowed them instantly; and the two of them sat down and
 15 wept. And in the morning early, Jeremiah sent Abimelech away,
 saying, Take *your* basket and go to Agrippa's farm by the mountain
 road: fetch a few figs, and give *them* to those of the people who are
 ill: on you *be* joy from the Lord, and *may* his glory *rest* upon your
 16 head. And Abimelech went off *and did* as he had been told.

IV. And in the morning early, behold, the army of the Chaldaeans
 surrounded the city; and the great angel blew the trumpet, saying,
 Enter the city, army of the Chaldaeans, for behold, the gate has
 2 been opened for you. So the king entered with his host and took all
 3 the people captive. And Jeremiah took the keys of the temple, and
 went outside the city and threw them *up* in the face of the sun,
 saying, I tell you, sun, take the keys of God's temple, and guard
 them until the day when the Lord tells you what to do with them;
 4 because we have proved unworthy guardians of them and faithless

² So *ab*: *c* Eth. add 'and to the altar'. Cp. verse 14.

³ Lit. 'stay with them evangelizing them'. Cp. v. 21.

⁴ So *ab* Eth.: *c* adds 'and to the altar'. Cp. verse 8.

5 stewards. And while Jeremiah was still weeping for the people, *he*
6 and they were dragged off to Babylon. But Baruch put dust on his
head, and sat down and uttered this lament, saying,

Why is Jerusalem desolated?

Because of the sins of the beloved people

She is delivered into the enemies' hands,

Because of our sins and *the sins* of the people.

7 But let not the lawless ones boast and say,

We have been able to take God's city by our own strength.

You have indeed prevailed against her;

But it was because of our sins that we were delivered up.

8 And our God will have pity on us,

And he will restore us to our city:

But as for you, you will not endure.¹

9 Blessed are our fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob,

For they departed from this world

And did not see the destruction of this city.

10 And when he had said this, he went out weeping and saying, O
11 Jerusalem, I leave you, mourning for you. And he remained,
sitting on a tomb, while the angels came and told him in detail
about everything.

V. Now Abimelech had gone to fetch the figs and was bringing
them back in the midday heat;¹ and he came upon a tree, and sat
down in its shade to rest awhile. And he leaned his head on the
fig-basket and fell asleep; and he slept soundly for sixty-six years
2 without waking up. And afterwards, when he did wake up, he said,
It is a pity I did not sleep a little bit more: I feel very drowsy,²
3 because I have not had enough sleep. Then he took off the cover
4 over the fig-basket and found the figs oozing sap. And he said, I
5 would have liked a bit more sleep, because I feel so drowsy.² But I
am afraid that if I do go to sleep, I might not wake up for sometime,
and my father Jeremiah will be put out; for if he had not been in a

¹ Lit. 'you will not have life'.

¹ Lit. 'And Abimelech fetched the figs in the heat'.

² Lit. 'my head is weighed down'.

6 hurry, he would not have sent me out to-day at daybreak. So I will
get up, and go on in the heat – would that I could find somewhere
7 where there is no heat and daily toil!³ He got up accordingly, and
picked up the fig-basket and put it on his shoulders, and made his
way into Jerusalem; and he did not recognize it, neither *his* house,
nor the district where he lived,⁴ nor *could he find* any of his relations.⁵
8 And he said, Blessed be the Lord, for I must be in a trance: this is
9 not the city. I am lost, for I came by the mountain road after I woke
10 up from my sleep. And because I was drowsy⁶ through not having
11 had enough sleep, I must have lost my way. *It would be absurd to*
12 tell Jeremiah that I got lost. And he went out *some distance* from the
city; and, looking at it, he saw the city's landmarks and said, This
13 is indeed the city, but I am lost. And he went back again inside the
city, and searched, and discovered no single person that he knew.⁷
14 And he said, Blessed be the Lord, for a mighty trance has fallen on
15 me. And he went outside the city again, and remained there in
16 deep distress, not knowing where to go. And he put the basket
down, saying, I will sit here until the Lord takes this trance away
17 from me. And while he was sitting *there*, he saw an old man coming
18 in from the country; and Abimelech said to him, Tell me, old man,
19 what city that is? And he said to him, Jerusalem. And Abimelech
said to him, Where is Jeremiah the priest, and Baruch the scribe,
and all the people of this city, because I have not been able to find
20 them? And the old man said to him, Surely you must be from this
21 city yourself: otherwise why should you be thinking about
Jeremiah to-day and asking about him such a long time after he
22 went away? Jeremiah is in Babylon with the people; for they were
taken captive by king Nebuchadnezzar, and Jeremiah is with them
23 preaching to them and instructing them.⁸ And as soon as
Abimelech heard what the old man told him, he said *to him*, No one
should insult anyone who is older than he is himself, and if you
were not an old man, I would laugh at you and call you mad to tell

³ Harris's reconstruction on the basis of *a* and *b*: *c om.*; Eth. is clearly corrupt.

⁴ Lit. 'nor place'.

⁵ Lit. 'nor his own stock'.

⁶ Lit. 'And my head being heavy'.

⁷ Lit. 'no one of his own people'.

⁸ Lit. 'to evangelize them and instruct them in the word'. Cp. iii. 11.

24 me that the people have been taken captive to Babylon. Even if the
 25 cataracts of heaven⁹ had descended on them there would not yet
 have been time for them to reach Babylon. For how long is it since
 my father Jeremiah sent me to Agrippa's farm for a few figs to give
 26 to those of the people who are ill? I went off and fetched them, and
on the way back in the heat I came to a tree, and I sat down to rest a
 bit, and leaned my head on the basket, and went to sleep; and when
 I woke up, I took off the cover over the fig-basket, as I thought I
 have been rather a long time, and I found the figs oozing sap, as if I
 had just picked them. Yet you tell me the people have been taken
 27 captive to Babylon. So that you may know *that I am telling you the*
 28 *truth*, come, look at the figs. And he took off the cover of the
 29,30 fig-basket for the old man. And he *too* saw them oozing sap. And
 when the old man saw them he said, My son, you are a righteous
 man, and God would not let you see the city's destruction; for it is
 God who has brought this trance upon you. For, behold, it is
 sixty-six years to the very day since the people were taken captive
 31 to Babylon. And so that you may understand that this is true, my
 child, look out on the countryside, and see how much progress the
 crops have made, and you will realize that it is not yet the time for
 32 figs.¹⁰ Then Abimelech cried out aloud, saying, I will bless thee,
 Lord God of heaven and earth, the repose of the souls of the
 33 righteous in every place. And he said to the old man, What month
 is it? And he said, Nisan; and it is the twelfth of Nisan.¹¹ And
 34 *Abimelech* picked out some of the figs, and gave them to the old man,
 and said to him, God will light your way to the city of Jerusalem
 which is above.

VI. After this Abimelech went outside the city and prayed to the
 Lord. And lo, an angel of the Lord came and led him back to where
 2 Baruch was; and he found him sitting on a tomb. And when they
 saw each other, they both wept and kissed each other. And Baruch

⁹ See Gen. vii. 11, viii. 2; 2 Kings vii. 2, 19; Mal. iii. 10—in the LXX.

¹⁰ Both text and interpretation here are uncertain; but the translation attempts to give the sense that seems to be required.

¹¹ *ab* 'Nisan, which is the twelfth month'; *c* 'Isaac is this month'; Eth. 'the twelfth of the month Nisan, which is Mijazja'.

looked up and saw the figs covered up in the basket; and he lifted
 his eyes up to heaven and prayed, saying, It is God who rewards
 3 his saints. Prepare yourself, my heart, and make merry, and rejoice
while you are in your body¹—that is, in your house of flesh; for your
 sorrow has been turned into joy. For the Almighty is coming, and
 4 he will take you out of your body, for there is no sin in you. Revive,
 5 my virgin faith, and believe that you will live. Look at this basket of
 figs; for lo, they are sixty-six years old and they have not gone
 6 mouldy, nor do they smell at all, but they are oozing sap. So will it
 be with you, my flesh, if you do what you are commanded by the
 7 angel of righteousness. He who has preserved the basket of figs, he
 8 will preserve you again by his power. And then Baruch said to
 Abimelech, Get up, and let us pray to the Lord and ask him to
 show us how we can send word to Jeremiah in Babylon *and tell him*
 9 about how you have been protected. And Baruch prayed, saying,
 O Lord our God, our Strength, the chosen Light which came forth
 from his mouth, I beg thee and beseech thee by thy goodness, the
 10 great Name no man can know, hear the voice of thy servant, and let
 there be knowledge in my heart. What wouldest thou that we
 11 should do? How can I send *word* to Jeremiah in Babylon? While
 Baruch was still praying, behold, an angel of the Lord came and
 12 said to Baruch, Baruch, counsellor of light, have no anxiety about
 how you are to send *word* to Jeremiah; for to-morrow, at dawn, an
 eagle will come to you, and you can send him as a messenger to
 13 Jeremiah. And write a letter, saying, Speak to the Israelites *and say*
to them, The stranger that is among you, let him be separated *from*
you, and let this continue for fifteen days; and after this I will bring
 14 you to your city, says the Lord. Whoever does not separate himself
 from Babylon, Jeremiah, shall not enter the city; and I will punish
 them, so that they are not received back again by the Babylonians,
 15,16 says the Lord. And after saying this, the angel left Baruch. And
 Baruch sent to the Gentiles' Market² and got some paper and ink,
 and wrote a letter as follows,
 17 Baruch, servant of God, to Jeremiah, who is of the captivity that
 is in Babylon, greeting. Rejoice that God has not allowed us to

¹ Lit. 'tent, tabernacle'. Cp. 2 Cor. v. 1, 4.

² So *c*: *ab* 'to the Diaspora of the Gentiles'; Eth. 'to the street (or 'market')'.

leave this body in mourning for the city's desolation and humiliation. *Rejoice* because the Lord has had compassion on our tears and remembered the covenant he made with our fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. For he sent me his angel and spoke these words to me that *now* I send to you. These, then, are the words the Lord God of Israel has spoken, who brought us out of the land of Egypt, out of the mighty furnace. Because you did not keep my precepts, but were arrogant and obstinate, I was furious and delivered you in anger to the furnace in Babylon. If, then, you will listen to me, says the Lord, and do as my servant Jeremiah tells you,³ – whoever listens I will bring back from Babylon, but whoever will not listen shall become a stranger *both* to Jerusalem and to Babylon. You shall test them by the water of Jordan, *and* whoever will not listen will be obvious enough: this is the sign of the great seal.

1,2 VII. And Baruch got up and left the tomb.¹ And the eagle answered in a human voice and said, Hail, Baruch, steward of the faith. And Baruch said to him, Chosen you are, you who now speak, out of all the birds of heaven; for this is plain from the light in your eyes. Tell me, then, what you are doing here. And the eagle said to him, I was sent here so that you could send any message you wanted by me. And Baruch said to him, Can you take this message to Jeremiah in Babylon? And the eagle said to him, This is why I was sent. And Baruch picked up the letter, and fifteen figs from Abimelech's basket, and tied them round the eagle's neck. And he said to him, I tell you, king of birds, go in peace, and carry my message safely. Do not be like the raven, which Noah sent out, and which never returned to him in the ark again; but be like the dove, which on the third occasion brought back a message to that good man. So do you too take this message of encouragement² to Jeremiah and those with him, and fare you well: take this letter³ to the chosen people of God. Even if all the birds of heaven gather

³ Lit. '... Lord, by the mouth of my servant Jeremiah'.

¹ So *ab* Eth.: *c* adds 'and he found the eagle sitting outside the tomb'. Clearly something has dropped out at some stage.

² Lit. 'this good message'.

³ Lit. 'this piece of paper'.

round you, and all the enemies of truth set themselves in array against you, fight them; *and* may the Lord give you strength. Fly straight as an arrow, without deviating either to right or to left, in the strength of God. Then the eagle flew off with the letter and made his way to Babylon, and he alighted on a tree outside the city in an unfrequented spot. And he stayed there in silence until Jeremiah came by, accompanied by some others of the people, coming out to bury a man who had died. (For Jeremiah had asked Nebuchadnezzar, saying, Give me a place where I can bury my people's dead. And he had given him one.) So they were coming out *of the city* and weeping over the dead man, and they came up to where the eagle was; and the eagle cried out, saying, I tell you, Jeremiah, God's chosen one, go and gather together all the people, and bring them here to hear the good news I have brought you from Baruch and Abimelech. When Jeremiah heard this, he gave praise to God; and he went off and gathered the people together, with the women and the children, and came where the eagle was. And the eagle flew down upon the man that was dead, and he came to life again (this happened so that they should believe). And all the people were amazed at what had happened, saying, Is not this the God who appeared to our fathers in the wilderness through Moses? Did he not then refer to himself as if he were an eagle?⁴ Has he not now appeared to us through this great eagle here?⁵ And the eagle said to Jeremiah, Come, untie this letter, and read it to the people. So he untied the letter and read it to the people. And when the people heard *it*, they wept and put dust on their heads. And they said to Jeremiah, Help us, and tell us what we must do to regain our city. And Jeremiah answered and said to them, Do everything you have been told to do in the letter, and God will bring us to our city. And Jeremiah also wrote a letter to Baruch as follows,

Do not neglect, my dear son, to make petition for us in your prayers that God may prosper our way till we escape from the control of this lawless king; for you were found righteous before him and he did not let you come here with us, so that you might not

⁴ Cp. Exod. xix. 4; Deut. xxxii. 10–11.

⁵ Lit. '... Moses, and he made himself in the form of an eagle, and appeared to us through this great eagle?'

see the affliction that has befallen the people at the hands of the
 24 Babylonians. For just as anyone who is anxious to do what he can
 for a father, whose only son has to undergo punishment, will put
 something over the father's face so that he cannot see the son
 actually being punished and thus be mortified even more than he
 was before, so God had pity on you and did not let you come to
 Babylon, so that you might not see the people's affliction; for since
 we came to this city we have been afflicted continuously, for
 25 sixty-six years to the very day. For often enough when I have come
 out of doors I have found some of the people about to be hanged by
 king Nebuchadnezzar, and they would be in tears, saying, Have
 26 mercy upon us, thou god Zar.⁶ When I heard this I was distressed
 and made a double lamentation, not only because they were being
 hanged, but *also* because they were invoking a foreign god, saying,
 27 Have mercy on us. And I would remember the feast days we kept
 in Jerusalem before we were made captives. And when I re-
 membered them, I would groan and turn back to my house in
 28 anguish and in tears. So now make petition in⁷ the place where you
 are, you and Abimelech, on this people's behalf, that they may
 listen to me and the instructions that I give them, and that we may
 29 escape from here. For I tell you, the whole time we have been here
 the Babylonians⁸ have pestered us and said, Sing us one of the
 songs of Zion, even the song of your God. And we would answer
 them, How can we sing to you, seeing we are in a foreign land?
 30 And after this *Jeremiah* tied the letter to the eagle's neck, saying,
 31 Go in peace, and may the Lord watch over both *of them*. And the
 eagle flew off, and carried the letter, and gave it to Baruch. And
 Baruch untied it, and he read it and kissed it, and when he heard
 32 about the distresses and afflictions of the people he wept. And
 Jeremiah took the figs and distributed them among the people who
 were ill. And he remained *there* teaching them to keep themselves
 from the pollutions of the Gentiles of Babylon.

⁶ So *a* and *b*. 'Zar' is a transliteration of the common Hebrew word *zar* = 'strange' or 'foreign' (for its use in the phrase 'strange god' see Pss. xlv. 20 and lxxxi. 9). *c* reads 'Sabaoth'. The Eth. MSS vary between 'Zar', 'Sorot', and 'Sarot'.

⁷ Lit. 'to' (acc.).

⁸ Lit. 'they'. Cp. Ps. cxxxvii. 3.

VIII. And the day came when God led the people out of Babylon.
 2 And the Lord said to Jeremiah, Get up, *both* you and the people,
 and make your way to Jordan; and say to the people, He that is for
 the Lord, let him leave behind what was done in Babylon—the men
 who married Babylonian¹ wives and the women who married
 3 Babylonian¹ husbands. And let those who listen to you cross over,
 and bring them to Jerusalem; but those who will not listen to you,
 4 do not bring into it. And Jeremiah told them this; and they got up
 and came to Jordan to cross over, and he repeated to them what the
 Lord had told him. And half of those who had married Babylonians¹
 refused to listen to Jeremiah, but said to him, We will never leave
 5 our wives behind: let us take them back with us to our city. So they
 crossed the Jordan and came to Jerusalem. And Jeremiah stood
 up, and Baruch, and Abimelech, and said, No one with a Babylo-
 6 nian partner shall enter this city. And they said to them, Let us
 then return to Babylon where we belong.² And they went away.
 7 But when they came to Babylon, the Babylonians came out to meet
 them, saying, You shall not enter our city because in your hatred
 for us you left secretly: you shall not return to us for that reason.
 For we have bound ourselves by oath, in the name of our god, not
 to receive either you or your children, because you left us secretly.
 8 And when they heard this, they turned back and came to a de-
 serted place some distance from Jerusalem; and they built a city for
 9 themselves and called it Samaria. And Jeremiah sent *a message* to
 them, saying, Repent, for the angel of righteousness is coming and
 will lead you to your place on high.

IX. And those who were of Jeremiah's party rejoiced and offered
 2 sacrifice on the people's behalf continuously for nine days. On the
 3 tenth day Jeremiah alone offered sacrifice. And he prayed, saying,
 Holy, holy, holy, the Incense of the living trees, the true Light which
 4 lighteth me till I am taken up to thee, beyond the sweet voice of the

¹ Lit. 'married from them'. After 'Babylonians' in verse 4 the text of *c* breaks off and concludes with a collection of historical scraps, mostly derived from 1 and 2 Esdras (LXX).

² Lit. 'to Babylon, to our place'.

two seraphim, and beyond the sweet smell of the incense of the cherubim.¹ Michael, the archangel of righteousness, is my constant delight till he brings the righteous in.² I beseech thee, Almighty Lord of all creation, the Unbegotten and the Incomprehensible, in whom all judgement was hidden before these things came into being . . . And as Jeremiah was saying this, standing at the altar with Baruch and Abimelech, he sank into a death-like swoon.³ And Baruch and Abimelech stayed *there* weeping and crying out aloud, Jeremiah our father, the priest of God, has left us and gone away. And all the people heard their wailing, and they all ran to them and saw Jeremiah lying dead upon the ground; and they rent their clothes and put dust on their heads and made a bitter lamentation. And afterwards they made preparations to bury him. And lo, a voice came, saying, Bury not a man who is still alive, because his soul is coming *back* into his body again. And when they heard the voice they did not bury him, but remained round his body⁴ for three days discussing, but not knowing, when he would rise up. And after three days his soul came *back* into his body, and he raised his voice in the middle of them all and said, Glorify God, glorify God, all of you, and *also* the Son of God who awakens us out of sleep, Jesus Christ, the Light of all the ages, the unquenchable Lamp, the Life of faith. After four hundred and seventy-seven years from now, he will come⁵ to earth; and the Tree of Life, which was planted in the middle of Paradise will make all trees that are barren bear fruit, and they will grow and sprout.⁶ And as for those that have sprouted and boast and say, We have thrust out our topmost branches to the sky⁷ – the Tree that is firmly rooted will make them wither, tall though they are, and will bend their branches *to the earth*. And it will make scarlet white like wool:

¹ So Eth.: *ab* 'I beseech thee beyond another sweet smell of incense'.

² So *ab*: Eth. 'I beseech thee that Michael, skilled in song (the angel of righteousness is he), may hold open the gates of righteousness till they enter in'.

³ Lit. 'he became like one of those delivering up his soul'.

⁴ Lit. 'his tabernacle'. Cp. 2 Cor. v. 1, 4.

⁵ Lit. 'There are, after these times, other four hundred and seventy-seven years, and he comes'.

⁶ So *ab*: Eth. adds 'and their fruit will dwell with the angels'.

⁷ Lit. 'We gave our end to the air'.

snow will be turned black; *and* sweet water will become salt,⁸ in the great light of the gladness of God. And he will bless the islands, so that they bear fruit by the word of the mouth of his Christ. For he will come and go out and choose for himself twelve apostles to preach the gospel among the Gentiles (I have seen him adorned by his Father and coming into the world on the mount of Olives); and he will feed the hungry souls. While Jeremiah was saying this about the coming of the Son of God into the world, the people became incensed and said, These are the very same words that were spoken by Isaiah, the son of Amoz, when he said, I beheld God and the Son of God. Come then: let us kill him, but not in the same way as we killed Isaiah: let us rather stone him to death. *And* Baruch and Abimelech were much distressed by this madness, especially because they were anxious for a full account of the mysteries that he had seen. And Jeremiah said to them, Make no move,⁹ and do not weep, for they will not kill me until I have told you everything that I saw. And he said to them, Bring me a stone. And he set it up and said; Light of the ages, make this stone become like me. And the stone assumed the likeness of Jeremiah. And they stoned the stone, thinking that it was Jeremiah. And *meanwhile* he delivered all the mysteries he had seen to Baruch and Abimelech. Then, with the firm intention of bringing his stewardship to an end, he *went and* stood in the middle of the people. And the stone shouted out, saying, You foolish Israelites, why are you stoning me, under the impression that I am Jeremiah? Lo, Jeremiah is standing in the middle of you. And when they saw him, they bore down upon him at once with many stones. And his stewardship was fulfilled. And Baruch and Abimelech came and buried him; and they took the stone and set it up as a memorial to him, and inscribed these words upon it, This is the stone that came to the aid of Jeremiah.¹⁰

⁸ Eth. adds 'and salt water will become sweet'.

⁹ Lit. 'Be silent'.

¹⁰ *a* and *b* add 'And the rest of the words of Jeremiah, and all *his* might, behold, are they not written in the Epistle of Baruch?'

THE SYRIAC APOCALYPSE OF BARUCH

INTRODUCTION

References and quotations in patristic writers make it clear that several other books, either attributed to, or connected with, Baruch were known in antiquity in addition to the Baruch of our Apocrypha and the books translated in the present collection. Thus, we hear of: (1) a book of 'Baruch', to which three MSS of Cyprian's *Testimonia* ascribe an otherwise unknown quotation of some twelve lines, which appears (in these MSS only) at *Test.* iii. 29: (2) a book, from 'near the end of which' an alleged prophecy of Christ's birth, mode of dress, death, and resurrection, is quoted in the *Altercatio legis inter Simonem Iudaeum et Theophilum Christianum* of the monk Evagrius;¹ and (3) a Gnostic book which is quoted and discussed at length by Hippolytus.² But about these books we have no further information. As books they have disappeared completely.

The Syriac Apocalypse only narrowly escaped a similar fate. For reasons at which we can but guess, it seems to have been especially popular in the Syriac-speaking churches of the East and on occasion to have been included in the Syriac Bible. Normally, however, only chaps. lxxviii–lxxxvi were included in the Bible; and these chapters appeared as an independent work, with the title 'The Epistle of Baruch', or something similar, and with no hint that they were an extract. It thus came about that, although the 'Epistle' was well known to the modern world because it was found in a

¹ See *CSEL* xlv (Vienna, 1904), p. 19. The possibility that this book is to be identified with The Paraleipomena of Jeremiah (which has a prophecy of the coming of Christ in the middle of the final chapter: see Par. Jer. ix. 13–18) would seem to be ruled out by the fact that the words quoted by 'Theophilus' are not found there. However, the whole section Par. Jer. ix. 10–32 is easily detachable (see above pp. 816–7), and it may be that 'Theophilus' was quoting from a different recension.

² Hippolyt. *Philosoph.* v. 24–27.

number of Syriac Biblical MSS, the book as a whole was lost until A. M. Ceriani discovered it in the mid-nineteenth-century in the now famous sixth-century MS of the Bible in the Ambrosian Library at Milan (Cod. B. 21 Inf.). Ceriani published first a Latin translation in 1866,³ and then the Syriac text itself in 1871. A photo-lithographic facsimile of the complete Ambrosian MS followed in 1876–1883. Another edition of the text of the Apocalypse only was published by M. Kmosko in 1907 (with a Latin Introduction and translation), and yet another, by S. Dederer, in 1973.

The title of the book in the MS states that the Syriac was translated from the Greek. Whether this statement goes back to the translator, or was inserted by a later copyist or editor, it is impossible to say. But there is no reason to doubt its truth. All the internal evidence is in favour of it; and the discovery at Oxyrhynchus in 1897 of a fragmentary leaf from a fourth or fifth-century Greek codex, containing xii. 1–xiii. 2 and xiii. 11–xiv. 3, proves the existence at one time of at least a Greek version.⁴

The earlier critics all assumed that Greek was the language in which the book was written. R. H. Charles questioned this assumption and argued in favour of a Hebrew original; and his arguments were for many years very widely accepted. Subsequently, however, P. Bogaert questioned Charles's arguments: none of the suggested instances of mistranslation, Bogaert maintained, on which Charles had mainly relied to support his case, are at all compelling; and for Bogaert the hypothesis of an original in Greek, addressed in all probability to the Jewish Dispersion is equally plausible.

And similarly with regard to the unity of the book. Charles claimed to have identified no less than six separate sources, some taking an optimistic view of Israel's future in the world and some the reverse, while some presupposed that Jerusalem was still standing (and were therefore to be dated before AD 70) and some

presupposed that it had already been destroyed (and were therefore to be dated after AD 70). These six sources, Charles suggested, were assembled, and in many respects radically altered, by an editor who worked round about AD 100. Bogaert, on the other hand, was impressed by the evidence of an underlying plan in the book, and in consequence was concerned to stress its literary unity. Inconsistencies there certainly are: it is also possible that some of them may be accounted for by the use of different sources, some belonging to the years before AD 70 and some after; but that these sources can be identified with that degree of precision which Charles claimed, and the history of the composition of the book reconstructed in such detail, is unlikely.

However, Charles's final date for the book as it stands (c. AD 100) is probably not far wide of the mark. B. Violet put it a little later – c. AD 115, and thought it not impossible that F. Rosenthal was right in seeing the author as a member of the circle gathered round Rabbi Akiba at Jamnia. Bogaert particularized even further and suggested as a possibility the name of Rabbi Joshua ben Hananiah (c. AD 40–125).

At all events, the author was not a Christian; for the book shows no trace of Christian influence of any kind. He was unmistakably a Jew, who was living in the difficult times following the destruction of Jerusalem in AD 70, whose general outlook was essentially traditional, and whose main concern was to give his dispirited co-religionists, whether in Palestine, or scattered among the Gentiles, a message of hope. Observance of the Law is his constant refrain – 'Look at what has befallen Zion, and what has happened to Jerusalem . . . If you endure and persevere in the fear of him, and do not forget his law, the times will change for your good, and you will see the consolation of Zion':⁵ the whole world will be transformed, the dead raised, and 'those who have now been justified by obedience to my law' will be glorified and attain 'the world which does not die'.⁶ Moreover, the End is at hand, 'for the youth of the world is past . . . the times have run their course and the end is very near: the pitcher is near the cistern, the ship to port, the traveller to the city, and life to its consummation'.⁷

⁵ xliv. 5, 7.⁶ li. 3.⁷ lxxv. 10.³ In *Monumenta sacra et profana*, I. ii, pp. i–iv and 73–98.⁴ So far as the possible existence of versions in other languages is concerned, P. S. van Koningsveld ('An Arabic Manuscript of the Apocalypse of Baruch' in *The Journal for the Study of Judaism*, vi (1975), pp. 205–207) has drawn attention to the existence of an Arabic version in a Mt. Sinai MS (no. 589 in A. S. Atiya's hand list), which is especially interesting because it is clearly not a direct translation of the Syriac text as given in the Ambrosian MS.

Attention should be drawn to a number of parallels with the Ezra Apocalypse (4 Ezra in the Vulgate and 2 Esdras in our Apocrypha) and also with *The Biblical Antiquities* of pseudo-Philo.⁸ These parallels have usually been explained by theories of literary dependence on the part of the authors, either on one or both of the other works as we know them, or on their sources. This may be so. But all three works seem to reflect the same background and they are probably roughly contemporary. There is, therefore, no need to suppose that any one of them was directly dependent on the others. All three were presumably written under the influence of the same traditions, ideas, and aspirations, and several authors may quite independently have given expression to them in very much the same words.⁹

Furthermore, it has been suggested that the words quoted from 'another prophet' at *Ep. Barn.* xi. 9 are in fact a quotation from Syr. Apoc. lxi. 7. If this is so the quotation will be the earliest piece of evidence there is for the existence of the Syriac Apocalypse. Unfortunately the date of The Epistle of Barnabas is, if anything, even less certain than are the dates of the Ezra Apocalypse, of *The Biblical Antiquities*, and of the Syriac Apocalypse itself!

The translation which follows is Charles's translation revised.

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The Book of the Revelation of Baruch, the son of Neriah:
 Translated from the Greek into Syriac.

- I. And it came to pass in the twenty-fifth year of Jeconiah, king of
 Judah, that the word of the Lord came to Baruch, the son of
 2 Neriah, and said to him, Have you seen all that this people are
 doing to me, that the evils which these two tribes that remained
 have done are greater than *those of* the ten tribes that were carried
 3 away as captives? For the former tribes were forced by their kings
 to commit sin, but these two *tribes* have of themselves been forcing
 4 and compelling their kings to commit sin. For this reason I am
 about to bring ruin on this city and on its inhabitants, and for a
 time it shall be taken away out of my sight; and I will scatter this
 people among the Gentiles, that they may do good to the Gentiles.
 5 And my people shall be chastened; but the time will come when
 they will seek prosperity once more.
- II. I have told you this so that you may tell Jeremiah, and all those
 2 that are like you, to leave this city. For your deeds are like a solid
 pillar to this city, and your prayers like an impregnable wall.
- III. And I said, O Lord, my lord, have I come into the world for no
 other purpose than to see the evils of my mother? Surely not, my
 2 lord. If I have won thy favour, take my life away first, so that I
 3 may join my fathers and not witness my mother's destruction. I am
 caught in a dilemma: I cannot resist thee; and yet I cannot bear to

4 watch the ruin¹ of my mother. But one thing I will ask of thee,² O
 5 Lord. What is to happen after this? For if thou destroyest thy city
 and dost deliver up thy land to those that hate us, how will the
 6 name of Israel again be remembered? How will anyone proclaim
 7 thy praises? To whom will what is in thy law be explained? Is the
 universe³ to return to its original state and the world to revert to
 8 primeval silence? Is the human race⁴ to be **destroyed** and mankind
 9 to be blotted out?⁵ And what is to become of all thou didst say to
 Moses about us?

IV. And the Lord said to me, This city shall be given up for a time,
 and for a time the people shall be chastened; yet the world will not
 2 be consigned to oblivion. Do you think that this is the city about
 3 which I said, On the palms of my hands have I engraved you? This
 building, which now stands in your midst, is not the one that is to
 be revealed, *that is* with me *now*, that was prepared beforehand here
 at the time when I determined to make Paradise, and showed it to
 Adam before he sinned (though when he disobeyed *my* command-
 4 ment it was taken away from him, as was also Paradise). And after
 this I showed it to my servant Abraham by night among the
 5 divided pieces of the victims. And again I showed it also to Moses
 on mount Sinai when I showed him the pattern of the tabernacle
 6 and all its vessels. And now it is preserved with me, as is also
 7 Paradise. Go, then, and do as I command you.

V. And I answered and said,

So, then, I am to be held responsible for Zion,¹
 For thine enemies will come to this place,
 And they will pollute thy sanctuary,
 And they will lead thine inheritance into captivity

¹ Lit. 'to see the evils'.

² Lit. 'I will say before thee'.

³ Text 'ornament', doubtless through a misunderstanding of the Gk. *κόσμος*.

⁴ Lit. 'the multitude of souls'.

⁵ Lit. 'and the nature of man not again be named'.

¹ Lit. 'So, then, I am to be guilty for Zion', Charles emended 'So, then, I am destined to grieve for Zion'.

And make themselves masters of those whom thou hast
 loved;
 And they will depart again to the place of their idols,
 And they will boast before them.
 And what wilt thou do for thy great name?

2 And the Lord said to me,

My name and my glory are to all eternity;
 And my judgement will maintain its right in its own time.
 And you will see with your eyes
 3 That the enemy will not overthrow Zion,
 Nor shall they burn Jerusalem,
 But they shall be the ministers of the Judge for a time.

4 But go and do what I have told you to.

5 And I went and took Jeremiah, and Iddo, and Seriah, and Jabish,
 and Gedaliah, and all the nobles of the people, and I led them out
 6,7 to the Kidron valley; and I repeated to them everything that had
 been told me. And they cried out aloud, and all of them wept. And
 we sat there and fasted until the evening.

VI. And on the next day the Chaldaean army surrounded the city;
 and when evening came, I, Baruch, left the people, and I went and
 2 stood by the oak.¹ And I was grieving over Zion and lamenting
 3 over the captivity that had come upon the people. And suddenly a
 powerful spirit² lifted me up and carried me over the wall of
 4 Jerusalem. And I saw four angels standing at the four corners of
 5 the city, each of them holding a fiery torch in his hands. And
 another angel began to descend from heaven; and he said to them,
 6 Keep hold of your lamps, and do not light them till I tell you. For I
 am sent first to speak a word to the earth and to put in it what the
 7 Lord, the Most High, has commanded me. And I saw him descend
 into the Holy of Holies, and take from it the veil, and the holy ark,³
 and *its* cover, and the two tablets, and the holy vestments of the

¹ Cp. lxxvii. 18.

² Or 'a strong wind'.

³ Text 'ephod'.

priests, and the altar of incense, and the forty-eight precious stones with which the priest was adorned, and all the vessels of the
8 tabernacle. And he cried to the earth in a loud voice,

Earth, earth, earth, hear the word of the mighty God,
And receive what I commit to you.
And guard them until the last times,
So that, when you are ordered, you may restore them,
And strangers may not get possession of them.
9 For the time has come when Jerusalem also will be delivered
for a time,
Until it is said that it shall be restored again for ever.
10 And the earth opened its mouth and swallowed them up.

VII. And after this I heard that angel saying to the angels that held the lamps,

Destroy and throw down the wall to its foundations,
So that the enemy cannot boast and say,
We have thrown down the wall of Zion,
And we have burnt the place of the mighty God.

2 And the spirit restored me to¹ the place where I had been standing before.

VIII. Then the angels did as he had comanded them; and when they had broken up the corners of the walls, a voice was heard from the interior of the temple, after the wall had fallen, saying,

2 Enter, you enemies of *Jerusalem*,
And let *her* adversaries come in;
For he who kept the house has abandoned it.
3,4 And I, Baruch, went away. And after this the Chaldaean army entered and took possession of the house and all that was round
5 about it. And they carried the people off as captives: some of them they killed; and they put Zedekiah the king in fetters and sent him to the king of Babylon.

¹ Conjectural reading based on vi. 3. Text 'And you have seized'.

IX. And I, Baruch, came, together with Jeremiah, whose heart was found pure from sins, *and* who had not been captured when the
2 city was taken. And we rent our clothes and wept, and we mourned and fasted seven days.

X. And after seven days the word of God came to me and said to
2 me, Tell Jeremiah to go to Babylon and support the people in their
3 captivity *there*. But you must remain here to share in Zion's deso-
4 lation;¹ and I will show you afterwards what is to happen at the end
5 of days. And I passed on to Jeremiah the Lord's commands. And he went away with the people; but I, Baruch, returned and sat in front of the gates of the temple and made this lament over Zion and said,

6 Happy the man who was never born,
Or the child who died at birth.²
7 But as for us who are alive, woe to us,
Because we see the afflictions of Zion,
And what has happened to Jerusalem.
8 I will summon the sirens from the sea, *and say*,
Come you night-demons from the desert,
And you, demons and jackals from the forests:
Awake and prepare yourselves for mourning,
And take up with me the dirges,
And make lamentation with me.
9 Sow not again, you farmers;
And why, earth, should you yield your crops at harvest?
Keep to yourself your goodly fruits.
10 And why any longer, vine, should you produce your wine?
For no offering of it will again be made in Zion,
Nor again will they offer first-fruits from it.
11 And you, heavens, withhold your dew,
And open not the treasuries of rain.
And you, sun, withhold the brightness of your rays,

¹ Lit. '... here amid the desolation of Zion'.

² Lit. 'Or he, who having been born, has died'.

12 And you, moon, conceal the brilliance of your light;
 For why should any light again be seen
 Where the light of Zion is darkened?

13 And you, bridegrooms, go not into *the bridal chamber*,
 And let not the *brides*³ adorn themselves with garlands;
 And let not the *married* women pray for children,
 14 For the barren shall rejoice above all,
 And those who have no sons will be glad,
 And those who do have sons will be in anguish.
 15 For why should they bear *children* in pain,
 Only to bury *them* in grief?
 16 Or why, again, should men have sons,
 Or why any more should a human infant⁴ be given a name,
 Where this mother is desolate
 And her sons are carried away as captives?
 17 Speak not henceforth of beauty,
 Nor talk of comeliness.

18 And you, priests, take the keys of the sanctuary,
 And throw them *up* to the heaven above,
 And give them to the Lord and say,
 Guard thy house thyself,
 For we have been found false stewards.

19 And you, virgins, who weave fine linen
 And silk with the gold of Ophir,
 Take quickly all *these* things and throw *them* into the fire,
 That it may bear them up to him who made them,
 And the flame carry them to him who created them,
 Lest the enemy get possession of them.

XI. And I, Baruch, say this against you, Babylon,
 If you had prospered
 And Zion had dwelt in her glory,
 Great would have been our grief
 That you should be equal to Zion.
 2 But now *our* grief is infinite

³ Text 'virgins', who first (rightly) occur in verse 19.

⁴ Lit. 'the seed of their kind'.

And *our* lamentation measureless;
 For lo, you are prosperous
 And Zion desolate.

3 Who will be the judge concerning these things?
 Or to whom shall we complain about what has befallen us?
 O Lord, how hast thou borne *it*?

4 Our fathers went to *their* rest without suffering,
 And the righteous sleep in the earth in peace;
 5 For they did not know of this present distress,
 And had heard nothing about what has befallen us.
 6 Would that you had ears, o earth,
 And that you had a heart, o dust,
 So that you could go and announce in Sheol,
 And say to the dead,
 7 You are happier than we who are alive!

XII. But I will tell you what is in my mind,
 And I will speak against you, prosperous land.
 2 The noonday does not always burn,
 Nor do the sun's rays constantly give light:
 3 Do not expect [and hope] that you will be always prosperous
 and joyful;
 And be not proud and domineering.
 4 For without doubt in its own good time
 The *divine* wrath will awake against you,
 Which now is restrained by patience
 As if by reins.

5 And when I had so said, I fasted seven days.

XIII. And after this, I, Baruch, was standing on mount Zion, and
 2 lo, a voice came from on high and said to me, Stand up, Baruch,
 3 and hear the word of the mighty God. Because you have been
 dismayed at what has happened to Zion you shall be kept safe and
 4 preserved until the consummation of the times. And you shall
 serve as witness, so that if ever those prosperous cities say, Why
 5 has the mighty God brought this retribution on us?, you can say to
 them (you and those like you who have seen this evil), (This is the

evil) and retribution which has come on you and on your people in its appointed time, so that the nations may be thoroughly chastened.

6,7 And they will be waiting for the end of it.¹ And if they say at that
8 time, When will the end of it be?, you shall say to them,

You who have drunk the wine that has been strained,
Drink also of its dregs,
This is the judgement of the Exalted One,
Who has no favourites.

9 For this very reason he once had no mercy on his own sons,
But afflicted them as if they were his enemies,
Because they sinned:

10 Thus were they chastened then,
That they might be sanctified.

11 But now, you peoples and nations, you are guilty,
Because you have always trodden down the earth,
And treated the creation shamefully;
For I have always showered my gifts upon you,
And you have always been ungrateful for them.

XIV. And I answered and said, Lo, thou hast shown me the course of the times and what is to be after these things; and thou hast explained to me that retribution, which thou hast described to me, shall come upon the nations. And now I know that there have been many sinners, and they have lived in prosperity and departed from the world; but there will be few nations left in those times, to whom what thou hast said can be repeated. What advantage is there in this? What worse evils than those we have seen come upon us are we to expect to see?

4,5 Once again will I speak in thy presence. How have they profited, who were men of understanding in thy sight, and did not pursue paths that led nowhere like the rest of the nations, and never said to dead idols, Give us life, but always feared thee and followed thy ways? Lo! They have been carried off; nor because of them hast thou had mercy on Zion. Even if others did evil, was it not due to Zion that she should be forgiven because of the good things that

¹ Lit. 'they will be expecting'.

they did, instead of being overwhelmed because of the evil things the others did? But who, O Lord, my Lord, can comprehend the workings of thy judgement? Or who can search out the depths of thy way? Or who can trace the profundity of thy path? Or who can describe thy unfathomable counsel? Or what man that has ever been born has ever discovered either the beginning or the end of thy wisdom? For we all have been made like a breath. For as our breath comes up from inside us, and does not return, but disappears, so it is with men:¹ they do not depart this life as and when they would,² nor do they know what will happen to them in the end. The righteous quite rightly look forward to their end, and they leave their dwelling here without fear, because they have a store of good works laid up in thy treasuries. So they leave this world without fear, and trust that they will attain the world which thou hast promised them. But as for us, our lot is hard:³ we suffer injury and insult now, and we can only look forward to further evils. But thou knowest truly what thou hast done⁴ on behalf of⁵ thy servants; for we cannot understand what is good as thou, our creator, canst.

16 And yet again I will speak in thy presence, O Lord, my lord.
17 When of old there was no world, and no one to inhabit it, thou didst make thy plan, and thou didst utter thy word, and immediately the works of creation stood before thee. And thou didst say that thou wouldest make man for thy world to be the administrator of thy works, so that it might be known that he was not made because of the world, but the world because of him. And now it would seem that⁶ the world which was made because of us remains, but we, for⁷ whom it was made, disappear.

XV. And the Lord answered and said to me, You are quite rightly perplexed about the disappearance of man, but you are wrong in what you think about the evils that come upon sinners. When you

¹ Lit. 'with the nature of men'.

² Lit. 'according to their own will'.

³ Lit. 'woe to us'.

⁴ Or 'made'.

⁵ Or 'by means of'.

⁶ Lit. 'And now I see that'.

⁷ Lit. 'because of'.

said, The righteous are carried off, and the wicked are prospered;
 3 and again, when you said, Man cannot comprehend *the workings of*
 4 thy judgement – listen, and I will tell you: pay attention, and I will
 5 explain to you. Man would have had excuse for not understanding
 my judgement, if he had not been given the law, and I had not
 6 instructed him in understanding. But now, because he has trans-
 gressed with his eyes open, on this ground alone (that he knew) he
 7 must be punished. And as regards what you said about the righteous,
 that it was because of them that this world came into being, so also
 8 shall that which is to come **come into being** because of them. For this
 world is for them a *place of strife*, and weariness, and much trouble;
 but that which is to come *will be* a crown with great glory.

XVI. And I answered and said, O Lord, my lord, our years here¹
 are few and evil, and who is able in so brief a **time** to acquire what
 cannot be measured.

XVII. And the Lord answered and said to me, With the Most High
 2 it does not matter whether a man's life be long or short.¹ For what
 profit was it to Adam that he lived nine hundred and thirty years,
 3 and yet transgressed the command that had been given him. The
 length of time that he lived did not profit him, but brought death
 4 and shortened the lives of his descendants. Or in what way was
 Moses the loser in that he lived only a hundred and twenty years,
 and yet, inasmuch as he obeyed his creator, brought the law to the
 sons of Jacob and lit a lamp for the nation of Israel?²

XVIII. And I answered and said, He that lit *the lamp* took *advantage*
 2 of *its light*;¹ but there are few who have done as he did. Many of
 those to whom he has given light have preferred² Adam's darkness
 and have not rejoiced in the light of the lamp.

¹ Lit. 'the years of this time'.

¹ Lit. 'With the Most High account is not taken of much time nor of a few years'.

¹ Or 'He that lit *the light* received *it* from the Light' (so Bogaert).

² Lit. 'have taken from'.

XIX. And he answered and said to me, That is why he established
 a covenant for them at that time and said, Behold I have set before
 you life and death; and he summoned heaven and earth to witness
 2 against them. For he knew that his time was short, but that heaven
 3 and earth would endure for ever. Yet after his death they sinned
 and transgressed, though they knew that they had the law against
them, and the light which nothing could deceive, and the *celestial*
 4 spheres to add their testimony, and also me. Now so far as the
 present state of things is concerned, it is for me to pass judgement,
 so do not worry about them nor distress yourself because of what
 5 has happened. For it is now the end of time that should be con-
 sidered (whether *it is a matter* of business, or of prosperity, or of
 6 misfortune) and not the beginning of it. Because though a man
 may have been prosperous when he was young, if misfortune
 comes upon him in his old age, he will forget all his former
 7 prosperity. Conversely, though a man may have been the victim of
 misfortune when he was young, if at the end of his life he becomes
 8 prosperous, he will not remember his former misfortunes. Further-
 more, even if, from the day on which death was decreed against
 transgressors, every single man had been prosperous all through
 his life,¹ and in the end had been destroyed, it would all have been
 in vain.

XX. Behold, the time is coming when the days will speed on more
 swiftly than of old, and the seasons will succeed one another more
 rapidly than in the past, and the years will pass by more quickly
 2 than they do now. That is why I have now taken Zion away, so that
 3 I may the more speedily punish the world at its appointed time. So
 now hold fast in your heart everything that I command you and
 4 seal it in the recesses of your mind. And then will I show you the
 judgement of my might, and my ways that are unfathomable. Go,
 5 therefore, and purify yourself for seven days: eat no bread, drink no
 6 water, and speak to no one. And afterwards come to this place,¹
 and I will reveal myself to you, and tell you hidden truths, and give

¹ Lit. 'all that time'.

¹ Lit. 'that place'. Presumably mount Zion (cp. xiii. 1 and xxi. 2).

you instruction about the course of the times; for they are coming, and there will be no delay.

XXI. And I went away and sat in a cave in the hillside in the Kidron valley, and I purified myself there, and though I ate no bread I was not hungry, and though I drank no water I was not thirsty; and I was there till the seventh day, as he had commanded me. And afterwards I came to the place where he had spoken with me. And at sunset my mind was beset by many thoughts, and I began to speak in the presence of the Mighty One. And I said, O thou who hast made the earth, hear me, thou who hast fixed the vault of heaven **by thy word**¹ and hast made fast the height of it by thy spirit, thou who hast called *into being* from the beginning of the world things which did not previously exist, and they obey thee. Thou who hast commanded the air by thy nod, and hast seen the things which are to be as the things which **have been already**. Thou who rulest in *thy* great design the hosts that stand before thee, and dost control, as with a rod of iron,² the countless holy beings whom thou didst make from the beginning, of flame and fire, which stand around thy throne. To thee only does it belong to do at once whatever thou dost wish. Thou makest the rain to fall drop by drop upon the earth, and thou alone knowest the end of the times before they come: have respect unto my prayer. For thou alone art able to sustain all who are, and those who **have passed away**, and those who are to be, those who sin, and those who **are righteous**.³ For thou alone dost live, immortal and past finding out, and thou knowest the number of mankind. And if in the course of time many have sinned, yet others, not a few in number, have been righteous.

Thou knowest *the place* which thou hast reserved for the end of those who have sinned, and the destiny of the others who have been righteous. For if there were this life only, which belongs to all men, nothing could be more bitter than this. For what gain is strength that turns to weakness, or plenty that turns to famine, or beauty

¹ Text 'in its fulness': cp. Ps. xxxiii. 6.

² Lit. 'control in anger'.

³ Text 'who are justified'. The text then adds 'as living *and* being past finding out' — clearly a dittograph of the opening clause of the next verse.

15 that turns to ugliness? For the nature of man is always changing.
16 For what we once were, now we no longer are, and what we now
17 are, we shall not long remain. For if a term had not been set for all,
18 their beginning would have been in vain. But do thou inform me about everything that comes from thee, and enlighten me about everything I ask thee.

19 For how long will what is corruptible endure, and for how long
will mortals thrive on earth,⁴ and the transgressors⁵ in the world
20 continue in their pollutions and corruptions? In thy mercy issue
thy command and bring to pass everything thou saidst thou
wouldst, that it may be made known to those who think thy
21 patience is but weakness. And show to those who do not know that
everything that has happened to us and to our city up till now **has**
22 **been** in accordance with the patience of thy power, because for thy
name's sake thou hast called us a beloved people. **So bring mortality**
23 **to an end now**.⁶ Restrain the angel of death, and let thy glory appear
and the might of thy beauty be known: let Sheol be sealed so that
from now onwards it may not receive the dead; and let the
24 treasuries of souls restore those that are held fast in them. For there
have been many years of desolation since the days of Abraham and
Isaac and Jacob, and of all those like them who sleep in the earth,
25 on whose account thou didst say thou didst create the world. And
now show thy glory quickly, and do not put off what thou hast
promised.

26 And when I had finished this prayer I was completely exhausted.

XXII. And after this, behold, the heavens opened, and I saw *a vision*, and strength was given me, and a voice was heard from on
2 high, and it said to me, Baruch, Baruch, why are you troubled?
3 What comfort is there for a man if he sets off on a journey by road
and never reaches his journey's end, or if he goes by sea and never
4 arrives at the port he was making for? Or if he promises to give
someone else a present and never does, is it not *equivalent* to

⁴ Lit. 'will the time of mortals be prospered'.

⁵ Or 'those who pass away': cp. verse 9.

⁶ Text 'Every nature, from now onwards, is mortal'.

5 robbery? Or if he sows seed in the earth, but does not reap the fruit
6 from it in its season, does he not suffer a total loss? Or if he plants a
plant, can he expect any fruit from it before the regular time for
7 fruit? Or if a pregnant woman bears a still-born child, is she not the
8 *unwitting* cause of her infant's death? Or if a man builds a house and
does not finish it by putting a roof on it, can it *properly* be called a
house? Tell me that first.

1,2 **XXIII.** And I answered and said, Indeed, no, O Lord, my lord. And
he answered and said to me, Why then are you troubled about
what you do not know, and upset by things you do not understand.
3 For just as you have not forgotten the people who now are, and
those who have passed away, so I remember those who are to
4 come.¹ Because when Adam sinned and death was decreed against
those who were to be born *from him*, then the number of those to be
born was fixed, and for that number a place was prepared where
the living might live out their lives and the dead might be kept in
5 security. Thus, until that number is reached, no creature will live
again (since my spirit is the creator of life) and Sheol will receive
6 the dead. And again, you are to be privileged to hear what is to
7 come after these times. For my redemption is near and is not as far
away as once it was.

XXIV. For behold, the time is coming when the books will be
opened in which are written the sins of all who have sinned, and
also the treasuries in which are stored *the records of* the righteous
2 deeds of all created beings who have been righteous. And then you
will appreciate¹ (and many with you) the patience of the Most
High in every generation; for he has been ever patient with all men,
3 both with those who sin and with those who are righteous. And I
answered and said, But behold, Lord, no one knows how many are
the things that are already past, nor how many there are that are
4 yet to come. For I know only too well what has happened to us, but
what will happen to our enemies I do not know; nor do I know
when thou wilt visit thy works.

¹ Text 'so I remember those who are remembered and those who are to come'.

¹ Lit. 'see'.

XXV. And he answered and said to me, You too will be preserved
till the time of *the coming of* the sign which the Most High will
2 provide for those on earth at the end of days. And this shall be the
3 sign – when a stupor seizes those on earth and they are assailed by
4 all kinds of misfortune and adverse circumstances. And when they
say as a result of their sufferings, The Mighty One has no longer
any interest in the earth, then, when they have given up hope, the
time will come.¹

XXVI. And I answered and said, Will the period of suffering that is
to be continue for long, and will the ordeal last many years?

XXVII. And he answered and said to me, That time will be divided
into twelve separate periods,¹ and each one of them will have its
2 own special characteristics.² The first period will see the beginning
3 of the troubles. In the second period will occur assassinations of the
4 great ones *of the earth*. In the third period the annihilation of many
5,6 by death. In the fourth period destruction by the sword.³ In the
7 fifth period famine and lack of rain.⁴ In the sixth period earth-
8,9 quakes and terrors . . .⁵ In the eighth period *the appearance of* many
10 spectres and attacks by demons. In the ninth period the falling of
11 fire *from heaven*. In the tenth period every kind of havoc and
12 oppression. In the eleventh period *much* wickedness and impurity.
13 And in the twelfth period chaos resulting from the mixing together
14 of all these things. For *although* each of the periods of that time will
be marked off from the rest by its special characteristics, they will
15 *ultimately all* be mixed together and reinforce one another.⁶ For

¹ Lit. 'the time will awake'.

¹ Lit. 'twelve parts' (and similarly subsequently).

² Lit. 'each one of them is reserved for that which is appointed for it'.

³ Lit. 'the sending of the sword'.

⁴ Lit. 'withholding of rain'.

⁵ 'In the seventh period . . .' is omitted in the MS.

⁶ Charles thought verses 14 and 15 not only 'obscure' but also 'possibly corrupt'. He translated 'For †these parts of that time are reserved, and † shall be mingled one with another and minister one to another. For some shall *leave out* some of their own, and receive *in its stead* from others, and some complete their own and that of others, so that those . . .'.

some will **fall short**⁷ in the calamities they bring and have their deficiency made up by others, while some will supply their full tale themselves and also make up for what is lacking in others, so that those on earth in those days may not understand that this is the final consummation.

1,2 **XXVIII.** Nevertheless, whoever is wise then will understand. For the measure and reckoning of that time are two parts – weeks of
3 seven weeks.¹ And I answered and said, It is good for a man to
4 come to that time and see *what happens then*: yet it is surely better
5 that he should not come in case he fails. [But I will ask² this also.
6 Will the Incorruptible despise what is corruptible and *not care about*
7 *what happens to the corruptible, and concern himself only with*
8 *what is not corruptible?*³ But if, Lord, what thou hast foretold to
9 me will assuredly come to pass, reveal this also to me, if I have
10 indeed found favour with thee. Will these things happen in one
11 place or in *just one area*⁴ of the earth, or will the whole earth
12 experience them?

XXIX. And he answered and said to me, Whatever happens then
1 will happen to the whole earth; so that all who are alive will
2 experience *it*. For at that time I will protect only those who are
3 found in those days in this land. And it shall be that when all is
4 accomplished that was to come to pass in the *twelve periods before*
5 *the end*,¹ the Messiah shall then begin to be revealed. And
6 Behemoth shall appear from his place and Leviathan shall ascend

⁷ Sense required by the context: text 'increase'.

¹ So literally. Charles thought interpretation 'impossible'. On various possibilities see M. R. James's note in *The Biblical Antiquities of Philo* (London, 1917), pp. 131–132. ² Lit. 'say'.

³ Verses 4 and 5 break the connection of thought, and no account is taken of them in the context, although some sort of answer appears to be given to the question in xliii. 2. ⁴ Lit. 'or in one of the parts'.

¹ Lit. 'in those parts'. We have taken the reference here to be to the twelve divisions of the time of the Messianic woes (described in detail in chap. xxvii); however, the reference could possibly be to the 'parts of the earth' mentioned in xxviii. 7.

from the sea – those two great monsters I created on the fifth day of
creation and have kept until then; and then they shall serve as food
5 for all that survive. The earth also shall yield its fruit ten thousand-
6 fold; and on each vine there shall be a thousand branches, and each
7 branch shall produce a thousand clusters, and each cluster pro-
8 duce a thousand grapes, and each grape produce a cor of wine.
9 And those who have been hungry will rejoice; and, also, they shall
10 see marvels every day. For winds shall go forth from me bearing
11 the scent of aromatic fruits every morning, and, at the close of day,
12 clouds distilling a health-giving dew. And at that time the store-
house of manna shall descend from on high again; and they shall
eat of it in those years, because it is they who have come to the final
consummation.

XXX. And it shall come to pass after this, when the time of the
presence¹ of the Messiah *on earth* has run its course, that he will
return in glory *to the heavens*; then all who have died and have set
2 their hopes on him will rise again. And it shall come to pass at that
3 time that the treasures will be opened in which is preserved the
4 number of the souls of the righteous, and they will come out, and
5 the multitude of souls will appear together in one single assembly;
6 and those who are first will rejoice, and those who are last will not
7 be cast down. For each one of them will know² that the pre-
8 determined end of the times has come. But the souls of the wicked,
9 when they see all this, will be the more discomfited.³ For they will
know that their torment is upon them and that their perdition has
arrived.

XXXI. And after this I went to the people and said to them,
2 Summon all your elders to me, and I will speak to them. And they
3 all assembled in the Kidron valley. And I answered and said to
them,

Hear, O Israel, and I will speak to you,
And give ear, you sons of Jacob, and I will instruct you.

¹ Or 'advent' (Gk. *παρουσία*).

² Lit. 'For he knows'.

³ Lit. 'will waste away the more'.

- 4 Forget not Zion,
But keep in remembrance the anguish of Jerusalem.
5 For behold, the time is coming,
When everything that is shall become the prey of corruption,
And be as though it had never been.

XXXII. But as for you, if you prepare your hearts, and sow in them the fruits of the law, it will be a protection to you when the Mighty
2 One shakes the whole creation. For after a little while the building
3 of Zion will be shaken so that it may be built again. But that
4 building will not endure, but will after a time be razed to the
5 ground,¹ and it will remain desolate until the *appointed* time. And
6 afterwards it must be renewed in glory and be made perfect for
7 evermore. We should not, therefore, be distressed² so much over the
8 evil which has come now as over what is still to be. For there will be
9 a greater trial than either of these two tribulations when the
Mighty One renews his creation. And now, do not come near me
for a few days, and do not seek me out until I come to you. And
when I had said all this to them, I, Baruch, went my way; and
when the people saw me going they cried out in dismay,³ saying,
Where are you going, Baruch, are you going to desert us, as a
father might desert his children, and leave them orphans?

XXXIII. Are these the orders your companion, the prophet
2 Jeremiah, gave you when he said to you, Look after this people
while I go and support the rest of *our* brothers in Babylon, who
3 have been sentenced to be held as captives there? If now you are
going to desert us too, it were better for all of us to die while you are
still with us,¹ and that only then should you go away.

XXXIV. And I answered and said to the people, God forbid that I
should desert you or leave you. I am only going to the Holy of
Holies to inquire of the Mighty One about you and about Zion, in

¹ Lit. 'be rooted out'.

² Text has the active 'cause grief'.

³ Lit. 'they lifted up their voice and lamented'.

¹ Lit. 'to die before you'.

the hope that I may get some further understanding. After this I
will come back to you.

XXXV. And I, Baruch, went to the holy place and sat down amid
the ruins, and I wept and said,

- 2 Would that mine eyes were springs of water,
And mine eyelids a fountain of tears;
3 For how shall I lament for Zion,
And how shall I mourn for Jerusalem?
4 Because in the very place where I now lie prostrate,
The high priest of old offered holy sacrifices,
And burned incense of fragrant odours.
5 But now our pride has turned to dust,
And our hearts' desire to ashes.

XXXVI. And when I had said this I fell asleep there; and I saw a
2 vision in the night. And lo, a forest of trees planted on a plain, with
high mountains and steep cliffs all round it; and the forest covered
3 most of the plain. And lo, alongside it there grew up a vine, and
4 from underneath it issued a softly-flowing stream. And when the
stream reached the forest it became a raging torrent, and its waves
submerged the forest and in a moment uprooted nearly all *the trees*
that were in the forest and undermined the mountains that were
5 round about it. And the topmost branches of the forest were laid
low, and the peaks of the mountains crumbled;¹ and *the waters from*
the stream increased more and more, so that nothing was left of
6 that great forest but a single cedar. And when they had beaten
down and destroyed and uprooted all the other *trees that were in* the
forest, so that nothing was left of it, nor could the place where once
it had been be recognized, then the vine came with the stream, very
quietly and unobtrusively, to a place not far from where the cedar
7 was *lying*; and the stricken cedar found itself close to the vine.² And
I looked, and lo, the vine opened its mouth and spoke and said to
the cedar, Are you not the cedar that was left of the forest of
wickedness, by whose means wickedness persisted and flourished

¹ Lit. 'were laid low'.

² Lit. 'and they brought the cedar that had been cast down to it'.

8 all those years, and goodness never? You kept conquering what
 was not yours, and you showed no pity towards what was not
 yours: you kept extending your power over those who were far
 distant from you, and those who were near you, you held fast in the
 toils of your wickedness; and always you carried yourself proudly
 9 as if you could never be uprooted. But now your time has gone by
 and your hour is come. So, cedar, go the way of the forest, which
 10 has gone before you, and be reduced to dust like it, and let all your
 ashes be mingled together. Recline now in anguish and take your
 11 ease in torment till your last hour comes, when you will come back
 again and be tormented even more.

XXXVII. And after this I saw the cedar burning, and the vine
 flourishing; and all around it the plain was full of unfading flowers.
 And I awoke and got up.

XXXVIII. And I prayed and said, O Lord, my lord, thou dost
 2 always enlighten those whose guide is understanding. Thy law is
 3 life and thy wisdom the true guide. Explain to me, therefore, what
 4 this vision means. For thou knowest that I have always followed
 the path of thy law, and from my earliest days I have never turned
 away from thy wisdom.

XXXIX. And he answered and said to me, Baruch, this is the
 2 interpretation of the vision you have seen. You saw the great forest
 with high and rugged mountains round it – the meaning is this:
 3 Behold, the time is coming when this kingdom, which once de-
 stroyed Zion, will itself be destroyed, and it will be made subject by
 4 another that will come after it. And then, after a time, that *kingdom*
 also will be destroyed, and yet another, a third, will arise; and that
 also will have the sovereignty for its time, and *then* it will be
 5 destroyed. And after this a fourth kingdom will arise, which will
 prove far more tyrannical and savage than any of those that went
 before it; and it will extend its rule¹ like the forests on the plain, and
 it will hold sway for many years² and exalt itself even more than the

¹ Lit. 'and it will rule many times'.

² Lit. 'for times'.

6 cedars of Lebanon. Truth will be hidden by it, and all those who
 are polluted by iniquity will take refuge in it, just as evil beasts take
 7 refuge and creep into the forest. And when the time for its end has
 come, and its fall is imminent, then will be revealed my Messiah's
kingdom,³ which is like the stream and the vine; and when that is
 8 revealed, it will destroy⁴ the hosts that are gathered round it. And
 as for the lofty cedar that you saw,⁵ the sole survivor of the forest,
 and what you heard the vine saying to it, the meaning is this:

XL. The last leader of that time will be left alive after the rest of his
 hosts have been destroyed, and he will be put in fetters and taken
 up to mount Zion; and my Messiah will charge him with all his
 iniquities, and will enumerate all the evils his hosts have
 2 perpetrated, and will confront him with them. And afterwards he
 will put him to death; and he will preserve the remnant of my
 3 people, gathered in the place that I have chosen. And his **kingdom**¹
 shall stand for ever, until this world of corruption comes to an end
 4 and the times appointed are fulfilled. This is your vision, and this is
 what it means.

XLI. And I answered and said, Who will take part in this, and how
 many of them will there be? And who will be judged worthy of a
 2 place in that world?¹ For I will declare to thee my thoughts and ask
 3 about what is in my mind. For I see many of thy people who have
 4 rejected thy covenant and thrown off the yoke of thy law. But
 again, I have seen others who have abandoned their vanities and
 5 fled for refuge beneath thy wings. What is to happen to them, and
 6 what will be their lot at the end? Can it be that everything they
 have done throughout their lives² will be weighed, and they will be
 judged as the balance tips?

³ Text 'beginning' (probably through a misunderstanding of an underlying Gk. *ἀρχή* = either 'beginning, origin' or 'first place, sovereignty').

⁴ Lit. 'uproot'.

⁵ Or 'And as for the cedar you saw lying on the ground' (cp. xxxvi. 6).

¹ See n.³ to the previous chapter.

¹ Lit. 'worthy to live at that time'.

² Lit. 'Or perhaps the time of these'.

XLII. And he answered and said to me, I will explain these things to you as well. You asked, Who will take part in this, and how many of them will there be? Believers will receive the good things they have been promised and scoffers the reverse. And you asked about those who have embraced the covenant and those who have abandoned it.¹ The answer is this. Those who were at one time subject to the covenant, and afterwards went off and mingled with foreigners of mixed descent – their former manner of life will count for nothing. And those who started in ignorance but afterwards found the secret of life, and joined the people¹ set apart from other peoples – their former manner of life will count for nothing either.² And time will succeed to time, and season to season, and one will receive from another; and then, at the end, everything will be compared³ according to the measure of the times and the hours of the seasons. For corruption will claim those who belong to it, and life those who belong to it. And the dust will be summoned and told, Give up what is not yours, and surrender everything you have guarded until its appointed time.

XLIII. But you, Baruch, must apply your mind to what has been said to you, and understand the visions that have been shown you; for many eternal consolations await you. For you will depart from here, and leave behind you the scenes now so familiar to you; and you will forget these corruptible things and have no recollection of what happens among mortals. So go and give your people their

¹ Lit. 'those who have drawn near and those who have gone away'.

¹ Text 'the peoples'.

² The whole of this passage is obscure and verses 4 and 5 are peculiarly difficult. We have taken our cue from Bogaert, whose translation not only makes good sense, but also has the merit of being in line with the doctrine of retribution formulated by Ezekiel. Charles rendered the verses, 'As for those who were before subject, and afterwards withdrew and mingled themselves with the seed of mingled peoples, the time of these was the former, and was accounted as something exalted. And as for those who before knew not but afterwards knew life, and mingled only with the seed of the people which had separated itself, the time of these is the latter, and is accounted as something exalted' (= APOT ii, p. 502: his earlier version in *The Apocalypse of Baruch*, pp. 67–68, has several significant differences).

³ So Charles: Bogaert rendered 'toutes choses deviendront égales'.

orders, and come back to this place; and afterwards fast seven days, and then I will come to you and speak to you.

XLIV. And I, Baruch, went and came to my people; and I called my eldest son and Gedaliah, my friend,¹ and seven of the elders of the people, and I said to them,

2 Behold, I go to my fathers,
And tread the way² of all the earth.
3 Do not forsake the way of the law,
But guard and guide the people that are left,
Lest they forsake the commandments of the Mighty One.
4 For you can see that he whom we serve is just,
And that our creator has no favourites.
5 Look at what has befallen Zion,
And what has happened to Jerusalem.
6 For the judgement of the Mighty One will be made known
thereby,
And his ways, which though unfathomable, are right.
7 For if you endure and persevere in the fear of him,
And do not forget his law,
The times will change for your good,
And you will see the consolation of Zion.
8 Because whatever is now, is nothing,
But what is to be will be very great.
9 For everything corruptible will pass away,
And everything mortal will disappear:
No memory of it will endure,
For it is defiled with evils.
10 What makes good progress now will end in vanity,
And what prospers now will shortly fall
And be reduced to dust.
11 What is to be will become the object of desire,
And on what is to come will we set our hopes,
For it is a time that does not pass away.

¹ Text 'the Gedaliahs, my friends'.

² Lit. 'According to the way'.

- 12 The age³ is coming, which abides for ever,
And the new world which does not turn to corruption
Those who own its sway:⁴
It has no pity for those on the road to torment,
And leads not to perdition those who live in it.
- 13 For these are they who will inherit the time that has been
spoken of,
And theirs is the inheritance of the time that has been
promised.
- 14 These are they who have won for themselves treasuries of
wisdom,
And with whom are found stores of understanding,
And have not turned their backs on mercy,
And have held fast to the truth of the law.
- 15 To them will be given the world to come;
But the dwelling-place of the rest (and there are many of
them)
Will be in the *abyss* of fire.

1,2 XLV. So instruct the people as best you can: that is our task. For if
you teach them, you may preserve them.

XLVI. And my son and the elders of the people answered and said
to me, Does the Mighty One wish to chasten us so much that he is
2 prepared to take you from us so soon? Then we shall really be in
darkness, and there will be no light *at all* for the people who are left.

3 For where again shall we look for *instruction* in the law, or who will
4 show us the difference between death and life? And I said to them,
I cannot resist the will¹ of the Mighty One: nevertheless, Israel
shall never want a wise man, nor the race of Jacob a son of the law.

5 Only make up your minds to obey the law; and be subject to those
who, in fear, are wise and understanding, and determine that you
6 will never depart from them. For if you do this, the good things I
told you about before will come to you; and you will escape the

³ Lit. 'hour'.

⁴ Lit. 'those who walk in its beginning'. See n.³ to chap. xxxix.

¹ Lit. 'throne'.

7 punishment, about which I warned you. But I said nothing about
my being taken up,¹ either to them or to my son.

XLVII. And I dismissed them and went away, and I said to them
as I went, I am going to Hebron, for the Mighty One has sent me
2 there. And I came to the place where I had been told to go; and I
sat there, and I fasted seven days.

XLVIII. And after the seventh day I prayed before the Mighty One
and said,

- 2 O my Lord, thou dost summon the times to come *to thee*,
And they stand before thee:
Thou dost cause the power of the ages to pass away,
And they do not resist thee:
Thou dost arrange the course of the seasons,
And they obey thee.
- 3 Thou alone knowest for how long the generations will
endure,
And thou revealest not thy mysteries to many.
- 4 Thou makest known the might of fire,
And thou weighest the lightness of the wind.
- 5 Thou dost explore the limit of the heights,
And scrutinize the depths of darkness.
- 6 Thou dost decree the number *of those* who pass away and *of*
those who are preserved,
And thou preparest an abode for those who are to be.
- 7 Thou dost remember the beginning thou hast made,
And forgettest not the destruction that is to be.
- 8 With frightening and formidable signs thou dost command
the flames,
And they change into spirits.¹

¹ Lit. 'taken'. This would most naturally be understood simply as a reference to Baruch's impending death, had he not already announced this in no uncertain terms at xlv. 2. The probability is that what is intended here is an 'ascension' or 'translation' (as also at xlviii. 30), a sense well attested in the Old Testament (Gen. v. 24; 2 Kings ii. 5, 9; Pss. xlix. 15, lxxiii. 24; Eccclus. xlviii. 9).

¹ Or 'winds'.

And with a word thou dost quicken that which was not,
 And with *thy* mighty power thou holdest back that which not
 yet has come.
 9 Thou dost instruct created things by thy understanding,
 And thou teachest the spheres to minister in their orders.
 10 Armies innumerable stand before thee,
 And minister in their orders quietly at thy nod.
 11 Hear thy servant,
 And give ear to my petition.
 12 For we are born to live only for a little while,
 And very soon we go away.
 13 But with thee hours are like an age,
 And days as generations.
 14 Be not therefore angry with man, for he is nothing,
 And take no account of our deeds, for what are we?
 15 For lo, it is by thy gift that we come into the world,
 And we do not leave it by our own decision.
 16 For we said not to our parents, Give us birth,
 Nor did we send to Sheol and say, Receive us.
 17 How then can our strength withstand thy wrath,
 Or how can we endure thy judgement?
 18 Protect us in thy compassion,
 And in thy mercy help us.
 19 Behold the little ones that are subject to thee,
 And save all those that draw near to thee;
 And destroy not the hope of our people
 And cut not short the times of our aid.
 20 For this is **the nation**² thou hast chosen,
 And these are the people without equal in thine eyes.
 21 But I now will speak before thee,
 And tell thee what is in my mind.
 22 In thee do we trust, for lo, thy law is with us,
 And we know we shall not fall so long as we keep thy statutes.
 23 For all time are we blessed in this at least,
 That we have not mingled with the Gentiles.
 24 For we are all one famous people,

² Text 'until'.

Who have received one law from the only One;
 And the law which is with us will help us,
 And the matchless wisdom which is in our midst will sustain
 us.
 25 And after I had prayed and said these things I was much
 exhausted.
 26 And he answered and said to me,
 Your prayer has been plain enough, Baruch,
 And all your words have been heard.
 27 But my judgement claims what is due to it,
 And my law exacts its rights.
 28 In accordance with your own words will I answer you,
 And in accordance with your prayer will I speak to you.
 29 For the truth is, he that has become corrupt is not at all:³ he has
 done evil so far as he could do anything; and he has neither
 30 pondered⁴ my goodness nor understood⁴ my patience. But you will
 31 indeed be taken up,⁵ as I have *already* told you. And that time I
 have *also* told you about will come, and the time of distress begin: it
 will come and pass by with a sudden fury, creating havoc through
 32 the vehemence of its onset. And in those days all the inhabitants of
 the earth will lean upon one another,⁶ because they are unaware
 that my judgement has come upon them.
 33 For there will not be found many wise at that time,
 And the prudent will be but few;
 And even those possessed of knowledge will keep silent.
 34 And there will be many rumours and numerous idle tales,
 And uncanny things will be seen to happen,
 And not a few predictions will pass from mouth to mouth:
 Some of them *will prove* unfounded,
 And some *will be* confirmed.
 35 And honour will be turned to shame,

³ Charles described the text here as 'unintelligible'.

⁴ Lit. 'remembered . . . accepted'.

⁵ See n.¹ to chap. xlvi.

⁶ Lit. 'rest against each other'. Charles would emend 'be moved one against another'.

And strength fall into disrepute:
 Confidence will disappear,
 And beauty will become an object of contempt.
 36 And many will say to others at that time,
 Where has discretion hidden itself,
 And where has wisdom fled for refuge?
 37 And while they are meditating on these things,
 Those who had thought nothing of themselves will be seized
 by envy,
 And the even-tempered man will become a prey to passion:
 Many will be stirred up by anger to their mutual hurt,
 And they will raise up armies to shed *each others'* blood,
 And in the end they will perish all together.
 38 And it will come to pass at that very time,
 That it will be apparent to all that the times are changing,
 Because in all those times they polluted themselves
 And oppressed *the poor*;
 And each one of them went his own way,
 And remembered not the law of the Mighty One.
 39 Therefore a fire shall consume their thoughts,
 And in the flame shall the plans they have made be tested;
 For the Judge will come and will not delay.
 40 Each one of the earth's inhabitants knew when he was
 sinning,
 But because of their pride they would not recognize⁷ my law.
 41 But many will then weep bitterly
 Over the living more than over the dead.
 42 And I answered and said, O Adam, What was it that you did to all
 your posterity?² And what should be said to Eve who first listened to
 43 the serpent? For all this multitude is going to corruption: innumera-
 ble are those whom the fire will devour.
 44,45 Yet again I will speak in thy presence. Thou, O Lord, my Lord,
 46 knowest what is in thy creature. For thou didst of old command the
 dust to produce Adam; and thou knowest the number of those who
 have been born from him, and how much they have sinned before
 thee – those who have been born and have not confessed thee as

⁷ Lit. 'they did not know'.

47 their creator. And, so far as all these are concerned, their end will
 convict them, and thy law, which they have transgressed, will
 requite them on thy day.
 48 But now let us leave aside the wicked and inquire about the
 49 righteous. And I will recount their blessedness and proclaim⁸ the
 50 glory that is reserved for them. For without question, just as in this
 transitory world in which you live, you have for a little while
 endured much toil, so in that world, to which there is no end, you
 will receive great light.⁹

XLIX. But I will again ask of thee, O Mighty One, and beg mercy
 2 from him who made all things. In what form will those live who live
 3 in thy day, and what will they look like afterwards?¹ Will they then
 resume their present form and put on these entrammelling mem-
 bers, which are now involved in evils and are the instruments of
 evils; or wilt thou perhaps transform what has been in the world, as
 also the world itself?

L. And he answered and said to me, Listen, Baruch, to what I say,
 2 and keep a record in your mind of everything you learn. For the
 earth will certainly then restore the dead it now receives so as to
 preserve them: it will make no change in their form, but as it has
 received them, so it will restore them, and as I delivered them to it,
 3 so also will it raise them. For those who are then alive must be
 shown that the dead have come to life again, and that those who
 4 had departed have returned. And when they have recognized those
 they know now, then the judgement will begin,¹ and what you have
 been told already will come to pass.

⁸ Lit. 'and not be silent in celebrating'.

⁹ According to Charles verses 48–50 are a fragment of an address delivered by Baruch to the people, and not to God. He found another fragment of this same address (originally preceding 48–50 here) in liv. 16–18, and yet another (following 48–50) in lii. 5–7.

¹ Lit. 'and how will the appearance (or 'splendour') of those after that time continue?'

¹ Lit. 'will grow strong'.

LI. And after the appointed day is over, the appearance¹ of those who have been condemned will be changed, as will also be the glory of those who have been justified. For the appearance of the evil-doers will go from bad to worse, as they suffer torment. Again, the glory of those who have now been justified through² their obedience to my law, who have had understanding in their life, and who have planted in their heart the root of wisdom – their faces will shine even more brightly and their features will assume a luminous beauty,³ so that they may be able to attain and enter the world which does not die, which has been promised to them then. For over this, more than over anything else, will the others who come then lament that they rejected my law, and stopped up their ears, so that they might not hear wisdom or receive understanding. For they will see those who are now their inferiors in a far better and more glorious state than they are – for these will be transformed so that they look like angels, while they can only contemplate in horror the decaying shadows of their former selves.⁴ For they will see *all this* first; and afterwards they will depart to their torment.

7 But those who have been saved by their works,
Whose hope has been in the law,
Who have put their trust in understanding,
And their confidence in wisdom,
Shall see marvels in their time.
8 For they shall behold the world which is now invisible to
them,
And realms⁵ now hidden from them,
9 And time shall no longer age them.

¹ So, by the change of a single diacritical point: text 'pride'.

² Or 'in'.

³ Lit. 'their appearance (or 'splendour') will be glorified in changes and the form of their face will be turned into the light of their beauty'.

⁴ That the initial punishment of the wicked is not only to witness the transformation of the righteous, but also to appreciate to the full the serious deterioration in their own condition, would seem to be the sense required in this most difficult passage. Charles (perhaps over-literally) rendered 'they shall yet more waste away in wonder at the visions and in the beholding of the forms'.

⁵ Lit. 'the time'.

10 For in the heights of that world shall they dwell,
And they shall be made like the angels,
And be made equal to the stars;
And they shall be changed into whatever form they will,
From beauty into loveliness,
And from light into the splendour of glory.
11 For the extent of Paradise will be spread before them, and they will be shown the majestic beauty of the living creatures that are beneath the throne, and all the armies of the angels, who are now kept back by my word lest they should reveal themselves, and are restrained by my command, so that they may keep their places until
12 the moment of their advent comes. Then shall the splendour of the
13 righteous exceed even the splendour of the angels. For the first shall receive the last, those whom they were expecting, and the last those of whom they had heard that they had passed away.⁶
14 For they will then have been delivered from this world of
misery
And laid down the burden of sorrow.
15 For what then have men lost their life,
And for what have those who were on earth exchanged their
soul?
16 For then they chose for themselves this time,
Which cannot pass without sorrow:
They chose for themselves this time,
Whose issues are full of lamentations and evils,
And they denied the world which ages not those who come to
it,
And rejected that time and the glory of it,
So that they cannot share in the triumphs about which I have
told you.

LII. And I answered and said, How can we forget those whose future is punishment? And why, again, do we mourn for those who

⁶ The distinction here seems to be not between the angels and the righteous, but between the righteous who have already died and those who would not join them until after the resurrection: cp. 2 Esdras v. 42; 1 Thess. iv. 15 – also xxx. 1–3 (above).

3 die, and weep for those who depart to Sheol? Far better, *surely*, keep
 our lamentations for the beginning of that torment which is to be,
 4 and reserve *our* tears for *the* destruction when it comes. But on the
 5 other hand – the righteous: what should they do now? I would say,¹
 6 Rejoice in the suffering you now endure: why concern yourselves
 7 about² the downfall of your enemies? Make yourselves ready for
 what is reserved for you, and prepare yourselves for the reward laid
 up for you.³

LIII. And when I said this I fell asleep there, and I saw a vision;
 and lo, a very great cloud was coming up out of the sea. And I kept
 looking at it. And lo, it was full of waters, white and black; and
 there were many colours in those waters, and what looked like
 2 flashes of lightning appeared at the top of it. And I watched the
 3 cloud as it moved, and it quickly covered all the earth. And after
 this, the cloud began to pour the waters that were in it on the earth.
 4 And I saw that the waters that descended from it were not all the
 5 same. For at first, for a time, they were all black; but afterwards I
 saw that the waters became bright (though there were fewer of
 them); and after this again I saw black *waters*, and then again
 6 bright; and again black, and again bright. This happened twelve
 7 times; but there were always more black waters than bright. And
 when the end of the cloud came, lo, it rained black waters, darker
 than all that had been before, with fire mixed with them; and
 where those waters descended they left a trail of devastation and
 8 destruction. And after this I saw the lightning I had seen at the
 9 top of the cloud take hold of it and hurl it to the earth. And the
 lightning shone so brilliantly that it lit up the whole earth, and it
 restored those regions where the last waters had descended and left
 10 such devastation. And it took hold of the whole earth and subjected
 11 it to its control. And after this I looked and I saw twelve rivers
 coming up out of the sea; and they began to surround the lightning
 12 and become subject to it. And I woke up in terror.

¹ The rendering of verses 4 and 5 here given represents a slight re-ordering of the text in an attempt to make some sense. Charles rendered 'But even in the face of these things will I speak. And as for the righteous, What will they do now?'

² Lit. 'Why do you look for?'

³ See n.^o to chap. xlviii.

The Prayer of Baruch.

LIV. And I besought the Mighty One and said,

Thou alone, O Lord, knowest beforehand the secrets¹ of the
 world,
 And what happens in its time thou dost bring about by thy
 word;

And in the light of what is done by² those on earth
 Thou wilt speed up the beginnings of the times,
 And the end of the ages thou alone knowest.

2 For thee nothing is too hard,

Thou doest everything easily by a nod.

3 To thee the depths come as the heights,

And the beginnings³ of the ages are obedient to thy word.

4 Thou revealest to those who fear thee what is prepared for
 them,

And so dost thou comfort them.

5 Thou showest wonders to the ignorant:

Thou dost break down the dividing wall for those who do not
 know;

And thou dost light up what is dark

And reveal what is hidden to the pure,

Who in faith have submitted to thee and to thy law.

6 Thou hast shown thy servant this vision:

Reveal to me also its interpretation.

7 For I know that when I have besought thee, thou hast
 answered me,

And when I have made request, thou hast made response to
 me.

Thou didst reveal to me with what language⁴ I should praise
 thee,

And with which of my members I should offer *my* praises and
 hallelujahs to thee.

¹ Lit. 'the heights' (i.e. the inaccessible things).

² Lit. 'And against (or 'according to') the works of'.

³ Or 'princes' (i.e. angels).

⁴ Lit. 'voice'.

- 8 For if *all* my members were mouths, and the hairs of my head
 voices,
 Even then I could not praise or magnify thee as I should,
 Nor could I recount thy praise nor tell the glory of thy
 beauty.
- 9 For what am I among men,
 And why am I reckoned among those of far more worth than
 I,
 That I should have heard all these marvellous things from
 the Most High,
 And numberless promises from him who created me?
 10 Happy my mother among those that bear children,
 And worthy of praise among women is she who gave me
 birth!
- 11 For I will not cease to praise the Mighty One,
 And with a thankful voice I will recount his wonders.
 12 For who can do wonders like thine, O God,
 Or who can understand thy purpose in creation?⁵
 13 For with thy counsel thou dost govern all the creatures
 Which thy right hand has created,
 And thou hast established every source of light beside thee,
 And the treasuries of wisdom thou hast prepared beneath thy
 throne.
- 14 Justly do they perish who have not loved thy law:
 The torment of judgement awaits those who have not sub-
 mitted to thy power.
- 15 For though Adam first sinned and brought untimely death upon
 all men, yet each one of those who were born from him has either
 16 prepared for his own soul *its* future torment or chosen for himself
 the glories that are to be (for without doubt he who believes will
 17 receive his reward). But now, as for you, you wicked that now are,
 prepare to meet⁶ destruction: your punishment will come quickly,
 because you have rejected the understanding of the Most High.
- 18 For what he has done has not taught you, nor has the craftsmen-
 19 ship revealed perpetually in his creation persuaded you.⁷ Thus

⁵ Lit. 'thy deep thought of life'.

⁶ Lit. 'turn to'. ⁷ See n.⁹ to chap. xlviii.

- Adam was responsible for himself only:⁸ each one of us is his own
 20 Adam. But do thou, O Lord, explain to me the things thou hast
 revealed to me, and give me an answer to the questions that I
 21 asked. For at the consummation retribution will fall on those who
 have done evil for⁹ the evil they have done, and thou wilt make
 22 glorious the faithful for⁹ their faithfulness. For those who are
 among thine own thou rulest, and those who sin thou dost root out
 from among thine own.

- LV. And when I had finished this prayer, I sat down there under a
 2 tree, to rest in the shade of *its* branches. And as I considered it, I
 was astonished and amazed at the immensity of the goodness that
 sinners on earth have rejected, and the scale of the torment they
 have despised, although they were very well aware that they would
 3 be tormented for their sins. And while I was pondering these and
 similar things, lo, the angel Ramiel, who presides over genuine
 4 visions, was sent to me; and he said to me, Why are you so
 5 distraught, Baruch, and why so troubled in mind? For if you are so
 moved (when) you have only heard about the judgement, what *are*
 6 *you going to be like* when you see it happening before your eyes? And
 if you are so overwrought at the prospect of the coming of the day of
 7 the Mighty One, what *will you be like* when it actually arrives? And
 if you are so upset by what you have been told about the torment of
 the evil-doers, how much more *so will you be* when the complex
 8 details are disclosed?¹ And if you are distressed about what you
 have heard is to happen then (things both good and bad), how *will*
it be with you when you see what the *Mighty One in his majesty* will
 reveal, when he convicts some and gives others cause for rejoicing?

- LVI. However, you have asked the Most High to reveal to you the
 interpretation of the vision you have seen, and I have been sent to
 2 tell you. For the Mighty One has indeed made known to you the
 sequence of the times that have passed and of those that are yet to
 be in the world, from the beginning of its creation right up to its

⁸ Lit. 'Thus Adam is not the cause, but of his own soul only'.

⁹ Lit. 'according to'.

¹ Lit. 'when the work ('event') reveals marvels'.

3 consummation – times of falsehood and times of truth. You saw a
 4 great cloud coming up out of the sea that went on and covered the
 5 earth: this *cloud* is the duration of the age of the world, which the
 6 Mighty One determined when he decided to make the world. And
 7 so it was that when the world had gone out from his presence, the
 8 duration of the world came into being, something of small account,
 9 established according to the richness of the understanding of him
 10 who sent it. And you saw at the top of the cloud black waters
 11 descending first upon the earth – this is the transgression of the first
 12 man, Adam. For when he transgressed untimely death appeared:
 13 sorrow came to be, and suffering was produced and pain created,
 14 and toil became the rule: pride reared its head:¹ Sheol insisted on
 15 being renewed by blood: the conception of children was brought
 16 about and the passion of parents roused: man's whole status
 received a blow; and goodness languished. What could be blacker
 or darker than all this? This is the beginning of the black waters
 that you saw. And from these black waters again *other black waters*
 were derived, and even greater darkness² was produced. For the
 man who was a danger to himself became a danger even to the
 angels. For at the time he was created they enjoyed freedom. And
 some of them came down *to earth* and had intercourse with women.
 And those who did so then were tormented in chains. But the rest
 of the innumerable³ host of angels restrained themselves. And
 those who lived on earth perished all together through the waters
 of the flood. These are the first black waters.

LVII. And after these you saw bright waters: these *represent* the
 fount of Abraham and his family, and the coming of his son and of
 his grandson, and of those like them. For at that time the unwritten
 law was observed by¹ them and the provisions² of the command-
 ments were then fulfilled: then originated belief in the coming
 judgement: hope for a world to be renewed was then established;

¹ Charles rendered 'disease began to be established'.

² Lit. 'and the darknesses of darknesses'.

³ The text has no negative.

¹ Lit. 'was named among'.

² Lit. 'works'.

and the promise of a life to come hereafter was implanted *in men's*
 hearts. These are the bright waters that you saw.

LVIII. And the black third waters that you saw – these *represent* the
 mixture of all the sins of the nations that followed the death of those
 righteous men, and the wickedness of the land of Egypt in subject-
 ing their sons to such cruel servitude. However, these in their turn
 had their day.

LIX. And the bright fourth waters that you saw *represent* the com-
 ing of Moses and Aaron and Miriam and Joshua, the son of Nun,
 and Caleb and all those like them. For at that time the lamp of the
 eternal law shone on all those in darkness, giving to believers the
 promise of their reward, and warning unbelievers about the tor-
 ment of fire reserved for them. At that time, too, the heavens shook,
 and what was beneath the throne of the Mighty One trembled,
 when he was taking Moses to himself. For he showed him many
 other things together with the ordinances of the law¹ – the consum-
 mation of the times¹ (just as he has also shown you), and similarly
 the pattern of Zion and its dimensions, as it was to be constructed,
 and the pattern of the sanctuary, as it now is. Then he showed him
 also the dimensions of the fire, the depths of the abyss, the weight of
 the winds, and the number of the drops of rain; and the mastery of
 anger, the dignity² of patience, and the truth of judgement; and the
 root of wisdom, the riches of understanding, and the fount of
 knowledge; and the height of the air, the extent of Paradise, the
 consummation of the ages, and the beginning of the day of judge-
 ment; and the number of the offerings, and the countries which
 were as yet unknown;³ and the mouth of Gehenna, the abode of
 vengeance, the home of faith, and the dwelling-place of hope; and
 the vision of the future torment, the throng of innumerable angels,
 the flaming hosts, the splendour of the lightning, the sound of the
 thunder, the orders of the *archangels*,⁴ the treasuries of light, the
 changes of the seasons,⁵ and the careful study of the law. These are
 the bright fourth waters that you saw.

¹ Text 'laws . . . time'.

² Lit. 'abundance'.

³ Lit. 'and the earths (i.e. 'lands') which had not yet come'.

⁴ Text 'chief (sing.) of the angels'.

⁵ Lit. 'times'.

LX. And the black fifth waters you saw coming down as rain are what the Amorites did, their spells and incantations, the evils of their mysteries, and the contaminating effect¹ of their pollutions.
 2 For even Israel was then polluted and went astray in the days of the judges,² although they witnessed many signs given them by their creator.

LXI. And the bright sixth waters that you saw – this is the time
 2 when David and Solomon were born. And at that time Zion was built, and the sanctuary dedicated; and much blood of the nations that had sinned then was shed, and many offerings were offered at
 3 the dedication of the sanctuary. And peace and tranquillity
 4 reigned at that time. *The voice of wisdom* was heard in the assembly, and the riches of understanding were prized in the congregations.
 5 And the holy festivals were celebrated enthusiastically¹ and with
 6 much joy. The rulers' judgements were then seen to be unbiased, and the justice of the precepts of the Mighty One was maintained
 7 in truth. And because the land enjoyed *God's* favour² at that time, and because those who lived there did not sin, it was made more
 8 glorious than any other land; and the city of Zion became the ruler
 9 of all lands and countries. These are the bright waters that you saw.

LXII. And the black seventh waters that you saw *represent* the
 2 perversion *brought about* by Jeroboam's plan to make two golden calves; and all the iniquities of the kings after him; and the curse of
 3 Jezebel,¹ and the idol-worship that Israel practised at that time;
 4 and the withholding of the rain, and the famines that followed until
 5 women even ate their own children; and the captivity that overtook

¹ Lit. 'and the mingling'.

² Text 'judgement'.

¹ Lit. 'in goodness'.

² Lit. 'the land was beloved'.

¹ So literally: it is unclear whether the reference is to the curse pronounced upon Jezebel and its fulfilment (1 Kings xxi. 23; 2 Kings ix. 10, 30–37), or to the curse which Jezebel was in herself and consequently to Israel (2 Kings ix. 34).

6 the nine and a half tribes because of their many sins (for
 7 Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, came and carried them off as cap-
 8 tives). And so far as the Gentiles are concerned, there is no need to
 stress how they always did what was sinful and wicked, and never
 9 what was righteous. These are the black seventh waters that you
 saw.

LXIII. And the bright eighth waters that you saw – these are the
 2 integrity and honesty of Hezekiah, king of Judah, and the grace
 3 that was accorded him.¹ For when Sennacherib was stirred up to
 destroy himself, and his anger maddened him into leading to their
 destruction also the motley collection of peoples that were with
 4 him: when, moreover, king Hezekiah heard what the king of
 Assyria was plotting, to come and destroy his people (the two and a
 half tribes that were left – and he wanted to lay waste Zion too):
 then Hezekiah, in trust and reliance on his righteousness, spoke
 5 with the Mighty One and said, Behold, Sennacherib is ready to
 destroy us; and he will boast when he has laid Zion waste and take
 credit to himself. And the Mighty One heard him, for Hezekiah
 was wise, and he listened to his prayer, because he was righteous.
 6 And the Mighty One then gave instructions to his angel Ramiel
 7 (*the angel who is speaking to you now*). And I went and destroyed
 the whole host of them – the number of the officers alone was a
 hundred and eighty-five thousand, and each one of them had an
 8 equal number *under his command*. And on this occasion I burned
 their bodies inside, but their outer clothing and their armour I
 preserved intact, so that what the Mighty One had done might
 seem still more wonderful, and that as a result his name might be
 9 spoken of throughout the entire earth. Thus Zion was saved and
 10 Jerusalem delivered: Israel too was freed from *its* distress. And all
 those who were in the holy land rejoiced, and the name of the
 11 Mighty One was glorified so that it was spoken of *everywhere*. These
 are the bright waters that you saw.

LXIV. And the black ninth waters that you saw – these *represent* all
 the wickedness there was in the days of Manasseh, Hezekiah's son.

¹ Lit 'and his grace'.

2 For he did very many wicked things: he killed the righteous: he perverted judgement: he shed the blood of the innocent: he violated and polluted married women; and he demolished the altars and destroyed their offerings, and drove out the priests so that they
 3 could not minister in the sanctuary. And he made an image with five faces, four of them looked to the four winds, and the fifth at the top of the image *was there* to provoke the jealousy of the Mighty
 4 One. At that time *a sentence of wrath* went out from the presence of the Mighty One that Zion should be rooted up (and it has happened in your days). And also against the two and a half tribes there went out a decree that they too should be carried off as
 5 captives (as you have now seen). And to such lengths did the impiety of Manasseh go that the glory of the Most High departed
 6 from the sanctuary. For this reason Manasseh was even in his own day called 'The Impious', and his final lodging was in the fire. For
 7 though the Most High at last heard his prayer when he was shut up in¹ the bronze horse, and the horse was melting, and a sign was
 8 given to him then, his life was far from perfect, and all he deserved
 9 was to know by whom he would be tormented in the end.² For he who is able to do good is also able to punish.

LXV. Thus Manasseh did many wicked things, and he thought that in his time the Mighty One would not inquire into them.

2 These are the black ninth waters that you saw.

LXVI. And the bright tenth waters that you saw – these are the faithfulness of the generation of Josiah, king of Judah, who was the only one at the time who submitted himself to the Mighty One with
 2 all his heart and soul. And he purged the land of idols, and hallowed all the vessels that had been polluted, and restored the offerings to the altar, and lifted up the heads¹ of the holy, and exalted the righteous, and honoured men of wisdom and understanding, and brought back the priests to their ministry, and destroyed and removed the magicians and soothsayers and

¹ Lit. 'when he was thrown into'.

² 'Text corrupt' (Charles).

¹ Lit. 'the horn'.

3 necromancers from the land. And not only did he kill the impious that were still alive, but he also had the bones of the dead taken
 4 from their graves and burnt. And the festivals and the sabbaths he restored with their proper rites:² he burned those who were polluted: he burned also the lying prophets that had deceived the people; and the people that had listened to them he threw alive into
 5 the brook Kidron, and raised a heap of stones over them. And he devoted himself heart and soul to the Mighty One; and he was remarkable in his day for his strict observance of the law,³ so that during his life-time no one that was uncircumcised was left any-
 6 where in the land, nor any evil-doer. He will indeed receive an eternal reward, and he will be more honoured by the Mighty One
 7 than many at the last time. For it was because of him, and those like him, that the honours and the glories you were told about
 8 before were created and prepared. These are the bright waters that you saw.

LXVII. And the black eleventh waters that you saw – these are the calamity that has now overtaken Zion. Do you imagine that the angels in the presence of the Mighty One experience no pain that Zion should be so delivered up, and when they see the Gentiles boasting in their hearts, and crowds before their idols saying,

She is now trodden down, she who so often trod *others* down,
 And she has been reduced to servitude, she who reduced
others?

3 Do you imagine the Most High rejoices at this, or that his name is
 4 thereby glorified? How will it serve towards his righteous judgement? Yet after this, great troubles will afflict those who are dispersed among the Gentiles, and wherever they may be living
 5 they will be humiliated. So long as Zion is delivered up and Jerusalem laid waste, idols will prosper in the Gentile cities; and *while* the sweet smoke of the incense of the righteousness which is according to the law no longer ascends in Zion, it will be replaced

² Charles rendered 'he established in their sanctity', although the last word is plural.

³ Lit. 'and he alone was firm in the law at that time'.

everywhere in Zion's neighbourhood by the smoke of godlessness.¹

7 And the king of Babylon, who has now destroyed Zion, will exalt himself, and he will make great claims in the Most High's presence. But he also will come to grief at last. These are the black waters.

LXVIII. And the bright twelfth waters that you saw – this is the meaning of them. After all this, a time will come when your people will be in such a sorry state that there is a risk of their perishing altogether. Even so, they will be saved, and their enemies will fall before them. And for a time they will have much joy. And then, after a short interval, Zion will be rebuilt, and its offerings will be restored again, and the priests will return to their ministry, and the Gentiles also will come and acclaim it.¹ However, things will not be as they were in former times. And after this, disaster will strike many nations. These are the bright waters that you saw.

LXIX. The last¹ waters that you saw, darker than all that had been before them – those waters that came after the gathering together of the twelve other waters concern the whole world. For the Most High made a separation at the beginning,² because he alone knows what will happen. As for the enormities and impious deeds that would be committed before him, he foresaw six kinds of them. And as for the good deeds of the righteous to be done before him, he foresaw six kinds of them also, apart from what he himself would do at the consummation of the age. That is why there were not black waters mixed with black, nor bright with bright;³ for it is the consummation.

¹ Lit. '... in Zion, and in the place of Zion everywhere, lo, there is the smoke of godlessness'.

¹ Lit. 'come to glorify it'.

¹ Lit. 'other'.

² The phrases 'gathering together' and 'make a separation' recall the language of Gen. i. 7 and 10.

³ This, as it stands, is obscure. What is clear, however, is that the black waters of the 'consummation' and the bright waters that follow are to be understood as distinct from the previous alternations of black and bright waters in the course of world history.

LXX. Hear then the interpretation of the last black waters which are to come after the other black waters: this is the meaning. Behold, the days are coming, and when the time of the age has ripened, and the harvest¹ of its evil and its good seeds has come, the Mighty One will bring upon the earth and its inhabitants, and upon its rulers, trepidation of spirit¹ and consternation of mind. And they will hate one another, and provoke one another to fight; and obscure men will have dominion over men of reputation, and the lowly born will be exalted above the nobles. And the many will be delivered into the hands of the few, and those who were nothing will rule over the strong, and the poor will have much more than the rich, and the impious will set themselves up against the brave. And the wise will be silent, and only fools will speak: neither the designs of ordinary men, nor the plans of the powerful,² will come to anything, nor will any hopes for the future prove well-founded.³ And when what has been predicted has happened, then will confusion descend upon all men: some of them will fall in battle: some of them will perish in anguish, and some of them will be destroyed⁴ by their own people. Then will the Most High reveal those peoples whom he has prepared beforehand, and they will come and make war with the leaders that then are left. And whoever escapes in the war will die by earthquake, and whoever escapes the earthquake will be burned by fire, and whoever escapes the fire will be destroyed⁵ by famine. And whoever, whether of the victors or the vanquished, escapes all these things, and comes safely through them, will be delivered into the hands of my servant, the Messiah. For the whole earth will devour those who live on it.

LXXI. But the holy land will have mercy on its own, and will protect those who are living there at that time. This is the vision that you saw, and this is the interpretation of it. And I have come to tell you this because your prayer has been heard by the Most High.

¹ Plural in the MS.

² Singular in the MS.

³ Lit. 'nor will the hope of those who hope be confirmed'.

⁴ Text 'be hindered'.

⁵ Text 'will add'.

LXXII. Listen now also *to what I have to tell you* about the bright waters¹ that are to come at the consummation after these black waters: this is the meaning *of them*. After the signs have appeared, which you were told about before, when the nations are in confusion, and the time of my Messiah is come, he will call all the nations together, and some of them he will spare, and some of them he will destroy. This is what will happen to the nations spared by him.

Every nation that has not exploited² Israel and has not trampled the race of Jacob underfoot will be spared. And this will be because some out of all the nations will become subject to your people. But all those who have had dominion over you, or have exploited² you, will be given over to the sword.

LXXIII. And when he has brought low everything that is in the world, and has sat down in peace for ever on the throne of his kingdom,

Then shall joy be revealed,
And rest made manifest.

And then shall healing descend as dew,
And disease shall disappear;
And anxiety and anguish and lamentation shall pass from men,
And gladness spread through all the earth.

And never again shall anyone die before his time,
Nor shall any adversity suddenly befall.

And law suits¹ and accusations and contentions and revenges,
And murder² and passions and envy and hatred,
And all things like these shall be done away
And go to their condemnation.

¹ Both here and at lxxiv. 4 Charles substituted 'lightning' for 'waters' to accord with the details of the vision as given in liii. 8-10.

² Text 'known'.

¹ Lit. 'judgements'.

² Lit. 'blood'.

5 For it is these things that have filled this world with evils,
And it is because of these that the life of man has been so troubled.

6 And wild beasts shall come from the forest
And minister to men,
And asps and dragons shall come out of their holes
To submit themselves to a little child.

7 And women shall no longer have pain when they bear
children,
Nor shall they suffer agony when they yield the fruit of the womb.

LXXIV. And in those days the reapers shall not grow weary,
Nor those that build be toilworn;
For both works and workers together
Will prosper in complete accord.

2 For that time marks the end of what is corruptible
And the beginning of what is incorruptible.

3 Thus, what was predicted will be fulfilled in it:
It is beyond the grasp of evil men,
Accessible only to those who will not die.¹

4 These are the bright waters² that came after the last dark waters.

LXXV. And I answered and said,

Who can be compared with thee, O Lord, in thy goodness?
For it is beyond us altogether.

2 Or who can search out thine infinite compassion?
3 Or who can comprehend thine understanding?
4 Or who is able to describe the workings of thy mind?
5 Who among mortals can hope to come near *doing any of these things*,
Unless he is one of those to whom thou art merciful and gracious?

¹ So, strictly, the Syriac, which has masculines for 'evil' and 'those who will not die'. It is possible, however, to take the Syriac masculines as a misunderstanding of original neuters - as Charles ('It is far away from evils, and near to those things which die not').

² See note on lxxii. 1.

- 6 For if thou didst not have compassion upon man,
Those who are under thy right hand
Could not achieve these things –
Only those who are called to be among the number thou hast
determined.¹
- 7 But if we, who are alive, know for what reason we have
come,²
And submit ourselves to him who brought us out of Egypt,
We shall come again³ and remember what is past,
And rejoice in what has been.
- 8 But if we do not know for what reason we have come²
And do not recognize the sovereignty of him who brought us
out of Egypt,
We shall come again³ and regret⁴ what has been now,
And grieve over what is past.

LXXVI. And he answered and said to me, Since the interpretation of this vision has been given you as you asked, Listen to what the Most High has to say, so that you may know what is to happen to you after this. For you must certainly leave this world, yet you will not die, but you will be preserved until the consummation¹ of the times. So go up to the top of that mountain, and you will get a view of the entire land and be able to distinguish its various features² – the tops³ of the mountains, the bottoms³ of the valleys, the depths of the seas, and the many rivers, so that you can see what you are leaving behind and where you are going. This shall be in forty days time from now. But now go and spend these days teaching the people as best you can, so that they may understand what will lead to death and what to life in the last times.⁴

¹ Lit. 'who are able to be called in the numbers named'.

² i.e. 'we have been born'.

³ i.e. at the resurrection.

⁴ Lit. 'desire'.

¹ Text 'but to the preservation'. Cp. xiii. 3 and xxv. 1.

² Lit. 'and all the regions of the land shall pass before you and the figure of the world'. ³ Singular in the MS.

⁴ Lit. 'so that they may learn so as not to die in the last times, but may learn in order that they may live in the last times'.

- LXXVII. And I, Baruch, went away; and I came to the people, and
2 I called them together, high and low alike. And I said to them,
Listen, you sons of Israel: see how many there are of you who have
3 survived, out of the twelve tribes of Israel. For *it was* to you and to
4 your fathers *that* the Lord gave the law, and not to all peoples. And
because your brothers disobeyed the Most High's commandments
he brought retribution both on you and on them: he did not spare
the one, and he caused the others to be led away as captives and left
5,6 none of them behind. But you are here with me. If, then, you direct
your ways aright, you will not go as your brothers went; but they
7 will come to you. For he whom you worship is merciful, and he in
whom you hope is gracious; and he can be relied on to do good and
8,9 not evil. You have seen, have you not, what happened to Zion? Do
you think, perhaps, that it was the place that sinned, and that it
was because of this that it was overthrown? Or *again*, that the land
had committed some outrage, and that was why it was delivered
10 up? Are you not aware that it was because of you, who had sinned,
that *the city*, which had not sinned, was overthrown, and that it was
because of *you* evil-doers that *the land*, which had done no evil, was
11 delivered up *to its* enemies? And the whole people answered and
said to me, So far as we can recall the good things the Mighty One
has done for us, we do recall them; and what we do not remember,
12 he in his mercy knows. But do this for us, your people: write to our
brothers in Babylon a letter on a scroll, *a letter* of instruction and
encouragement, to reassure them also before you leave us.
- 13 For the shepherds of Israel have perished,
And the lamps that gave light have gone out,
And the fountains have held back their streams,
From which we used to drink.
- 14 And we are left in darkness,
Amid the trees of the forest, and in the thirst of the
wilderness.
- 15 And I answered and said to them,
Shepherds and lamps and fountains come from the law;
And though we depart, yet the law remains.
- 16 If, then, you respect the law and turn your hearts to wisdom,

A lamp will not be wanting and a shepherd¹ will not fail,
And no fountain will dry up.

- 17 But, as you asked me, I will write a letter to your brothers in
Babylon, and I will send it by the hands of men; and I will write
also a similar letter to the nine and a half tribes, and send it by
18 means of a bird. And on the twenty-first day of the eighth month, I,
Baruch, came and sat down under the oak² in the shade of its
19 branches, and no one was with me – I was alone. And I wrote two
letters: one I sent by an eagle to the nine and a half tribes; and the
other I sent to those that were in Babylon by the hands of three
20,21 men. And I called the eagle and said to it, The Most High created
22 you to be the king of³ all the birds. Go now: stop nowhere on your
journey: neither look for any roosting-place,⁴ nor settle on any tree,
till you have crossed the broad waters of the river Euphrates, and
come to the people that dwell there, and laid this letter at their feet.
23 Remember how, at the time of the flood, a dove brought Noah back
24 an olive,⁵ when he had sent it out from the ark. Ravens, too, waited
on Elijah, and brought him food, as they had been commanded.
25 Solomon also, when he was king, whenever he wanted to send a
message or find out anything, would give instructions to a bird,
26 and it obeyed his instructions. And now, never mind how tired you
are: do not stray from your course, either to right or left, but fly
straight there; and carry out the instructions of the Mighty One, as
I have explained them to you.

The Letter of Baruch, the son of Neriah, which he wrote to the
Nine and a Half Tribes.

LXXVIII. This is the letter¹ that Baruch, the son of Neriah, sent to
the nine and a half tribes, which were across the river Euphrates, in
which these things were written.

- 2 Baruch,² the son of Neriah, to his brothers in captivity, Mercy

¹ Text 'mind'.

² Cp. vi. 1.

³ Lit. 'to be higher than'.

⁴ Lit. 'neither enter a nest'.

⁵ Lit. 'the fruit of an olive'.

¹ Lit. 'These are the words of the letter'.

² Lit. 'Thus says Baruch'.

- 3 and peace to you. I can never forget, my brothers, the love of him
who created us, who loved us from the beginning and never hated
4 us, but rather subjected us to discipline. Nor can I forget that all we
of the twelve tribes are united by a common bond, inasmuch as we
5 are descended from a single father. Hence my concern to leave you
in this letter, before I die, some words of comfort amid the evils that
have come upon you, in the hope that you may also be moved to
share in your brothers' grief at the evil that has befallen them, and,
again, that you may accept as just the sentence the Most High
passed upon you, namely, that you should be carried off as captives
(even though what you have suffered is scarcely in proportion to
what you did), in order that in the last times you may be found
6 worthy of your fathers. For if you realize that what you now suffer
is for your good; so that you may not in the end be condemned and
tormented, then you will receive eternal hope – if, that is, you have
purged your minds of the vanities and errors that were the cause of
7 your being taken away. For if you do this, he will remember you
continually, he who always promised on our behalf to those who
were far superior to ourselves, that he will never forget us or forsake
us, but in the greatness of his mercy will gather together again
those who have been dispersed.

- LXXIX. Now, my brothers, hear first what happened to Zion, how
2 Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, made an attack on us. (For we
had sinned against him who created us and had not kept the
commandments he gave us, although he did not chasten us as we
3 deserved.) And so we feel far greater sympathy for you since what
happened to you happened also to us.¹

- LXXX. And now, my brothers, I tell you that when the enemy
had surrounded the city, the angels of the Most High were sent,
and it was they who threw down the fortifications of the strong wall
and destroyed the firm iron corners, which could not be dislodged.
2 But they hid all the vessels¹ of the sanctuary, so that they should not

¹ Both text and translation here are very uncertain.

¹ Text 'But they hid the vessels of the vessels'.

3 be polluted by the enemy.² And when they had done this, they
surrendered to the enemy the wall that had been thrown down, the
plundered house, the burnt temple, and the people who were
overcome because they had been surrendered, so that the enemy
could not boast and say, By our prowess in battle have we been
4 able to lay waste even the house of the Most High. Your brothers,
too, were put in chains and taken away to Babylon and made to
5 live there. But we have been left here; and there are very few of us.
6,7 This is the wretched situation I am writing to you about. For I
know full well what a consolation it was for you when Zion was
inhabited: the knowledge that it prospered was a major consol-
ation for the suffering you endured in being exiled from it.

1,2 LXXXI. But as to consolation, I should tell you this.¹ I was mourn-
ing for Zion, and I prayed the Most High for mercy, and I said,

3 Will things continue for us as they are to the end?²
And will these evils come upon us always?
4, ^{hear} And the Mighty One responded³ in the fullness of his mercy,
And he spoke to me by way of revelation,⁴
So that I might receive consolation;
And he showed me visions,
So that I should suffer no more anguish;
And he made known to me the mystery of the ages,
And the advent of the times he showed me.

LXXXII. And so, my brothers, I am writing to you, so that you may
2 find consolation in the midst of your many troubles. Do not doubt
that our creator will avenge us on all our enemies, in accordance
with what each one of them has done to us: above all, *have no doubt*
that the consummation which the Most High has appointed is very
near, and his mercy that is coming; and the consummation of his
judgement is not far off.

² Charles emended 'lest the enemy should get possession of them'.

¹ Lit. 'hear the word'.

² Or (according to other MSS) 'How long will these things continue for us'.

³ Lit. 'acted'.

⁴ Lit. 'And he revealed to me the word'.

3 For lo, we see now the Gentiles in great prosperity,
Though their deeds are impious;
But they shall be like a breath of wind *that dies away*.
4 And we behold the extent of their power,
Though what they do is wicked;
But they shall become like a drop *from a bucket*.
5 And we see the strength of their might,
Though they resist the Mighty One every hour;
But they shall be treated like spittle.
6 And we consider their glory and grandeur,
Though they do not observe the Most High's statutes,
But they shall disappear like smoke.
7 And we reflect on their beauty and their gracefulness,
Though they are soaked in pollutions;
But as grass that withers shall they fade away.
8 And we consider their brutality and cruelty,
Though they give no thought to *their end*;¹
But as a passing wave shall they be broken.
9 And we remark the boastings of their might,
Though they deny the beneficence of the God who gave *it*
them;
But as a passing cloud shall they pass away.

LXXXIII. For the Most High will assuredly speed up his
times,

And he will assuredly bring on his seasons.
2 And he will assuredly judge those who are in his world,
And will truly punish all men,¹
In accordance with their hidden² works.
3 And he will assuredly examine *their* secret thoughts,
And what is stored away in the innermost recesses of their
being,³
And he will expose and censure *them* openly.

¹ Or 'to the end of *it*'.

¹ Lit. 'all things'.

² Another reading is 'sinful'.

³ Lit. 'in the chambers which are in all the limbs of man'.

4 Do not, then, worry yourselves about these present things,⁴ but rather look to the future, because what has been promised to us will come. And let us not now fix our attention upon the delights the Gentiles enjoy in the present *age*, but let us remember what has been promised to us in the end. For set times and seasons,⁵ and all that goes with them,⁶ will assuredly pass away. And then the consummation of the age will reveal the great might of its ruler, when all things come to judgement. So prepare yourselves for *the coming of* what you have believed in in the past, so that you do not find yourselves the losers in both worlds, by having been carried off as captives here, and being tormented there. For in what is now, or in what has been, or in what is to come, in all these things, the evil is not entirely evil, nor, again, is the good entirely good.

- 10 For all the health that now is is turning into disease.
 11 And all the strength that now is is turning into weakness,
 And all the might that now is is turning into impotence.
 12 And all the energy of youth is turning into old age and dissolution,
 And all the beauty and gracefulness that now are are turning into decay and ugliness.
 13 And all the proud dominion that now is is turning into humiliation and shame.
 14 And all praise of the splendour that now is is turning into the shame of speechlessness,
 And all the luxury and pomp that now are are turning into silent ruin.
 15 And all the delight and joy that now are are turning to worms and corruption.
 16 And all acclaim of the pride that now is is turning into dust and stillness.
 17 And all heaping-up of riches that now is is turning only into Sheol.
 18 And all the spoils of passion that now are are turning into inexorable death,

⁴ Lit. 'Let none of these present things, therefore, go up into your hearts'.

⁵ Lit. 'For the limits of the times and of the seasons'.

⁶ Lit. 'and all that is in them'.

- And all passion of the lusts that now is is turning into a judgement of torment.
 19 And all artifice and craftiness that now are are turning into a proof of truth.
 20 And all sweet-smelling ointments that now are are turning into judgement and condemnation.
 21 And all love of falsehood is turning into well-earned degradation.
 22 Since, then, all these things are happening now, can anyone believe that vengeance is far off?⁷ The consummation of all things will result in truth.

LXXXIV. Behold, I have informed you about these things while I am still alive, and I am telling you *about them* so that you may understand what is worth pursuing;¹ for the Mighty One has commissioned me to instruct you, and I will, *therefore*, remind you of some of the precepts he has given us² before I die. Remember how Moses at one time summoned heaven and earth to witness against you and said, If you transgress the law you will be scattered, but if you keep it you will be firmly planted³ *in your land*. And other things, too, he told you when you, the twelve tribes, were together in the wilderness. But after his death you rejected them; and so there came upon you what had been predicted. Moses told you beforehand, so that it might not happen to you; and it happened to you,⁴ because you forsook the law. And now I also tell you, after you have suffered, that if you take note of what you have been told, you will receive from the Mighty One whatever has been appointed and reserved for you. Furthermore, may this letter stand as a witness *between us* (between you and me), so that you may remember the commandments of the Mighty One, and that I also may have a defence before him who sent me. Remember the

⁷ Lit. 'that they will not be avenged?'

¹ Lit. 'that you may learn the things that are excellent'.

² Lit. 'and I will set before you some of the commandments of his judgement'.

³ Another reading is 'you will be kept'.

⁴ Or 'Moses told you before it happened to you, and it happened to you'.

law and Zion, the holy land and your brothers, and the covenant of
 9 your fathers; and do not forget the festivals and the sabbaths. And
 hand on this letter and the traditions of the law to your sons after
 10 you, just as your fathers handed *them* on to you. Be always regular
 in your prayers, and pray diligently with all your heart that the
 Mighty One may restore you to his favour, and that he may not
 take account of your many sins, but remember the faithfulness of
 11 your fathers. For if he is not to judge us in the fullness of his mercy,
 woe to all of us poor mortals!⁵

LXXXV. Consider, too, that in days gone by and in the generations
 of old our fathers had to help them¹ righteous men and holy
 2 prophets. Moreover, we were in our own land; and they helped us
 when we sinned, and, relying on their merits,² interceded for us
 with our creator, and the Mighty One heard their prayer and
 3 forgave us. But now the righteous have been gathered *to their*
fathers, and the prophets have fallen asleep, and we also have been
 exiled from *our* land: Zion has been taken from us, and nothing is
 4 left us now save the Mighty One and his law. But if we direct and
 dispose our hearts *aright*, we shall retrieve everything that we have
 lost, and *gain* many more and much better things than we have lost.
 5 For what we have lost was subject to corruption, but what we shall
 6 receive is incorruptible. (And I am writing also to our brothers in
 Babylon in the same terms, to assure them about these things.)
 7 Keep everything you have been told constantly in mind, because
 so long as the breath is in our bodies we are still free to choose.³
 8 Once again, the Most High is patient with us here: he has shown us
 what is to be and has not hidden from us what is to happen in the
 9 end. Before, then, the judgement demands its own, and the truth
 what is its due, let us prepare ourselves to take possession, and not
 be taken possession of, to hope and not be put to shame, and to
 have rest with our fathers and not be in torment with our enemies.
 10 For the youth of the world is past, and the strength of the creation

⁵ Lit. 'all of us who have been born!'

¹ Lit. 'had helpers'.

² Lit. 'because they trusted in their works'.

³ Lit. 'because we are still in the spirit and the power of our liberty'.

already exhausted: the times have run their course and the end is
 very near: the pitcher is near the cistern, the ship to port, the
 11 traveller to the city, and life to *its* consummation. And yet again,
 prepare yourselves, so that when you have finished your journey
 and leave the ship, you may find rest and may not be condemned
 12 when you go away. For when the Most High brings all these things
 to pass, there will be there no further opportunity for repentance,
 no set times⁴ nor appointed seasons,⁵ no *possible* change in ways of
life,⁶ no place for prayer nor offering⁷ of petitions, no acquiring of
 knowledge nor giving of love, no place of repentance for the soul
 nor supplication for offences, no intercession by the fathers nor
 13 prayer by the prophets nor help from the righteous. But there will
 be there the sentence of destruction, the way of fire and the path
 14 that leads to Gehenna. That is why there is one law, *given* by one
 15 *man*, one world and an end for all who are in it. Then will *the Mighty*
One preserve those he can forgive, and at the same time destroy
 those who are polluted by *their* sins.

LXXXVI. So when you receive this letter that I have written, see
 2 that you read it in your congregations. And think about it, es-
 3 pecially on your fast-days. And may this letter serve as a means of
 your remembering me, as I also have remembered you in *writing* it,
 and always *do remember you*.

LXXXVII. And when I had finished this letter, and had written it
 carefully to the very end, I folded it, and sealed it as a safeguard,
 and tied it to the eagle's neck, and despatched it and sent it off.

Here ends the Book of Baruch, the son of Neriah

⁴ Lit. 'no limit to the times'.

⁵ Lit. 'no length for the seasons'.

⁶ The text is uncertain here owing to variations in the MSS.

⁷ Lit. 'sending'.

THE GREEK APOCALYPSE OF BARUCH

INTRODUCTION

There can be little doubt that this apocalypse is 'the book of Baruch the prophet' known in Origen's day and said by him to contain 'very clear' information about the seven worlds or heavens'.¹

The credit for its discovery in modern times belongs to Dom Cuthbert Butler, who found a Greek text of it in 1896 among a collection of apocryphal and ecclesiastical items in a late fifteenth century paper manuscript in the British Library (B.L. Addit. 10073). This Greek text was published by M. R. James in the following year. It mentions, however, only five heavens.

Ten years before Butler's discovery S. Novaković had published the text of a Slavonic version, preserved in a fifteenth century Serbian manuscript; and James printed an English translation of it, by W. R. Morfill, immediately after his own edition of the Greek. This Slavonic text would seem to be even less complete than the Greek, inasmuch as it mentions only two heavens.

Meanwhile, unknown to James, there had been published (in 1894) N. S. Tikhonravov's text of a second Slavonic version contained in a Moscow manuscript, also of the fifteenth century. Subsequently other MSS of both Slavonic versions have come to light, as well as another Greek manuscript. The complications arising from these discoveries, particularly so far as the Slavonic versions are concerned, both in their mutual relationship to one another and in their joint relationship to the Greek, have not been resolved; and it was for this reason that J.-C. Picard, in his edition of 1967, ignored the Slavonic versions altogether, except for several pages devoted to the statement and discussion of some of the problems in his Introduction. However, Picard did make full use of the other Greek MS (Andros, Monastery of the Hagia, 46; 15th

¹ Orig. *De princ.* II. iii. 6.

cent.), which he had discovered himself; but unfortunately it is so closely allied to the British Library MS that it is of little help in establishing a critical text.

It is possible that there was at one time a Latin version as well as a Slavonic, which was in circulation at least in the north-western area of Spain in the seventh century. But the evidence here is only indirect. There are no surviving Latin texts or fragments of text.²

About the date and origin of the Greek Apocalypse opinions differ. James took the view that it is 'a Christian Apocalypse of the second century'. There are some passages that could have been written only by a Christian. The author betrays knowledge, not only of the Pauline epistles, but also of certain of the apocryphal writings – notably of the Paraleipomena of Jeremiah, which (on Harris's dating) is assignable to AD 136. Yet the Greek Apocalypse was known to Origen. It must accordingly be dated *c.* AD 140–200.

In opposition to James, L. Ginzberg was of the opinion that the book was almost wholly Jewish. 'Only one passage', he maintained, 'can with certainty be considered a Christian interpolation; and that is the one concerning the vine . . . in ch. iv'. The author, moreover, betrays signs of both Indian and Gnostic influence. He was, therefore, a Jewish Gnostic, who wrote 'about the beginning of the second century, when gnosis was at its height among both Jews and Christians'.³

H. M. Hughes, in the Introduction to his translation in R. H. Charles's *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*, trod a middle road between these two extremes. For Hughes the framework of the apocalypse was characteristically Jewish, and a number of features mark it out as a work of Jewish origin. But 'the hand of a Christian redactor can be traced in certain interpolations'. These interpolations are not confined to the passage about the vine in chap. iv: they are, in fact, 'most evident in the concluding chapters'. The original (Jewish) apocalypse, according to Hughes, is to be dated somewhere near the beginning of the second century, and the Christian redactor 'soon after AD 136'. The book in its present form is thus

² See M. R. James in *JTS* xvi (1915), p. 413.

³ L. Ginzberg in *JE* ii (1902), p. 551.

roughly contemporary with Jeremiah's Paraleipomena (on Harris's dating), a product of the same circumstances, and inspired by the same motives – i.e. 'the conversion of Jews and Ebionites'.

Any ultimately acceptable solution to this question will thus obviously depend on what answers are given to the two subsidiary, but related, questions: (1) How compelling in themselves are the alleged Christian elements, and how integral are they to the work as a whole?; and (2) How significant are the parallels with the other Baruch literature, and how are these parallels best explained?

The passage concerning the vine in chap. iv is universally admitted to be Christian, though, if we are thinking of it as a Christian interpolation, opinions may differ about the actual extent of the interpolation (iv. 15 is in fact the only verse in the passage that is incontrovertably Christian). At xiii. 4 the mention of the renegades 'in the church' (*ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ*) and of 'their spiritual fathers' sounds Christian enough: on the other hand at xvi. 4 the reference to those who 'despised my commandments and my assemblies (*τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν μου*), and insulted the priests who proclaimed my words to them', though it may be Christian, is more naturally taken as Jewish; and our judgement in either case is likely to depend on whether we translate *ἐκκλησία* as 'church' or 'assembly'. Similarly, the catalogues of vices at iv. 17, viii. 5 and xiii. 4, may be echoes of such New Testament passages as Matt. xv. 19 || Mark vii. 21–22 and Gal. v. 19–21; or they may equally well be explained as no more than part of the stock-in-trade of any ancient writer who was concerned with morals, whether pagan, Jewish, or Christian.⁴ Evidence of this kind is unfortunately indecisive.

Of far more significance is the occurrence of the rather curious word translated 'smite' at xvi. 3 (*διχοτομήσατε*: lit. 'cut in two'). This word also occurs in an almost identical context at Matt. xxiv. 51 || Luke xii. 46, where it is usually remarked on by the commentators and not infrequently explained as a misunderstanding of an Aramaic original on the part of the Greek translator of one of

⁴ Cp. e.g. Diog. Laert. vii. 110–114 (Zeno); Dead Sea *Man. Disc.* iv. 9–11; Wisd. xiv. 25–26; Philo, *De post. Cain.* xv; *Ep. Barn.* xx. 1–2.

the Gospel sources. What makes the use of the word at Gk. Apoc. xvi. 3 even more significant is the fact that it is found only three verses after a very clear reminiscence of Matt. xxv. 21 (one of the three passages bracketed by Hughes as indubitably Christian interpolations). Add to this two phrases found elsewhere ('no living creature would be preserved', viii. 7; and 'God . . . shortened its days', ix. 7), compare them with 'And except the Lord had shortened the days, no flesh would have been preserved; but for the sake of the elect . . . he shortened the days' (Mark xiii. 20 || Matt. xxiv. 22); and it is difficult to escape the conclusion that we are dealing in the Greek Apocalypse with an author who is writing with the Lord's Discourse concerning the End in mind, and, moreover, with someone who knew it in its Markan form as well as its Matthaean.⁵ And we might take the point even further by arguing that the whole idea of the three classes of angels, some of whom offer Michael baskets full of flowers, others baskets only partially full, and yet others nothing at all (the idea worked out in detail in chaps. xii–xvi) was inspired from the same Gospel source – i.e. by the scene at the end of the Parable of the Talents, where one servant offers his master five talents gained by trading, another two, but a third nothing (Matt. xxv. 14–30).

All this means that we cannot account satisfactorily for such a complicated situation either by suggesting that it is accidental or just by positing 'Christian interpolation' and leaving it at that. The final redactor, or editor, or author, whoever he may have been, was undoubtedly a Christian. Whatever Jewish material he may have used he certainly re-phrased and very thoroughly recast. He was not a mere interpolator.

The parallels with the other Baruch literature can be dealt with more briefly, since there are no verbal parallels other than those which arise naturally out of the narrative setting. In verse 2 of the Prologue Baruch is introduced, located beside a river, 'weeping over the captivity of Jerusalem': this corresponds generally to the contents of Syr. Apoc. v. 5–6 and vi. 2, and Par. Jer. iv. 6–10. The statement in the next verse that 'he was sitting at the beautiful

⁵ To appreciate the full force of this argument the relevant texts should be compared in Greek in each instance.

gates, where the Holy of Holies lay', can be compared with Syr. Apoc. x. 5 and xxxiv. 1–xxxv. 1.⁶ The particularly noteworthy feature in this verse is the reference to Abimelech and his being 'preserved by the hand of God at Agrippa's farm', which plainly refers to the contents of Par. Jer. iii. 9–10, 15, v. 1–vi. 1, even if not to the text.⁷ And then immediately, at the beginning of chap. i, the statement that Baruch was weeping over Jerusalem's captivity is repeated (though this time in the first person), with the additional information that this was made the occasion for an angelic visitation: we may compare again Syr. Apoc. vi. 2 and Par. Jer. iv. 6–10 with the addition of Syr. Apoc. vi. 3–4 and Par. Jer. iv. 11.

It is thus evident that the Greek apocalypse belongs squarely within what may be called 'the Baruch tradition', so far as its narrative setting is concerned. But there are few, if any, contacts outside this setting. If we are prepared to take the text of the opening verses as they stand, we can argue equally well either that the author knew both the Syriac Apocalypse and the Paraleipomena much as we know them to-day, or, alternatively, that he had access to much the same sources and traditional material that their authors had. If, however, we are doubtful about whether the Prologue is an original part of the book (on the ground that it refers to Baruch in the third person, whereas the rest of the book purports to have been written by Baruch himself in the first person), the case for direct knowledge of the Syriac Apocalypse and the Paraleipomena on the part of our author is very much weaker, inasmuch as the most telling contacts are to be found in the Prologue only. But in either case it is tempting to see the Greek Apocalypse as a later apocalypticist's amplification of the situation described so neatly at Par. Jer. iv. 11 ('And he [i.e. Baruch] remained, sitting on a tomb, while the angels came and told him in detail about everything'). In no case are there grounds for positing dependence in the reverse direction. The Greek Apocalypse may be later than the other two works, or it may be contemporary with them: it is unlikely to be earlier.

⁶ At Par. Jer. iv. 11 (cp. vi. 1 and vii. 1) Baruch sits on a tomb.

⁷ Agrippa's property is described as a *χωμίον* ('farm'–lit. 'place', 'estate') at Gk. Apoc. prol. 2 and Par. Jer. iii. 15, v. 25, but as an *ἀμπελῶν* ('vineyard') at Par. Jer. iii. 10.

There remains the question of the identity of our present book with 'the Book of Baruch, the prophet' known in Origen's day. Origen says that his book gave information about seven heavens (the usual number when a plurality of heavens is mentioned), whereas our book treats of only five. Is our surviving text an abbreviated recension of the original? Was Origen suffering from a lapse of memory when he specified seven heavens? If he was not familiar with the contents of the book himself, had he been misinformed about the details? Or was he referring to a different book altogether?

Since the translation which follows has been based on that of Hughes, it has been thought best to retain the square brackets which Hughes inserted to identify what he thought were the more noteworthy Christian interpolations.

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Prologue

A narrative and revelation of Baruch concerning those ineffable things which he saw by command of God. May the Lord add his blessing.¹

2 A revelation of Baruch, who was beside the river Gel² weeping
over the captivity of Jerusalem, when also Abimelech was pre-
3 served by the hand of God at Agrippa's farm. And he was sitting at
the beautiful gates, where the Holy of Holies lay.

I. I, Baruch, was weeping in my mind and **sorrowing**¹ on account
of the people, and because Nebuchadnezzar the king had been
2 permitted by God to destroy his city, saying, Lord, why didst thou
set on fire thy vineyard and lay it waste? Why didst thou do this?
And why, Lord, didst thou not punish us in some other way, but
didst deliver us to nations such as these, so that they reproach us
3 and say, Where is their God? And behold, as I was weeping and
saying such things, I saw an angel of the Lord coming and saying
to me, Listen Baruch,² for you are a man much beloved: do not be so
distressed about the condition of Jerusalem – so says the Lord, the
4 Almighty. For he has sent me to you to make known and to show
5 you all the things of God. For your prayer has been heard by him
6 and has reached the ears of the Lord God. And when he had said
this to me, I was silent. And the angel said to me, Argue with God
no more, and I will show you other mysteries, greater than these.
7 And I, Baruch, said, As the Lord God lives, if you will show me and
I hear from you, I will say nothing more: may God hold it against
8 me³ in the day of judgement if I do say more! And the angel of the
powers said to me, Come and I will show you the mysteries of God.

II. And he took me and brought me where the vault of heaven was
set, and where there was a river that no man can cross, nor any

¹ Lit. 'Bless thou, O Lord'.

² James suggested 'Kidron', an original *KEA[PSΩN]* having been corrupted into *ΓΕΑ*: cp. Syr. Apoc. v. 5, xxi. 1, xxxi. 2.

³ Reading *πενθῶν* for *ἔχων*.

² Lit. 'Understand, O man'.

³ Lit. 'God shall add judgement to me'.

2 alien creature¹ from any of those that God created. And he took me
and brought me to the first heaven and showed me a door of great
size; and he said to me, Let us go in through it. And we went in as if
we were being carried along on wings, about a thirty days' journey.
3 And he showed me a plain inside the heaven; and there were men
living on it with the faces of oxen, and the horns of stags, and the
4 feet of goats, and the hind-quarters of lambs. And I, Baruch, asked
the angel, Tell me, pray, what is the extent of the heaven in which
we journeyed, what are its dimensions, and what is the plain, so
5 that I also may tell my fellow men? And the angel, whose name was
Phamiel,² said to me, This door that you see is *the door* of the
heaven, and the extent of *the heaven* is as great as the distance from
earth to the heaven; and again, the length of the plain you saw is as
6 great as *the distance* (from north to south). And again the angel of the
powers said to me, Come and I will show you greater mysteries.
7 But I said, I pray you show me what these men are. And he said to
me, These are *the men* who built the tower of strife against God, and
the Lord banished them.

III. And the angel of the Lord took me and brought me to a second
heaven and showed me there also a door like the first and said, Let
2 us go in through it. And we went in, carried on wings, about a sixty
3 days' journey. And he showed me a plain there too, and it was full
4 of men; and they looked like dogs, and *their feet like stags' feet*. And
5 I asked the angel, *My lord*, I pray you tell me who these are? And
he said, These are *the men* who planned the building of the tower;
for *the men* you see deported multitudes of both men and women to
make bricks (and no woman who was making bricks was allowed
to stop, even when about to give birth to a child, but had to
produce her child while she was still making the bricks, and
6 support her child in *her* apron, and go on making the bricks). And
when they had built the tower to a *height* of four hundred and
sixty-three cubits the Lord appeared to them and confused their

¹ Or 'breeze'.

² A corruption, either of 'Phaniel', which is supported by the Slavonic here (cp. 1 Enoch xl. 9, liv. 6, lxxi. 8, 9, 13), or of 'Remiel' (cp. Syr. Apoc. iv. 3: also 1 Enoch xx. 8 and 2 Esdras iv. 36).

7 speech. And they took a drill and tried to bore through the heaven,
 8 saying, Let us see *whether* the heaven is made of clay, or of brass, or
 of iron. When God saw this he would not allow them to, but struck
 them with blindness and confusion of speech, and made them as
 you see.

IV. And I, Baruch, said, Behold, *my* lord, you have shown me *some*
 great and wonderful things; and now show me all things for the
 2 Lord's sake. And the angel said to me, Come let us go through *it*.¹
 (And I went) with the angel from there about a hundred and
 3 eighty-five days' journey. And he showed me a plain and a serpent,
 which appeared to be two hundred plethra in length.² And he showed
 4 me Hades; and it looked dark and god-forsaken. And I said, Who is
 5 this dragon, and who is the cruel *creature* round him? And the angel
 said, The dragon is the one who eats the bodies of those who live
 6 wicked lives, and he depends on them for sustenance. And this is
 Hades, which itself is very like him, in that it drinks about a cubit
 out of the sea, and *yet the level of the sea* does not go down at all as a
 7 result. Baruch said, And how *is this*? And the angel said, Listen, the
 Lord God made three hundred and sixty rivers, of which the most
 important are Alphias, Abyrus, and the Gericus; and it is because
 8 of these *that the level of the sea* does not go down. And I said, Show
 me, I pray you, which tree it was that led Adam astray. And the
 angel said to me, It was the vine, which the angel *Sammael*³
 planted, and the Lord God was angry about it and cursed him and
 his plant; and for this reason he forbade Adam to touch it, and that
 was why the devil was roused to envy and deceived him through
 9 his vine. [And I, Baruch, said, Since then the vine has been the
 cause of so much evil, and is under the judgement of the curse of
 God, and *brought about* the destruction of the first created man, how
 10 is it that it is now so useful? And the angel said, A good question.
 When God brought the flood upon the earth, and destroyed all
 mankind⁴ and four hundred and nine thousand giants, and the

¹ It would seem that the entry to the third heaven is to be located here, but that the descriptive details have somehow fallen out of the text. Cp. n¹ to chap. x.

² Reading *ὡς ὄρασεως πλέθρα σ'* for *ὡς ὄρασεως πέθρας* (i.e. nearly four miles).

³ Text 'Samuel': cp. ix. 7.

⁴ Lit. 'flesh'.

water rose fifteen cubits above the highest *mountains*, then the water
 entered Paradise and destroyed every flower *there*; but it dislodged
 the vine⁵ from its place inside Paradise altogether and thrust it out.
 11 And when the earth appeared out of the water, and Noah came out
 12 of the ark, he began to plant some of the plants he found. And he
 found a shoot of the vine⁶ and picked it up and asked himself, What
 13 is it? And I came and told him about it. And he said, Shall I plant
 it, or what *shall I do*? If Adam was destroyed because of it, I have no
 desire to incur God's anger through it. And so saying he prayed
 14 that God would reveal to him what to do about it. He prayed
 earnestly and wept for forty days; and when he had finished his
 prayer he said, Lord, I entreat thee to reveal to me what to do
 15 about this plant. And God sent his angel Sarasael and said to him,
 Up, Noah, and plant the shoot, for these are the Lord's words,

Its bitterness shall be changed into sweetness,

And its curse shall become a blessing,

And what is produced from it shall become the blood of God.

And as it was through it that the human race was condemned, *so*
 again through Jesus Christ, the Immanuel, will they be restored in
 16 him and gain entry into Paradise.] But you must realize, Baruch,
 that just as it was through this very tree that Adam was con-
 demned and divested of the glory of God, so men who now *drink*⁷
 the wine that comes from it without moderation are worse trans-
 17 gressors than Adam, and are far from the glory of God and on the
 road to eternal fire. For (no) good comes out of it. Those who drink
 to excess are led astray in all sorts of ways:⁸ brother has no pity for
 brother, nor father for son, nor children for parents: from *drinking*⁹
 wine come all *evils* – murders, adulteries, fornications, perjuries,
 thefts, and such like; and nothing good is achieved by it.

V. And I, Baruch, said to the angel, Let me ask you one thing, *my*
 2 lord. You told me that the dragon drinks a cubit out of the sea: tell

⁵ Lit. 'the shoot of the vine'.

⁶ Lit. 'the shoot'.

⁷ Reading *πινοντες* for *δρῶντες*.

⁸ Lit. '... excess do these things'.

⁹ Reading *πόσεως* for *πιόσεως*.

3 me also how big is his belly? And the angel said, His belly is Hades; and it extends about as far as three hundred men can throw a plummet.¹ But come, so that I may show you even greater wonders² than these.

VI. And he took me and brought me to where the sun starts out *on its daily journey*. And he showed me a chariot and four, under which burned a fire; and in the chariot a man was sitting, wearing a crown of fire, and the chariot *was* drawn by forty angels. And behold, a bird *was* circling before the sun, about nine . . . away.¹

3 And I said to the angel, What is this bird? And he said to me, This is the guardian of the world. And I said, *My* lord, how is it the guardian of the world? Explain to me. And the angel said to me, This bird flies beside the sun, and, as it stretches out its wings, it catches *the sun's* fiery rays. If it did not catch them, the human race would not be preserved, nor any other living creature. God appointed this bird *to do this*. And *the bird* stretched out its wings, and I saw on its right wing some very large letters indeed, *as large* as the area of a threshing-floor – about four thousand modii; and the letters were of gold. And the angel said to me, Read them. And I read *them*, and they said this, Neither earth nor heaven brought me to the birth, but wings of fire brought me to the birth. And I said, What is this bird, *my* lord, and what is its name? And the angel said to me, Its name is Phoenix. And (I said), What does it eat? And he said to me, The manna of heaven and the dew of the earth. And I said, Does the bird excrete? And he said to me, It excretes a worm, and the excrement of the worm is cinnamon, which kings and princes use. But wait and you shall see the glory of God. And while he was talking with me there came a thunder-clap, and the place was shaken where we were standing. And I asked the angel, What is this noise, *my* lord? And the angel said to me, The angels are now opening the three hundred and sixty-five gates of heaven, and the light is being separated from the darkness. And a voice came,

¹ Lit. 'and as far as a plummet is thrown (by) three hundred men, so big is his belly'. ² Lit. 'works'.

¹ The text reads *ὡς ὄρει ἐννέα*, for which no satisfactory emendation has yet been proposed.

15 which said, Lightgiver, give brightness to the world. And when I
16 heard the bird's cry I said, What is this cry, *my* lord? And he said, This is *the bird* that wakes up the cocks on earth. For just as **others do through their mouths**,² so too does the cock proclaim his message to those who are in the world in his own way. For the sun is made ready by the angels, and the cock crows.

VII. And I said, And where does the sun begin its labours after the
2 cock crows? And the angel said to me, Listen, Baruch. All the things I showed you are in the first and second heaven; and in the third heaven the sun passes through and gives brightness to the
3 world. But wait and you shall see the glory of God. And while I was talking with him, I saw the bird, and it appeared in front, and it
4 grew smaller and smaller, and *then* returned to its full size. And behind *the bird*¹ I saw the shining sun, and the angels with it drawing *it*, and a crown on its head – a sight too brilliant for our
5 eyes to look upon. And as soon as the sun shone the phoenix stretched out its wings. And when I beheld such great glory I was reduced to abject terror, and I backed away and hid in the wings of
6 the angel. And the angel said to me, Do not be afraid Baruch: only wait and you shall see their setting also.

VIII. And he took me and brought me to the west. And when the time of the setting came, I again saw the bird coming in front, and the sun coming with the angels; and as soon as it came I saw the
2 angels, and they took the crown off its head. But the bird stood
3 exhausted and with its wings folded. And when I saw this I said, Why did they take the crown off the sun's head, *my* lord, and why is
4 the bird so exhausted? And the angel said to me, The sun's crown, when it has been through the day, four angels take it and carry it up to heaven and renew it, because its rays have been defiled on earth;
5 and so it is renewed in this way each day. And I, Baruch, said, And why, *my* lord, are its rays defiled on earth? And the angel said to me, Because it beholds the lawlessness and unrighteousness of men – *their* fornications, adulteries, thefts, extortions, idolatries,

² Reading *τὰ διὰ στόματος* for *τὰ δίστομα*.

¹ Lit. 'this'.

carousals, murders, quarrels, jealousies, slanders, wranglings, gossipings, divinations, and so forth, which are not pleasing to God: that is why it is defiled, and that is why it is renewed. And you asked about the bird, how it gets exhausted. It keeps the sun's rays under control through the fire and burning heat of the entire day, and it gets exhausted by it. For, as we said before, unless its wings acted as a screen to the sun's rays, no living creature would be preserved.

IX. And when they had gone away, the night fell, and with it came the chariot¹ of the moon, together with the stars. And I, Baruch, said, My lord, show me this also, I beg you, how it goes out, where it goes from, and in what form it moves along. And the angel said, Wait, and you shall see this also shortly. And on the next day I saw it in the form of a woman, sitting in a wheeled chariot. And in front of it were oxen, and there were lambs in the chariot, and a multitude of angels likewise. And I said, What are the oxen and the lambs, my lord? And he said to me, They also are angels. And again I asked, Why is it that at one time it waxes, but at another wanes? (And he said to me,) Listen, Baruch, What you are looking at now was intended by God to be the most beautiful of all the things he made.² And when the first Adam sinned, it was near Sammael when he took the serpent as a garment. And it did not hide itself away; and God was angry with it and punished it, and shortened its days. And I said, And how is it that it does not shine always, but only in the night? And the angel said, Listen: as courtiers cannot speak freely in the presence of a king, so the moon and the stars cannot shine in the presence of the sun; for the stars are always suspended in their places, but they are overpowered³ by the light of the sun, and the moon, although it is not injured, is worn out by the sun's heat.

X. And when I had learned all these things from the archangel, he

¹ Reading τὸ ἄρμα for μετὰ καί.

² Lit. 'this (fem.) which you are looking at was written by God beautiful as no other (fem.)'.

³ Lit. 'dispersed'.

2 took me and brought me into a fourth¹ heaven. And I saw a level plain, and in the middle of it a pool of water. And there were in it many flocks of birds of all kinds, but not like those here on earth; for the crane I saw was as big as great oxen, and all the birds were much bigger than those in the world. And I asked the angel, What is the plain, and what is the pool, and what are the many flocks of birds round it? And the angel said, Listen, Baruch: the plain that has the pool in it and other wonders is the place where the souls of the righteous come whenever they meet together in groups to talk to one another. But the water is what the clouds receive and rain upon the earth and cause its fruits to grow.² And I said to the angel of the Lord again, And the birds? And he said to me, They are those which sing the Lord's praises continually. And I, Baruch, said, My lord, how is it that men say that the water which descends as rain is from the sea? And the angel said, What descends as rain is from the sea, and also from the waters on earth; but what makes the fruits grow is from the latter source. You must understand that this is where what is called the dew of heaven comes from.

XI. And the angel took me and brought me from there to a fifth heaven. And the gate was shut. And I said, My lord, cannot this gateway be opened¹ for us to go in? And the angel said to me, We cannot go in until Michael comes, who holds the keys of the kingdom of heaven: only wait and you shall see the glory of God. And there was a great noise, like thunder. And I said, What is this noise, my lord? And he said to me, Prince Michael is now coming down to receive the prayers of men. And behold, a voice came, saying, Let the gates be opened! And they were opened;² and there was a roar, as of thunder. And Michael came, and the angel who

¹ The text reads 'third'. But Baruch is conducted into 'a fifth heaven' at xi. 1; hence we must presume that the events recorded in chaps. iv-ix happened in the third heaven, despite the absence of any explicit indication to that effect at iv. 1-2. Cp., however, vii. 2: also n. 1 to chap. iv.

² Lit. 'and the fruits grow'.

¹ Lit. 'is not this gateway opened'.

² Lit. 'And they (impersonal) opened them'.

was with me met him and made obeisance to him and said,
 7 Greetings, my prince, and *prince* of all our order. And Prince
 Michael said, Greetings to you also, our brother and the inter-
 8 preter of the revelations to those who live good lives. And after
 saluting one another in this way, they stood still. And I saw that
 Prince Michael had in his hands an enormous bowl: it was as deep
 as *the distance* from heaven to earth, and as wide as *the distance* from
 9 north to south. And I said, *My lord*, what is it Prince Michael is
 holding? And he said to me, This is where the merits of the
 righteous enter, and such good works as they do, which are carried
 in it into the presence of the God of heaven.

XII. And as I was talking with them, behold, angels came with
 2 baskets full of flowers; and they gave them to Michael. And I asked
 the angel, Who are these, *my lord*, and what are they bringing with
 3 them? And he said to me, These are the angels *who are* over the
 4 righteous.¹ And the archangel took the baskets and emptied them
 5 into the bowl. And the angel said to me, These flowers are the
 6 merits of the righteous. And I saw other angels carrying baskets
 that were (neither) empty nor full.² And they began to lament and
 would not come near because what they had to offer was imperfect.³
 7 And Michael cried out and said, Come here, you angels, and bring
 8 *me* what you have brought as well. And Michael was very sad (as
 was also the angel who was with me) because they did not fill the
 bowl.

XIII. And there came in the same way other angels weeping and
 wailing, and saying in fear, See, lord, how worn out we are,¹ for we
 2 were allotted to evil men, and we want to get away from them. And
 Michael said, You cannot get away from them, or the Enemy will
 3 win the victory in the end; but tell me what you are asking for. And
 they said, We beg you, Michael, our prince, transfer us away from
 them, for we cannot remain attached to wicked and foolish men,

¹ Reading *δικαίων* for *ἔξουσιών*.

² Reading *οὔτε κενὰ οὔτε γέμοντα* for *κενὰ οὐ γέμοντα*.

³ Lit. 'because they had not the prizes complete'.

¹ Lit. 'how blackened we are'.

for there is nothing good in them, but *only* every kind of un-
 4 righteousness and greed. For we have never seen them devoting
 themselves [in *the church* either to *their* spiritual fathers or] to any
 one good thing,² but where there is murder, there are they in the
 middle of it, and where there are fornications, adulteries, thefts,
 slanders, perjuries, envyings, carousals, quarrels, jealousies,
 wranglings, idolatry, divination, and so forth, there are they doing
 5 things like this, and others worse. So we beg you to let us be quit of
 them. And Michael said to the angels, Wait till I have been told by
 the Lord what is to happen.

XIV. And Michael departed immediately, and the doors were
 2 shut; and there was a noise like thunder. And I asked the angel,
 What is the noise? And he said to me, Michael is now presenting
 the merits of men to God.

XV. And then Michael came down *again*, and the gate was
 2 opened; and he was carrying oil. And *he went to* the angels with the
 baskets *that had been* full; and he filled them with oil, saying, Take *it*
 away, reward our friends a hundred times over – those who have
 3 toiled in patience and done good things; for those who have sowed
 generously shall also reap generously. And he said also to those
 who had brought the baskets that were not full, Come here as well:
 take the reward that is due for what you brought, and distribute *it*
 4 among the race of men. [Then he said both to those who had
 brought the full *baskets* and to those *who had brought the baskets that*
were not full, Go and bless our friends and say to them, So the Lord
 says, You have been¹ faithful in a few things,³ he will put you in
 control of many things: come and share the joy of your Lord.]

XVI. And he turned round and said to those who had brought
 nothing, The Lord says *to you*, Do not be gloomy and weep; and do

² Lit. 'For we did not see them enter in church ever either into spiritual fathers or into one good thing'. The syntax here is very difficult and it may well be that the original text has been tampered with.

¹ Lit. 'You are'.

² Reading *ἐπὶ ὄλγῳ* for *ἐπὶ ὀλίγῳ*.

2 not leave the race of men alone. But inasmuch as they angered me
 by what they did, go and make them jealous and angry and
 embittered against a *people that is* no people, against a people that
 3 has no understanding. And more—afflict them with caterpillar and
 maggot, and rust and locust, (and) hail with flashes of lightening
 and wrath, and smite them¹ with sword and with death, and their
 4 children with demons. For they did not heed my voice, neither did
 they observe my commandments nor do *them*; but they despised my
 commandments and my assemblies,² and insulted the priests who
 proclaimed my words to them.

1,2 **XVII.** And as he spoke the door was shut, and we withdrew. And
 the angel took me and restored me to *where I was* at the beginning.
 3 And when I came to myself I ascribed glory to God, who had
 4 accounted me worthy of so great an honour. And do you, *my*
 brothers, who have been granted such a revelation, ascribe glory to
 God also yourselves, so that he too may glorify you now and
 always, even to all eternity. Amen.

¹ Lit. 'cut them in two'. See Introduction (pp. 899–900 above).

² Or 'and my churches' (Gk. *καὶ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν μου*).

THE APOCALYPSE OF ZEPHANIAH AND AN ANONYMOUS APOCALYPSE

INTRODUCTION

The details of the discovery of the Coptic MSS containing the text of these apocalypses, the problems involved in the arrangement of the individual leaves in some sort of intelligible order, and the opinions of the editors and other scholars who have worked on them, have already been treated in the Introduction to *The Apocalypse of Elijah*.¹

According to Steindorff three distinct works are preserved in these leaves, in varying degrees of completeness: (1) an apocalypse of Zephaniah, of which only a very small portion has been preserved on one side of one of the Sahidic leaves,² and to the text of which there is no parallel in the Akhmimic; (2) an apocalypse of Elijah, contained on the last thirteen Akhmimic leaves in the order in which Steindorff arranged them, and also on the remaining six Sahidic leaves, which offer (with gaps) a parallel text to a considerable portion of the Akhmimic text; and (3) an 'Anonymous' apocalypse contained in the first nine of the Akhmimic leaves.

Nearly all subsequent authorities have followed Steindorff to the extent of distinguishing the first two apocalypses — the passage on the single Sahidic leaf where Zephaniah speaks in the first person ('Truly I, Zephaniah, saw') has been generally regarded as conclusive evidence that on this leaf, at least, we have before us part of the text of a Zephaniah apocalypse, while the colophon at what appears to be the end of the Akhmimic codex ('The Apocalypse of Elijah') was usually taken to be sufficient proof that what immediately precedes it was the text of an Elijah apocalypse, even before the publication of the much fuller Sahidic text of this apocalypse contained in P. Chester Beatty 2018 left no doubt at all about its separate identity.

¹ See above, pp. 753–5.

² The text on the other side of this leaf is illegible.

But beyond this there has been less unanimity. The first nine leaves of the Akhmimic codex (according to Steindorff's arrangement) are so markedly different in subject-matter from the last thirteen (i.e. the Elijah apocalypse) that they must belong to a different work. The question is, Is that 'different work' yet a third, independent, apocalypse (for about its being an apocalypse there can be no doubt at all), or is it part (indeed, the major part) of the Zephaniah apocalypse?

As we have seen, Steindorff preferred the former alternative; and he called his third apocalypse 'The Anonymous Apocalypse', because in the portion of its text that has been preserved the seer is not named. But this further distinction of Steindorff's has been challenged from more than one angle. It has been pointed out that the fact that there is no Akhmimic parallel to the single Sahidic 'Zephaniah' leaf, whereas there are Akhmimic parallels to the remaining six Sahidic leaves, is almost certainly accidental: the majority of the surviving Akhmimic leaves have no Sahidic parallels; and there is no reason to suppose that the coverage is likely to be complete on one side rather than the other. In any case, the Akhmimic text of the presumed 'Anonymous' is itself far from complete: we do not know, for instance, how much is missing at the beginning; and the Sahidic 'Zephaniah' fragment may well belong there, or in the gap in the middle, or, even, at the end. Moreover, there are some very evident contacts in subject-matter between the 'Zephaniah' leaf and the 'Anonymous': both are concerned with the torments of Hell; and there are several coincidences of language, the most obvious being concentrated in Apoc. Zeph. 6-7 and 'Anon.' Apoc. i. 11-12. All this tells in favour of their not being two independent works, but one and the same.

A further complication was introduced into the debate by the publication in 1940 by L. Th. Lefort³ of a very small, and for the most part illegible, fragment, which may have some bearing on the problem. As reconstructed by Lefort, the text of the fragment ends with the words '(Truly I Ze)phaniah saw (these things)', followed by the colophon '(The Apocalypse of Ze)phan(iah)'. If we

³ L. Th. Lefort, *Les manuscrits coptes de l'Université de Louvain, i* (= *Textes Littéraires*; Louvain, 1940), pp. 79-80.

are to trust Lefort's reconstruction, and if there is any relationship at all between the new fragment and the previously known 'Zephaniah' leaf, it would seem that the first lines on the 'Zephaniah' leaf, as far as 'Truly I, Zephaniah, saw and took note of these things', are the conclusion of the Zephaniah apocalypse, and that what follows (from 'And the angel of the Lord . . .') belongs to something else - unless, of course, 'Truly I, Zephaniah, saw these things' was a kind of refrain, occurring regularly throughout the apocalypse at the end of each section, and then, finally, at the very end. However, in view of the fact that on Lefort's fragment only very few complete words are legible, it would be unwise to pursue the possibilities here.

For these reasons it has been thought best to treat the whole of the 'Zephaniah'-'Anonymous' material together and print the translations of the Sahidic and Akhmimic texts one after the other. Those who follow Steindorff can then read them, as he did, as fragments of two separate works. Those who do not can either read them as fragments of the same work (i.e. as all belonging to the Apocalypse of Zephaniah), or alternatively indulge in whatever re-ordering of the individual leaves and identification of their contents they please.

A Zephaniah apocalypse was certainly known in the early Church, since one is mentioned in the List of Sixty Books; and this apocalypse is in all probability the same work as 'The Book of the Prophet Zephaniah' mentioned by pseudo-Athanasius and the Stichometry of Nicephorus. An indication of contents may perhaps be found in a solitary quotation in Clement of Alexandria. The passage in Clement runs as follows:

'Are not these statements like those of Zephaniah the prophet? "And the spirit took me, and brought me up to the fifth heaven, and I beheld angels called lords; and their diadem had been set upon them by the Holy Spirit; and each of them had a throne seven times brighter than the light of the rising sun; and they dwelt in temples of salvation, and they hymned the ineffable Most High God."'⁴

But Clement's quotation has no parallel, either in the Sahidic

⁴ Clem.-Alex. *Strom.* V. xi. 77.

'Zephaniah' fragment or in what remains of Steindorff's 'Anonymous'; nor is there any obvious gap anywhere into which it might suitably be fitted.

The Sahidic 'Zephaniah' fragment affords no clue as to the origin of its text: that text might be Jewish in origin: it might be Christian; and it might equally well be a re-working by a Christian of an originally Jewish source. On the other hand, most agree that the 'Anonymous' was in origin Jewish, but that the Jewish original has been reworked by a Christian, though far less drastically than the associated Apocalypse of Elijah: there are in the 'Anonymous' no unequivocally Christian passages or phrases, but there are several apparent reminiscences of the New Testament.⁵

As in the Apocalypse of Elijah, the translation is based on the texts as edited by Steindorff and his page numeration has been inserted in brackets where applicable, in order to facilitate reference.⁶ 'Sa' = 'Sahidic' and 'A' = 'Akhmimic'.

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⁵ e.g., with i. 3 cp. Matt. xxiv. 40–41 || Luke xvii. 34–35; with ii. 10–12 cp. Rev. i. 13, 15, ii. 18, xix. 10, xxii. 8–9; and with iii. 18 cp. 1 Cor. xv. 38.

⁶ See above p. 759.

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THE APOCALYPSE OF ZEPHANIAH

- (Sa 1) (I saw) a soul, five thousand angels set over it (and) guarding it, taking (it) to the east, and carrying it to the west, striking . . .
 2 giving it hundred (?) . . . scourges each one daily. I was afraid: I
 3 threw myself on my face, for my knees were weak. The angel gave me his hand. He said to me, Be victorious that you may be victorious, and be strong that you may be victorious over the
 4 accuser and may come up from hell.¹ And when I got up, I said,

¹ Cp. Anon. Apoc. iii. 1, 6–7 (pp. 923 and 924 below).

5 And who is this they are set over? He said to me, This is (a) soul whose lawless doings were no secret;² and before it succeeded in repenting, it was visited and taken out of its body. Truly I, Zephaniah, saw and took note of these things.³

7 And the angel of the Lord walked with me. I saw a wide open place, with thousands upon thousands surrounding it on the left and myriads upon myriads on the right.⁴ The nature of each one was different, their hair all loose like women's hair, (their) teeth like the teeth of⁵

AN ANONYMOUS APOCALYPSE

I. (A 1) . . . dies, we will bury him like every man: if he dies, we will carry him out, and play the lyre before him, and sing our songs over his body.

2 But I went with the angel of the Lord. He took me over my whole city. There was no one to be seen. Then I saw two men walking together on the same road: I saw (them talking). And I saw also two women grinding at a mill together; and I saw them talking. And I saw (also) two on (one) couch, (both of them taking) their (rest(?)) on their couch. (And I saw) the whole world (suspended) like a drop of (water, hanging from a bucket) (A 2) that comes up (from) a well.¹ I said to the angel of the Lord, Is there no darkness nor night in this place? He said to me, No; for where the righteous and the saints are, in that place there is no darkness, but they are always in the light. And I saw all the souls of men who were undergoing punishment. And I cried out unto the Lord Almighty, (How long) wilt thou abide with the saints and be patient with the world (and) these souls which are undergoing punishment? The

² Lit. 'a soul which was found in its lawlessness'.

³ Lit. 'saw, seeing these things'. For the possibility that these words mark the end of the apocalypse see the Introduction (pp. 916-7 above).

⁴ Cp. Anon. Apoc. i. 11.

⁵ Cp. Anon. Apoc. i. 12, ii. 7.

¹ Cp. Isa. xl. 15. The text is restored following P. Lacau ('Remarques sur le manuscrit akhmimique des Apocalypses de Sophonie et d'Élie' in *Journal asiatique*, ccliv (1966), pp. 169-195).

angel of the Lord said to me, Come and I will show you . . . of righteousness. And he took me up onto mount Seir; and he (showed me) three men, (A 3) with whom two angels were walking, happy and rejoicing over them. I said to the angel, Who² are these? He said to me, These are the three sons of Joatham the priest, who did not keep their father's commandment, nor did they observe the statutes of the Lord. Then I saw two more angels weeping over the three sons of Joatham the priest. I said (to) the angel, Who are these? He said, These are the angels of the Lord Almighty, who write down all the good works of the righteous upon their³ roll, while they (sit) at the gate of heaven. But I take them from them and bring them (up) (A 4) before the Lord Almighty for him to write their name in the book of the living. And the other angels of the accuser, who is on the earth, also write down all the sins of men upon their roll; and they too sit at the gate of heaven and read them out to the accuser for him to write them down on his roll, so that he can accuse them when they come out of the world down below. I then walked further with (the) angel of the Lord, and I looked in front of me: I saw a place there . . . thousand and myriads upon myriads of angels walking through (it.⁴ Their) face was like a panther's, their tusks protruded from their mouths (like) a wild boar's, their eyes (A 5) were bloodshot, their hair all loose like women's hair,⁴ and they had scourges of fire in their hands. And when I saw them, I was afraid; and I said to that angel who was walking with me, Who⁵ are these? He said to me, These are the attendants upon the whole creation, who come to the souls of the ungodly and take them and put them here. They spend three days going round with them in the air before they take them and hurl them into their eternal punishment. I said, I pray you, my lord, give them no authority to come to me. The angel said, Have no fear: I will not allow them to come to (you), for you are holy before (A 6) the Lord: I will not allow them to come to you, for the Lord Almighty has sent me to you, for (you are) holy before him. Then he signalled to them, and they turned back and kept their distance from me.

² Lit. 'What sort'.

⁴ Cp. Apoc. Zeph. 7.

⁵ Lit. 'What sort'.

³ Text 'his'.

II. But I walked with the angel of God. I looked in front of me; *and* I saw gates. Then, when I approached them, I found they were gates of copper. The angel touched them *and* they opened before me. I went in with him. I found myself in what seemed to be the main street of¹ (a) beautiful city. I walked down the middle of it. Then the angel of the Lord transformed himself beside me there.

3 And I looked and I saw² gates of copper with bolts of copper and bars of iron. (A 7) And they closed against me there. I saw in front of me the gates of copper breathing out fire *to a distance of* about fifty stades. Again I turned;³ *and* I saw a great sea. And I thought it was a sea of water. I found it was a whole sea of fire, like a marsh, that breathed out fire continually, and its waves burned with sulphur and pitch. They began to come near me. I thought therefore that the Lord Almighty had come to visit me. When I saw (him),⁴ I fell on my face before him to worship him. I was very much afraid. I implored (A 8) him to save me from this torment. I cried out, saying, Eloi, Lord Adonai Sabaoth, I entreat thee to save me from this torment that has come upon me.

7 Then⁵ I stood up. I saw a great angel in front of me, his hair flying out *round his head* like the lionesses, his teeth *showing* outside his mouth like a bear's, his hair flying out like women's,⁶ while his body was like serpents who wanted to swallow me. And when I saw him, I was so afraid of him that every limb in my body was paralysed. I fell down on my face: I was not able to stand. I prayed before (A 9) the Lord Almighty, *I pray thee that* thou wilt save me from this torment, thou who didst deliver Israel from Pharaoh, king of Egypt, thou who didst deliver Susanna out of the hand of the unrighteous elders, thou who didst deliver the three saints, Shadrach, Meshach, *and* Abednego, out of the fiery blazing furnace, I pray thee that thou wilt save me from this torment.

10 Then I got up *and stood upon my feet*. I saw a great angel standing

¹ Lit. 'I found its whole street like that of'.

² Lit. 'And I looked at them, and I found that they were'.

³ Here follows a word (lit. 'they will walk') which seems to have no place in the context. ⁴ So Lacau.

⁵ Lit. 'In that same hour'.

⁶ Cp. Apoc. Zeph. 7 (p. 920 above).

in front of me: his face shone like the rays⁷ of the sun in its glory: his face was like the face of a man filled with its glory; and he had what looked like a golden girdle round his breast, *and* his feet were like brass (A 10) refined by fire. And when I saw him, I rejoiced, for I thought the Lord Almighty had come to visit me. I fell on my face:

11 I worshipped him. He said to me, It is God you must pay homage to:⁸ you must not worship me. I am not the Lord Almighty; but I am the great angel Eremiel, whose *place is in the world below, and I have been appointed* over the abyss and hell, in which all souls have been imprisoned from the end of the flood, which was upon the earth, until to-day.⁹ Then I asked the angel, What is the place I have come down¹⁰ to? He said to me, This is hell. I then asked him, Who is this great angel I have seen, who is standing as he is? He said, This is the one who accuses men before the Lord. Then (I) looked: I saw he had a roll (A 11) in his hand, *and* he began to unfold it. And when he had spread it out, I read it in my own language. I found all the sins I had committed written down by him, from my childhood till to-day, all written on that roll of mine without a mistake anywhere. If I had not been to visit (a) sick person or a widow, I found it ascribed to me as a failure on my roll: an orphan I had not visited I found¹¹ ascribed to me as a failure on my roll. *If there had been* a day when I did not fast, when I did not pray at the hour of prayer, I found it ascribed to me as a very bad thing indeed on my roll; (A 12) *and if there had been* a day when I had not visited the sons of Israel, I found it ascribed to me as a failure on my roll. So I fell down on my face and prayed before the Lord Almighty, May thy mercy reach as far as me and wipe my roll clean; for thy mercy is everywhere and fills every place.

III. Then I got up *and stood upon my feet*. I saw a great angel in front of me, saying to me, Be victorious, be strong; for you have been strong, you have been victorious over the accuser, you have come up from hell and the abyss,¹ you shall now cross at the ferry-place.

⁷ Text 'gifts'.

⁸ Lit. 'Devote yourself to him'.

⁹ Cp. 1 Enoch xx. 7 (Gk.²²); 2 Esdras iv. 36.

¹⁰ Text 'up'.

¹¹ Text 'was found'.

¹ Cp. Apoc. Zeph. 3 (p. 919 above).

2 Again he brought another roll, written by hand: he began to unfold
 it. I read in it. I found it was written in my own language . . . 2 pages
 3 missing . . . (A 13) They helped me: they set me upon that boat: they
 were singing praises before me, namely thousands upon thousands
 4 and myriads upon myriads of angels. I also put on an angelic
 garment. I saw all those angels praying. I too prayed together with
 5 them: I knew their language that they spoke with me. (This, my
 sons, is the trial that has to be – that the good and evil *deeds of every*
 6 *man* are weighed in a balance.) Then a great angel came out with a
 golden trumpet in his hand. He sounded it three times over my
 head, saying, Be victorious, *he* who has been victorious, be (A 14)
 7 strong, *he* who has been strong. For you have been victorious over
 the accuser, you have escaped from the abyss and hell.¹ You shall
 8 now cross at the ferry-place; for your name has been written in the
 9 book of the living. I wanted to exchange greetings with him; *but* I
 10 could not, so great was his glory. Then he hurried off to all the
 righteous, to Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and Enoch, and
 Elijah, and David. He talked with them like a friend with friends,
 while they themselves were in conversation with one another.
 11 Then the great angel came to me, the golden trumpet in his hand.
 He sounded it up to heaven; *and* the heaven opened from east to
 12 west, from north to south. I saw the sea I had seen (A 15) down in
 hell: its waves rose up to the clouds. I saw all the souls submerged
 in it. I saw some bound with their hands to their necks, and fetters
 13 on their hands and feet. I said, Who are these? He said to me,
 These are those who *search men out*² and give them gold and silver
 to lead the souls of men astray.
 14 And I saw others covered with fiery mats. I said, Who are these?
 He said to me, These are those who lend money on interest and
 15 take interest on interest. And I saw others, blind men crying out. I
 was astonished when I had seen all these works of God. I said, Who
 16 are these? (A 16) He said to me, These are those who were under
 instruction and heard the word of God, but were weak and fell
 17 away.³ But I said to him, Have they no *opportunity for repentance*?
 He said, Yes. I said, How long for?⁴ He said to me, Until the day

² Text 'who carry them along'.

³ Lit. 'but were not perfect in the thing which they heard'.

⁴ Lit. 'Until what day?'

18 when the Lord will judge *the world*. And I saw others with their hair
 on them. I said, Are there hair and body in this place? He said, Yes:
 the Lord gives them body and hair as he pleases.
 19 And I saw very many others *also*: he brought them out, and they
 looked at all these punishments. They cried out in prayer before
 the Lord Almighty, saying, We beseech thee (A 17) for those who
 suffer all these punishments, that thou wouldest have mercy on
 20 them all. But when I saw them, I said to the angel who was talking
 with me, *Who are these?* He said, Those who are interceding with the
 21 Lord are Abraham and Isaac and Jacob. At the same time each
 day they come with the great angel. He sounds the trumpet up to
 heaven and another fanfare over the earth. All the righteous hear
 22 the fanfare. They come running, praying daily to the Lord
 23 Almighty for these who suffer all these punishments. And again the
 great angel comes with the golden trumpet in his hand and sounds
 it over the earth. It is heard from east to west and from south to
 north. Again he sounds the trumpet (A 18) up to heaven; *and* his
 trumpet-call⁵ is heard.
 24 I said, *my lord*, why did you not let me see them all? He said to
 me, I have no authority to show them to you, until the Lord
 Almighty arises in his wrath to destroy the earth and the heavens.
 25 They will see *what is happening* and be troubled, and all will cry out,
 saying, All men⁶ who belong to thee, we will give *them* all to thee on
 26 the day of the Lord. Who will be able to stand before him when he
 arises in his wrath to (destroy) the earth and (the heavens)? All
 trees that grow upon the earth will be uprooted with their roots and
 fall down. And all high towers and the birds that fly (over them)
 [down and all high towers] will fall (to the ground).⁷

⁵ Lit. 'sound'.

⁶ Lit. 'flesh'.

⁷ The text is restored following Lacau. Cp. Apoc. Elijah iii. 62–63 (p. 771 above).

THE APOCALYPSE OF ESDRAS

INTRODUCTION

Apart from the canonical Book of Ezra in the Old Testament, several apocryphal books bearing Ezra's name have been at one time or another known and esteemed in the Church.

In the MSS of the Greek Bible the book entitled 'Esdras A' represents a parallel version of the material contained in the canonical 2 Chron. xxxv-xxxvi, Ezra, and Nehemiah: there are two substantial omissions, one noteworthy addition, and a variety of minor variations both in order and in detail. There is no reason for thinking that Esdras A was derived directly from the canonical Ezra-Nehemiah, either in Hebrew or in Greek: in all probability it was a fresh Greek translation of a different recension of the Hebrew. In the Latin Bible it appears as 'III Ezra' (or Esdras), and it is now usually printed as an appendix after the New Testament. In the English Apocrypha it stands first as 'I Esdras'.¹

'2 Esdras', which stands next in our Apocrypha, is a completely independent work with complications of its own. In the Latin Bible it is identified as 'IV Ezra' (or Esdras), and in the modern editions follows 'III Ezra' in the appendix. The central part of the book (chaps. iii-xiv) is preserved not only in Latin, but also in not less than seven Oriental versions; and it is evident from quotations in the Fathers that there was at one time a Greek version as well. Most scholars regard chaps. iii-xiv (which are in form an apocalypse) as the original core, written by a Jew in either Hebrew or Aramaic about the end of the first cent. AD, to which were added subsequently chaps. i-ii as an introduction and chaps. xv-xvi as a conclusion. These additions now survive only in Latin, although a 4th cent. fragment of a Greek text of xv. 57-59 is known, having been published in 1910.² It is not uncommon, following the lead of

¹ 'Esdras B' of the Greek Bible is the translation of the canonical Ezra-Nehemiah (reckoned as a single book). In the Latin tradition, however, it became the custom to distinguish them: hence in Latin Bibles 'I Ezra' (or Esdras) = the canonical Ezra and 'II Ezra' (or Esdras) = the canonical Nehemiah.

² Pap. Oxyr. 1010. Published by A. S. Hunt in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, vii (1910), pp. 11-15.

some of the Latin MSS, to refer to these additions as 'V Ezra' (or Esdras) and 'VI Ezra' respectively.

Standing in the same tradition as 2 Esdras, of which they are plainly later developments, are the three Ezra books translated in this collection – viz. The Apocalypse of Esdras, The Vision of Esdras, and The Apocalypse of Sedrach. Other Ezra books which have not been included in the collection, but which may be mentioned, are: (1) a Syriac apocalypse, edited and translated into German by Baethgen in 1886, which is chiefly concerned with the duration of the rule of Islam;³ (2) an Ethiopic apocalypse, edited and translated into French by Halévy in 1902,⁴ which reviews the whole course of human history from the days of Adam, dividing it into 'weeks', and assigning to Ethiopia and 'the Son of the Lion' a prominent place in the events just before the End; and (3) the Armenian 'Inquiries made by the prophet Esdras of the Angel of the Lord concerning the Sons of Men', the Armenian text of which was printed by Hovsepheantz in 1896⁵ and an English translation by Issaverdens in 1901.⁶ This last has in general more in common with our three works than either the Syriac or Ethiopic apocalypses, in that in it Esdras enquires (and is informed) about what God has prepared for the righteous and for sinners 'at the end of time', but there are no points of contact in detail.

The Apocalypse of Esdras, with which we are immediately concerned, is known from two MSS. The first (Paris B.N. gr. 929; 15th cent.) contains a text in very poor condition. It was this text that C. Tischendorf used as the basis for his edition of 1866, it being then the only text available. Subsequently a second text in another Paris MS (B.N. gr. 390; 16th cent.) was brought to light, but inasmuch as this text appears to have been copied directly

³ See F. Baethgen, 'Beschreibung der syrischen Handschrift "Sachau 131" auf der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin' in *ZAW* vi (1886), pp. 199–210.

⁴ J. Halévy, 'Te'ezâza Sanbat (Commandements du Sabbat), accompagné de six autres écrits pseudo-épigraphiques' (= *Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études: section des sciences historiques et philologiques*, fasc. cxxxvii (Paris, 1902), pp. xviii–xxii, 57–79, and 178–195).

⁵ S. Hovsepheantz, *A Treasury of Old and New Primitive Writers*. Vol. I (*Unconformal Books of the Old Testament*; Venice, 1896), pp. 300–304.

⁶ J. Issaverdens, *UWOT*², pp. 503–509.

from that in the earlier MS its critical value is minimal. Both, of course, were used by O. Wahl in his edition of 1977.

The similarities between our apocalypse and what may be regarded as its model, 2 Esdras, are numerous. Both works grapple with the problem of evil and seek to justify the ways of God to man in the form and language of apocalyptic. God's justice is questioned, and his treatment of the righteous is contrasted with his treatment of the unrighteous. The fundamental question is asked, why was Adam allowed to sin? Man's state under judgement is claimed to be worse than that of the brute beasts. Deep concern is shown for sinners and Esdras pleads for them, that they may be spared, have time and opportunity to repent, and so gain the reward of their repentance. (In the Apocalypse, this concern is emphasised by the incident at the end, where Esdras refuses to surrender his soul and enjoy the eternal life which is promised him until he is satisfied about the fate of these who are being punished for their sins.)

On the other hand, there are few exact verbal parallels between the two works; so that it can hardly be maintained that the writer of the Apocalypse was using 2 Esdras as a source in the accepted sense of that word. The closest parallels are the dating of Esdras's vision in the Apocalypse in 'the thirty-second year' (i. 1; cp. 2 Esdr. iii. 1), the instruction to him to fast (i. 3–5; cp. 2 Esdr. v. 13, vi. 31, 35), the description of Adam as the work of God's hands followed by the details of how he was set in Paradise and there transgressed the Divine command (ii. 10–16; cp. 2 Esdr. iii. 5–7), and the repeated assertion that it were 'better for man not to have been born than to come into the world' (i. 6, 21, v. 9, 14; cp. 2 Esdr. iv. 12; vii. 116). Especially instructive in this connection is such a passage as Apoc. v. 12–13. Here a comparison is made between the 'farmer' who 'sows wheat seed in the earth' and 'man' who 'sows his seed in the field of a woman', and then the process of growth till the time of birth is described in detail. The passage, though intelligible, does not help the argument, and it is difficult to see why it has been placed where it is. The parallel at 2 Esdr. viii. 41, however, is in form a parable ('The farmer sows many seeds in the ground . . . but not all the seeds sown come up . . . So too in the world of men: not all who are sown will be saved'). There the point

is clear enough, the argument is illuminated, and the comparison fits the context admirably. We are left with the impression that the parable in 2 Esdras is primary and that somehow, in the tradition as it has been handed on by the author of the Apocalypse, the original point has been lost, although certain key-words have been preserved.

The Apocalypse as it stands is patently Christian, and, although attempts have been made to explain it as a fundamentally Jewish work with extensive Christian interpolations,⁷ they can hardly be said to have been successful. There can be little doubt that the author was a Christian, since Christian features are discernible on almost every page. For instance, Esdras pleads three times for 'the race of Christians', at i. 6, ii. 7, and v. 1: Paul and John are mentioned at i. 19, 'all the apostles' at ii. 1, and 'Peter and Paul and Luke and Matthew' in between 'Enoch and Elias and Moses' and 'all the righteous and the patriarchs' at v. 22: Mark xiii. 7-8, 12-13, 28-29, is clearly the source of iii. 12-13, while 1 Cor. xv. 52 is quoted in part at iv. 36.

There is a presumption, therefore, that our Greek text is not a translation but (apart from its corruptions) what the original author wrote. With this accords the close agreement of vii. 5-7 with the Septuagint Greek text of Isa. xl. 12 and Ps. cxxxvi. 25.

Various dates have been suggested. James, for instance, thought the Apocalypse as late as the 9th cent. AD.⁸ Others have dated it earlier.⁹ All that can safely be said is that if it stands in the same tradition as 2 Esdras and is indeed a later development of it, then the Apocalypse cannot be dated before *c.* AD 150 at the earliest. Against such an early date is the fact that there are no certainly identifiable quotations from the Apocalypse in any Father; nor is there any certain reference to it in any of the Scriptural lists (the 'Apocalypse of Esdras' mentioned at the very end of the Old Testament items in the List of Sixty Books may be to our

⁷ Thus, Riessler distinguished: (1) the Jewish base (i. 1-iii. 10; iii. 16-iv. 8; iv. 16-21; v. 6-vi. 2) and (2) the Christian interpolations (iii. 11-15; iv. 9-15; iv. 22-v. 5; vi. 3-vii. 16).

⁸ M. R. James, *Apocrypha Anecdota* (= TS II. iii; Cambridge, 1893), p. 113.

⁹ e.g. P. Batiffol (art. 'Apocalypses apocryphes' in F. Vigouroux *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, I. ii (Paris, 1892), col. 765) suggested the 5th-8th cents.

Apocalypse, but it is much more probably a reference to 2 Esdras).

The translation which follows is made from the text as printed by Wahl. And in this connection it is worth observing that the late Greek style in which the Apocalypse is written has combined with the unsatisfactory condition of the MSS to make it extremely difficult in many passages to coax the text into yielding anything approaching a tolerable sense.

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A word and revelation of the holy prophet Esdras, even God's beloved.

May our Father add his blessing.¹

I. It came to pass in the thirty-second year and on the twentieth
 2 day of the month I was in my house. And I cried out, saying to the
 3 Most High, Lord, grant me the privilege to see² thy mysteries. And
 when it was night there came an angel, Michael the archangel, and
 he said to me, From to-morrow, Esdras,³ you must abstain from
 4 food for seventy days. And I fasted as he told me. And Raphael, the
 5 prince, came and gave me an incense stick. And I fasted for twice
 6 five⁴ weeks; and I saw God's mysteries and his angels. And I said to
 them, I would plead with God for the race of Christians: *it were*
 better for man not to have been born than to come into the world.
 7 So I was taken up into heaven. And I saw in the first heaven a great
 8 company of angels; and they led me to the judgements. And I
 heard a voice saying to me, Have mercy on us, Esdras, God's
 9 chosen one. Then I began to say, Woe to the sinners, when they see
 the righteous above angels, and they themselves are in the fires of
 10 hell.⁵ And Esdras said, Have mercy on the works of thy hands, thou
 11 who art full of compassion and mercy: pass sentence on me rather
 than on the souls of the sinners; for it is better to punish one soul
 12 than to bring the whole world to destruction. And God said, I will
 give rest to the righteous in Paradise; and I am indeed merciful. And
 13 Esdras said, Lord, why dost thou favour the righteous? For just as

¹ Lit. 'Bless, Father'.

² Lit. 'Lord, give the glory that I may see'.

³ Lit. 'the prophet Esdras'.

⁴ So Walker (thus making seventy days in all): the MSS read 'sixty'.

⁵ Lit. 'into the Gehenna of fire'.

a hired servant⁶ who has served his time and goes away, and *then*
 comes again into the service of his former master as a slave by a lucky
 chance,⁷ so also is the righteous man who has received his reward⁶ in
 15 heaven. But have mercy on the sinners, for we know that thou art
 16 merciful. And God said, I do not see how I can have mercy on
 17,18 them. And Esdras said, They cannot endure thy wrath. And God
 19 said, They have brought it on themselves.⁸ And God said, I would
 20 have you as Paul and John: you offer me freely, uncorrupt, the
 inviolable treasure, the precious jewel of virginity,⁹ the rampart of
 21 men. And Esdras said, *It were* better for man not to have been born,
 22 better not to be alive: the irrational creatures are better when
 compared with man, because they have to endure no punishment.
 23,24 But thou hast fashioned us, and given us over to judgement. Woe
 to sinners in the world to come, for their judgement is interminable
 and their flame unquenchable.

II. While I was talking thus with him, Michael came, and Gabriel,
 2,3 and all the apostles, and said, Hail, faithful man of God. (And
 4 Esdras said,) Up, Lord, and come with me to judgement. And God
 said, Behold, I give you¹ my covenant, mine and yours,¹ for your²
 5,6 acceptance. And Esdras said, Let us plead in thine ear. And God
 said, Ask Abraham your father how a son should plead with a
 7 father,³ and then come and plead with me.⁴ And Esdras said, As the
 Lord lives, I will not cease pleading with thee on behalf of the race
 8 of Christians. Where are thy ancient mercies, Lord? Where is thy
 9 patience? And God said, As I made night and day, I made the
 righteous and the sinner, and the sinner should have lived as the

⁶ Gk. *μισθιος* ('hired servant') . . . *μισθόν* ('reward'). Both translation and sense in this verse are far from certain.

⁷ Reading *ἐπιτυχός* for *ἐπιτυχέν*.

⁸ Lit. 'These things are of such men'.

⁹ Reading *παρθενίας* for *παρθένου*.

¹ Singular.

² Plural.

³ Lit. '. . . your father what sort of son pleads in a father'. (The occurrence here of the rare *δικάζεσθαι ἐν* should be noted, which, if the B text of the LXX at Judg. vi. 32 is any guide, should mean 'plead against': in this case the reference could conceivably be to Gen. xxii rather than to Gen. xviii).

⁴ MSS 'us'.

10 righteous. And the prophet said, Who made the first-formed
 11 Adam, the first *man*? And God said, My unsullied hands. And I set
 12 him in Paradise to keep the pasture of the tree of life. But he then
 13 set his mind on disobedience and transgressed. And the prophet
 14 said, Was he not guarded by an angel? And was he not watched
 15 over by the cherubim in *this life so that he might come* to the world that
 16 has no end? How then was it that he who was watched over by
 17 angels was deceived? Thou didst specifically command him to take
 18 heed and to conform to what **thou** didst say to him.⁵ Yet if thou
 19 hadst not given **him** Eve, the serpent would not have deceived him.
 20 **As for thee**, whom thou willest thou dost save, and whom thou
 21 willest thou dost destroy. And the prophet said, Let us pass over,
 22 my Lord, to a second judgement. And God said, I cast fire upon
 23 Sodom and Gomorrah. And the prophet said, Lord, thou dost
 24 reward us as we deserve.⁶ And God said, Your sins exceed the
 25 limits of my tolerance.⁷ And the prophet said, Remember the
 26 Scriptures, my Father, **who** didst measure out Jerusalem and set it
 27 up: have mercy, Lord, on sinners: have mercy on thy creation:
 28 have pity on thy works. Then God remembered what he had made,
 29 and he said to the prophet, How can I have mercy on them? They
 30 gave me vinegar and gall to drink, and **not even then** did they
 31 repent. And the prophet said, Reveal thy cherubim, and let us go
 32 together to judgement; and show me what the day of judgement is
 like. And God said, You are wrong, Esdras; for the day of judgement
 is like a day on which there is no rain upon the earth:
 compared with that **day**⁸ it is a merciful judgement. And the
 prophet said, I will not cease pleading with thee, unless I see *that*
 final day.⁹ (And God said,) Count the stars and the sand of the sea;
 and if you can count them, you can also plead with me.

III. And the prophet said, Lord, thou knowest that I am but

⁵ The text in verses 12–15 is very badly preserved. In consequence, the translation offered is highly questionable.

⁶ Lit. 'worthily dost thou bring it upon us'.

⁷ Lit. 'exceed my kindness'.

⁸ Reading *ἡμέραν* for *ἐσπέραν*.

⁹ Lit. 'the day of the consummation'.

2 human,¹ and how can I count the stars of heaven and the sand of
 3 the sea? And God said, My prophet, my chosen one, no man may
 4 know that great day and the manifestation that must precede the
 5 judgement of the world.² For your sake, my prophet, I have told
 6 you the day, but the hour I have not told you. And the prophet
 7 said, Lord, tell me also the years. And (God said,) If I see that the
 8 world's righteousness has increased, I will be patient with them.
 9 But if not, I will stretch my hand out and take hold of the world by
 10 the four corners, and I will collect all *the peoples* into the valley of
 11 Jehoshaphat, and I will wipe out the race of men, and the world
 12 will be no more. And the prophet said, How then can thy right
 13 hand be glorified? And God said, I am glorified by my angels. And
 14 the prophet said, Lord, if thou didst purpose so, why didst thou
 15 fashion man? Thou didst say to Abraham our father, I will greatly
 16 multiply your descendants *until they are as numerous* as the stars of
 17 heaven and as the sand on the sea shore. Where, then, is thy
 18 promise? And God said, First I will make earthquakes and bring
 19 ruin on beasts and men. And when you see that brother betrays
 20 brother to death, and children turn against parents, and a wife
 21 leaves her own husband, and when nation makes war upon nation,
 22 then you will know that the end is near. Then brother will have no
 23 mercy on brother, nor man on wife, nor children on parents, nor
 24 friends on friends, nor slave on master. For the Adversary of men
 25 himself will ascend from Tartarus and make a great display before
 26 men. What shall I do with you, Esdras; and why do you plead with
 27 me?

IV. And the prophet said, Lord, I will not cease to plead with thee.
 2,3 And God said, Count the flowers on the earth. If you can count
 4 them, you can also plead with me. And the prophet said, Lord, I
 5 cannot count *them*: I am but human;¹ but in spite of this I will not
 6 cease *my* pleading with thee. I would, Lord, see also the lower parts
 7 of Tartarus. And God said, Come down and see. And he gave me
 8 Michael and Gabriel and thirty-four other angels. And I went

¹ Lit. 'I wear human flesh'.

² Lit. 'the manifestation which holds back to judge the world'.

¹ Lit. 'I wear human flesh'.

down eighty-five steps; and they took me down *another* five hundred
 9 steps. And I saw a fiery throne, and upon it an old man *was* sitting,
 10 and his judgement was merciless. And I said to the angels, Who is
 11 this, and what *was* his sin? And they said to me, This is Herod who
 12,13 for a short spell was a king, and ordered the slaughter of the babes
 14 from two years old and under. And I said, Alas for his soul. And
 15 again they led me down *a further* thirty steps, and I saw there a
 16 seething fire, and in it a multitude of sinners; and I heard their
 17,18 voices, but their forms I did not see. And they led me down many
 19 steps lower still, which I could not count. And I saw there aged
 20 men, and red-hot lengths of metal were being screwed² into their
 21 ears. And I said, Who are these, and what *is* their sin? And they
 22 said to me, These were³ cavesdroppers. And they led me down
 23 again another five hundred steps. And I saw there the worm that
 24 does not sleep, and the fire that consumes the sinners. And they led
 25 me down to the bottom of *the pit* of destruction, and I saw there the
 26 twelve plagues of the abyss. And they led me away towards the
 27 south, and I saw there a man hanging by his eyelids, and the angels
 28 were scourging him. And I asked, Who is this, and what *was* his
 29 sin? And Prince Michael said to me, This man committed incest
 30 with his mother: as a punishment for his miserable lust⁴ he was
 31 ordered to be hanged. And they led me away towards the north,
 and I saw there a man held down by iron bars. And I asked, Who is
 this? And he said to me, This is *the man* who says, I am the son of
 God, and who made stones⁵ bread and water wine. And the
 prophet said, Lord, tell me what he looks like, and I *will* instruct⁶
 mankind not to believe him. And he said to me, His face is like a
 wild beast's. His right eye is like the Daystar,⁷ and the other does
 not move:⁸ his mouth *is* a cubit *across*: his teeth *are each* a span long:
 his fingers *are* like pruning-hooks: his footmarks *measure* two spans;

² Lit. 'and burning pivots were turning'.

³ Lit. 'are'.

⁴ Lit. 'having accomplished his little will'.

⁵ Reading *λίθους* for *πλήθους*.

⁶ Reading *παραγγέλω* for *παραγγέλλω*.

⁷ Lit. 'like a star that rises early'. Cp. Isa. xiv. 12; Rev. ii. 28, xxii. 16.

⁸ Gk. *ἀσάλευτος* – the Greek Bible rendering for the 'phylactery' which was to be worn 'between the eyes' (at Exod. xiii 16 and Deut. vi. 8, xi. 18).

and on his forehead *is* an inscription, 'Antichrist'. He has been
 32 exalted to heaven: to hell shall he descend.⁹ At one time he will
 33 become a child, at another an old man. And the prophet said,
 34 Lord, how canst thou permit *it*,¹⁰ and *meanwhile* the human race is
 35 led astray? And God said, Listen, my prophet: he becomes both a
 36 child and an old man, and *yet* no one believes him, that he is my
 37 beloved son. And after this a trumpet will sound,¹¹ and the tombs
 38 will be opened, and the dead will be raised incorruptible. Then the
 39 Adversary, when he hears the fearful threat, will hide himself
 40 outside in the darkness. Then will the heaven and the earth and the
 41 sea be destroyed: then will I burn the heaven *to the extent of* eighty
 42 cubits and the earth *to the extent of* eight hundred cubits. And the
 43 prophet said, And what sin has the heaven committed? And God
 said, When (. . .) there is the evil.¹² And the prophet said, Lord, and
 what sin has the earth committed? And God said, When the
 Adversary, after hearing my fearful threat, has hidden himself, and
 because of this, I will melt the earth in a furnace and with it the
 rebel of the human race.

V. And the prophet said, Have mercy, Lord, on the race of Christ-
 2 ians. And I saw a woman hanging, and four wild beasts *were*
 3 sucking her breasts. And the angels said to me, This woman *not only*
 4 begrudged to give her milk, but she also threw *her* infants into the
 5 rivers. And I saw grim darkness and night without stars or moon.
 6 And there is there neither young nor old, nor brother with brother,
 7 nor mother with child, nor wife with husband. And I wept and
 8 said, Sovereign Lord, have mercy on the sinners. And while I was
 9 saying this a cloud came and took hold of me and carried me away
 10 again to heaven. And I saw there many judgements. And I wept
 11 bitterly and said, Better *were it* for a man not to have come out of his
 12 mother's womb. And those who were undergoing punishment
 cried out saying, Since you came here, you holy *man* of God, we
 have found little respite. And the prophet said, Blessed are they
 that weep for their sins. And God said, Listen *my* beloved Esdras,

⁹ Cp. Isa. xiv. 13–15; Matt. xi. 23 || Luke x. 15.

¹⁰ Or 'him'.

¹¹ So B: A om. 'will sound'.

¹² God's answer here is clearly incomplete.

13 Just as a farmer sows wheat seed in the earth, so also a man sows
 his seed in the field of a woman. *During the first month* it remains as it
 was,¹ *in the second it increases in size,*² *in the third it grows hair,* *in the*
fourth it grows nails, *in the fifth it takes milk for food,*³ *in the sixth it*
*becomes ready*⁴ and receives *its* soul, *in the seventh it prepares*
 14 *itself,*⁵ *and in the ninth the doors of the woman's womb*⁶ are opened
 and it is born safe and sound upon the earth. And the prophet said,
 15 Lord, better were it for the man not to have been born. Woe to the
 16 human (race) then, when thou comest⁷ to judgement. And I said to
 the Lord, Lord, why didst thou fashion man and deliver him to
 17 judgement? And God said with some vehemence,⁸ I will not have
 18 mercy on those who disregard my covenant. And the prophet said,
 19 Lord, where is thy goodness? And God said, I created all things for
 20 man's sake, and man does not keep my commandments. And the
 21 prophet said, Lord, show me the judgements and Paradise. And
 the angels led me away towards the east, and I saw the tree of life.
 22 And I saw there Enoch and Elijah and Moses and Peter and Paul
 and Luke and Matthew⁹ and all the righteous and the patriarchs.
 23 And I saw there the †punishment†¹⁰ of the air and the blowing of
 the winds and the stores of crystals and the everlasting judge-
 24,25 ments. And I saw there a man hanging by his head. And they said
 26 to me, This man moved boundary-stones. And I saw there some
 cruel judgements.¹¹ And I said to the Lord, Sovereign Lord, what
 27 man is there who has ever been born *and* has not sinned? And they
 led me down lower in Tartarus, and I saw the sinners all mourning
 28 and weeping, and (lamenting) *their* evil lot.¹² And I wept also when
 I saw the human race being punished so.

¹ Lit. 'it is all together'.

² Reading *ὄγκοιται* for *οἰχοῦτε*.

³ Lit. 'it becomes milky'.

⁴ Reading *ἔτοιμον* for *αἰτιμον*.

⁵ Here the eighth stage is omitted.

⁶ Lit. 'gate-house'.

⁷ So MS (*ἔλθης*). Perhaps we should read 'it comes' (*ἔλθη*).

⁸ Lit. 'with a lofty proclamation'.

⁹ Reading *Ματθαίου* for *Ματθαίαν* (Matthias).

¹⁰ Gk. *κόλασιν*.

¹¹ Lit. 'And I saw there great judgements'.

¹² So A: B om 'and (lamenting) *their* evil lot'.

VI. Then God said to me, Do you know, Esdras, the names of the
 2 angels at the consummation – Michael, Gabriel, Uriel, Raphael,
 3 Gabuthelon, Aker, Arphugitonos, Bebueros, and Zebulon? Then
 came a voice to me, Come die, Esdras my beloved, and give up
 4 what was entrusted to you. And the prophet said, And how will
 5 you get at my soul to take it away? And the angels said, We can get at
 6 it and expel it through your mouth. And the prophet said, Mouth
 to mouth I spoke with God, and it shall not come out¹ from there.
 7,8 And the angels said, Let us take it through your nostrils. And the
 9 prophet said, My nostrils have savoured the glory of God. And the
 10 angels said, Let us get it and take it through your eyes. And
 11 the prophet said, My eyes did see the back parts of God. And
 the angels said, Let us get it and take it through the top of your
 12 head. And the prophet said, I walked together with Moses on the
 13 mountain-top, and it shall not come out¹ from there. And the angels
 14 said, Let us take it and expel it through your toes. And the prophet
 15 said, My feet also walked at the altar. And the angels went away
 16 without success, saying, Lord, we cannot take his soul. Then he
 said to his only-begotten Son, Go down, my beloved Son, with a
 17 great host of angels, and take the soul of my beloved Esdras. And²
 the Lord took a great host of angels and *went down and* said to the
 prophet, Give up to me what was entrusted to you – what I
 18 entrusted to you: the crown has been made ready for you. And the
 prophet said, Lord, if thou takest my soul from me, who will
 19 remain to plead with thee on behalf of the human race? And God
 said, Since you are mortal and of the earth you *should* not plead
 20 with me. And the prophet said, I will not stop *my* pleading with
 21 thee. And God said, Even so, give up now what has been entrusted
 22 to you: the crown has been made ready for you. Come die, so that
 23 you may obtain it. Then the prophet began to weep and say, O
 Lord, what have I gained *from my* pleading with thee, if I am now to
 24 sink down into the earth? Alas, alas, for I am to be consumed by
 25 worms. Weep for me all saints and righteous men; *for* I pleaded
 26 much. Weep for me all saints and righteous men, for I have entered
 the depths of hell.⁴

¹ Lit. 'it does not come out'.

² Lit. 'For'.

³ Lit. 'the dish of Hades'.

VII. And God said to him, Listen, Esdras my beloved. I, although immortal, endured a cross; I tasted vinegar and gall: I was buried in a tomb; and I raised up my chosen ones. Adam I called forth from hell, that the human race might have no cause to be afraid of death. For that *part of man* which is of me, that is *his* soul, departs to heaven; that *part of him* which is of the earth, that is *his* body, departs to the earth from which it was taken. And the prophet said, Alas, alas, What shall I do? How shall I fare? I do not know. And then the blessed Esdras began to say,

O eternal God, the creator of all that is,
 Who didst measure the heaven with thine outstretched hand,
 And dost hold the earth in *thy* grasp,
 6 Who ridest upon the cherubim,
 Who didst take up the prophet Elijah to heaven
 In a chariot of fire,
 7 Who givest food to all flesh,
 Whose power all things fear,
 And before whose face they tremble;¹
 8 Give ear to me and my constant pleading with thee,
 9 And grant to all who transcribe this book,
 And to *all who have charge of it*,
 And remember my name and preserve my memory,
 Grant to them blessing from heaven.
 10 And bless all *their*² concerns
 As thou didst also bless the end of Joseph,
 11 And remember not *their*² former sins
 In the day of *their*² judgement.
 12 But as many as do not believe this book
 Will be utterly consumed,
 As *were* Sodom and Gomorrah.

13 And there came to him a voice saying, Esdras, my beloved, what-
 14 ever you have asked I will grant to each one. And immediately he surrendered his precious soul with much honour, in the month of

¹ Lit. 'at whom all things shudder and tremble before the face of thy power'.

² MSS. 'his'.

15 October on the eighteenth *day*. And they buried him with due ceremony;³ and his honoured and holy body is a perpetual source of strength, *both* of soul and body, to those who are moved to come to him. To Him to whom it belongs *be* glory, power, honour, and worship, to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit, now and always, world without end. Amen.

³ Lit. 'with incense and psalms'.

THE VISION OF ESDRAS

INTRODUCTION

The Vision of Esdras, like The Assumption of Moses, is extant only in Latin; and when G. Mercati published his edition in 1901 he had to rely on a single MS (Vat. lat. 3838; 12th cent.). Seventy years later, by the time O. Wahl came to prepare his edition of all three of the Esdras apocrypha translated in the present collection, a second MS of the Vision had also become available (Linz, Bibliothek des Priesterseminars A I/6; 10th or 11th cent.). This second MS raised unexpected complications. When a second MS of the Apocalypse of Esdras was discovered, as we have seen,¹ the effect was minimal, since the newly discovered MS was no more than a copy of the one already known. Not so with the new MS of the Vision. In the Vision there are several noteworthy divergencies in basic subject-matter between the two MSS towards the end of the text (additional classes of sinners appear in the Linz MS which are absent from the Vatican): there are continual differences in wording throughout (especially in the order of words, even when the same words are used); and further, whereas in the Vatican MS the narrative refers consistently to Esdras in the third person, in the Linz MS Esdras almost invariably speaks of himself in the first. A specimen will serve to illustrate these last two points:

<i>Vatican MS</i>		<i>Linz MS</i>	
4	Veniebant viri fortissimi et transiebant flammam,	4	Veniebantque per se viri magni et transiebant flammam eius,
5	et non tangebant eos. Et dixit Esdras: Qui sunt isti, qui tam securi procedunt?	5	et non eos tangebant. Et interro- gavi angelos, qui me ducebant: Qui sunt isti, qui cum tanto gaudio procedunt?

How are these differences to be accounted for? If the Vision was originally written in Latin, did some later worthy tamper with, or 'improve', the author's text? Or, if Latin was not the original

¹ Above, pp. 928-9.

language, are we to suppose there were two independent translations of the same (presumably Greek) original? Or were there two (not necessarily independent) translations of two different recensions of the original? Wahl ventilated possibilities of this kind in his Introduction but, understandably, did not pursue them; and in the body of his work he printed the text of both MSS in parallel columns.

Wahl's typescript was ready for the Press when there came to his notice a further text of the Vision tucked away at the end of the first book of the *Magnum Legendarium Austriacum* in a late 12th cent. MS from Lower Austria (Heiligenkreuz, cod. 11), which had, in fact, already been edited by A. Mussafia as long ago as 1871.² Fortunately, this additional evidence necessitated no serious rearrangement of his book as it then stood. The Heiligenkreuz codex aligned itself very definitely with Mercati's Vatican MS, though it was far from identical with it, so that all Wahl needed to do was to record its variants at the foot of his 'Vatican' column.

In the absence, therefore, of any established critical edition, and of any clear indication as to how such an edition might be established, it seemed that the wisest course for us was to base our own translation unreservedly on the Vatican MS (= V). From time to time, however, attention is drawn in the footnotes to any variants offered by either the Linz (= L) or Heiligenkreuz (= H) MSS that might either be important for the understanding of the document as a whole or be of interest in the interpretation of any particular passage.

That the Vision is related in some way to the Apocalypse of Esdras is clear enough. In both Vision and Apocalypse Esdras is taken on a tour of the nether regions to inspect the torments of the damned and conducted down a series of steps by angels.³ In both he asks the angels who the particular individuals are that are undergoing particular punishments: he receives answers in the form 'These are . . .'; and he then beseeches God for mercy on each particular class of sinner. Some of the punishments described in

² A. Mussafia, *Sulla visione di Tundalo* (= *Sitzungsberichte der phil.-hist. Classe der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Band 67 (Vienna, 1871), pp. 202–206).

³ Vis. Esdr. 2, 12, 58; cp. Apoc. Esdr. iv. 8, 13, 15, 19.

both books are, of course, similar, as is inevitable in this type of literature, and so also are some of the sinners; but especially significant for the relationship between the Vision and the Apocalypse are the descriptions in each of King Herod seated on 'a fiery throne',⁴ and the descriptions of the punishment of the incestuous – it is to be noted that in both Vision and Apocalypse this particular punishment is inflicted in 'the south'.⁵ Attention may also be drawn to the passage at the end of the Vision, where Esdras refuses the angels' first offer to take him to heaven, where he compares man's lot on earth unfavourably with that of the animals, and where God replies 'I fashioned man in my own image and I commanded them that they should not sin, and they did sin: that is why they are in torments'. There are parallels here, not only in the Apocalypse, but also in the Apocalypse of Sedrach and in 2 Esdras.⁶

None of these last parallels (nor, indeed, any of the others) are sufficiently close to demand direct literary dependence. They suggest rather that the Vision stands squarely in the Ezra apocryphal tradition and that it is essentially an independent re-working of some of the same material that found its way also into the Apocalypse (chaps. iv and v). When the Vision as a whole is compared with the other Ezra apocrypha, it looks very much as if the author was concerned to concentrate on one element only in the tradition – namely, the details of the torments of the damned. No doubt he has himself elaborated it and developed it. But the result has been that all the other elements in the tradition are virtually ignored. That is why, for instance, the fundamental question why God created man and then arranged things so that he suffers as he does (a question which is discussed at some length in the other Ezra apocrypha) gets in the Vision only a very cursory mention, and then only at the very end.

That the author was a Christian can hardly be denied. It is true that he is less obviously Christian than the author of the

⁴ Vis. Esdr. 37–39; cp. Apoc. Esdr. iv. 9–12.

⁵ Vis. Esdr. 19–21; cp. Apoc. Esdr. iv. 22–24.

⁶ With Vis. Esdr. 56–57 cp. Apoc. Esdr. vi. 3–15 and Apoc. Sedr. ix. 1–3; with Vis. Esdr. 62 cp. Apoc. Esdr. i. 22 and 2 Esdr. vii. 65–66, viii. 29–30; with Vis. Esdr. 63 cp. Apoc. Esdr. ii. 10–12, Apoc. Sedr. iv. 4–6, and 2 Esdr. iii. 5–7.

Apocalypse. He makes no mention of Christians as such, or of Christian worthies; and there are no explicit references in the Vision to the New Testament (other than to Herod 'who in Bethlehem of Judaea killed young children because of the Lord'). On the other hand, there are references to 'the Lord's Day' (10), to 'baptism' (46), to the 'Mass' (10 LH), to 'confession' (26 VH, 36 VH, 64), and to 'penance' (36 VH, 64). And with this agrees the author's concentration on the torments in Hell. The Apocalypse of Peter (? 2nd cent.) provides a very early example of Christian interest in these matters, and the Apocalypse of Paul (xxxix-xliv) another, rather later (4th cent.).

About the date of the Vision it is impossible to say very much. If it was written in Latin, it could be as late as the 10th cent. (the date of the earliest MS). If, on the other hand, our Latin text is a translation of a Greek original, any date between the 5th and 9th centuries is possible.⁷

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TRANSLATIONS

German

- P. RIESSLER, *AjSaB*², pp. 350-354.

⁷ In his edition Mercati drew attention to the fact that the phrase 'because of the Lord' (*propter dominum*), which occurs at the end of the description of Herod (38), is found also in one of the antiphons set in some breviaries for use at Lauds on Holy Innocents' Day. Does this mean that the author of the Vision wrote in Latin and was influenced by the Liturgy, or that a translator from Greek was so influenced, or that the phrase was added by a later copyist?

GENERAL

- A.-M. DENIS, *IPGAT*, p. 93.
 P. RIESSLER, *AjSaB*², p. 1291.

- Esdras prayed to the Lord, saying, Give me, Lord, faith so that I
 2 may not fear when I see the judgements of the sinners. And seven
 angels of Tartarus were given him, who carried him down¹ seventy
 3 steps into the nether regions. And he saw the fiery gates; and in
 these gates he saw two lions lying, from whose mouths and nostrils
 4 and eyes fierce *tongues of flame* protruded. And strong men were
 coming and passed through the flame; and it did not touch them.
 5 And Esdras said, Who are those who walk *through the flame* with such
 6 confidence?² The angels said to him, Those are the righteous
 7 whose fame has reached to heaven, those who have done great
 works of mercy, *who* have clothed the naked, *and* whose thoughts
 8 and inclinations have been always good.³ And others were coming,
and tried to go in *through* the gates; and the *lions*⁴ mauled them, and
 9,10 the fire burned them. And Esdras said, Who are those? The angels
 said, Those are they who denied the Lord, and on the Lord's Day⁵
 11 sinned with women. And Esdras said, Lord, spare the sinners.
 12 And they led him a further fifty steps lower down; and he saw
 13 there men standing and undergoing punishment. Some angels
 were piling fire upon them in front, and others were beating them
 14 with fiery whips. And the earth was crying out, saying, Beat them,
 and do not spare them, because *it was upon me that* they did their
 15 wicked deed. And Esdras said, Who are those who are daily
 16 punished so severely? The angels said, Those are they who had
 17 intercourse with married women. The married women are *women*
 who adorned themselves, not for their own husbands, but to please

¹ Lit. 'over': L 'down in'.

² L 'who walk with such great joy'.

³ Lit. 'and desired a good desire'.

⁴ All three MSS read 'dogs'.

⁵ LH add 'before Mass'.

18 others (and so yielded to their evil inclinations).⁶ And Esdras said, Lord, spare the sinners.

19 And again they *took him and* set him down⁷ at the south; and he saw a fire, and poor *people* hanging up, *both* men⁸ and women, and⁹ angels were beating them with fiery cudgels. And Esdras said,¹⁰
21 Who are those? And the angels said, These (*sic*) are they who had intercourse with their mothers, and yielded to their evil inclinations.¹¹ And Esdras said, Lord, spare the sinners.

22 And they led him down *further* into the nether regions;¹² and he saw a caldron of burning¹³ sulphur and pitch, and *the level of it* rose and fell like a wave of the sea. And some righteous were coming, and they were walking in the middle of it, over the waves of fire, praising the name of the Lord, just as if they were walking over dew or cool water. And Esdras said, Who are those? The angels said,
26 Those are they who to their profit daily made confession in the presence of God and of his holy priests, by doing works of mercy,
27 *and* by resisting sins.¹⁴ And some sinners came, wanting to cross over, and angels of Tartarus came and plunged them into the burning fire. And they cried out from the fire, saying, Lord, have
28 mercy on us; but¹⁵ he showed them¹⁶ no mercy. *Their* voices could be heard, but they themselves could not be seen¹⁷ because of the
30,31 fire and torment. And Esdras said, Who are those? The angels said, Those were covetous *men* and thieves¹⁸ all their days: no
32 stranger did they take in, no work of mercy did they do. They took for themselves unjustly what belonged to others: they followed
33 their evil inclinations;¹⁹ and that is why they are in torments. And Esdras said, Lord, spare the sinners.

⁶ Lit. 'desiring an evil desire'.

⁷ L 'And they took me down and set me down'.

⁸ V om. ⁹ LH add 'four'.

¹⁰ V adds 'Lord, spare the sinners' – obviously in error.

¹¹ Lit. 'desiring an evil desire'.

¹² So VH: L specifies that he was taken down what would seem to be an impossible number of steps ('II quingentos'). ¹³ V om. 'burning'.

¹⁴ L 'Those are they who did many works of mercy and clothed the naked'.

¹⁵ Lit. 'and'. ¹⁶ V om. 'them'.

¹⁷ Lit. 'A voice was heard and no flesh was seen'.

¹⁸ Or 'slanderers' (so VH, Lat 'detractores'): L 'robbers' (Lat. 'raptores').

¹⁹ Lit. 'they had (L 'desired') an evil desire'.

34 And he walked on further, and he saw in a dark place the worm
35 that does not die²⁰ – its size he could not measure. And in front of its mouth were standing many sinners; and when it drew in a breath they were sucked into its mouth²¹ like flies, but when it breathed
36 out they all came out *again* with a different colour. And Esdras said, Who are those? And the angels said, Those were full of every evil, and they passed over without confession and penance.²²

37 And he saw²³ a man sitting on a fiery throne, and from the fire *his* servants ministered to him on every side, and his counsellors stood
38 round about him in the fire. And Esdras said, Who is that? And the angels said, That man was a king for many years, Herod by name, who in Bethlehem of Judah killed²⁴ young children because of the
39 Lord. And Esdras said, Lord, thou hast pronounced a proper judgement.

40 And he walked *on further* and saw men bound, and angels of
41 Tartarus were stabbing them in the eyes with thorns. And Esdras said, Who are those? The angels said, *Those* who showed the lost
42 wrong ways. Esdras said, Lord, spare the sinners.

43 And he saw girls coming with shackles weighing five hundred
44 pounds towards the west. And Esdras said, Who are those? And the angels said, Those are *the girls* who violated *their* virginity before
their marriages.

45 And he saw²⁵ a collection of old men lying *on the ground*, and over them was being poured molten iron and lead; and he said, Who are
46 those? The angels said, Those are the doctors of the law who confused baptism and the law of the Lord, because they used to teach with words *only* and not follow up *their words* with deeds;²⁶ and

²⁰ Lit. 'the immortal worm' (cp. Isa. lxvi. 24; Mark ix. 48).

²¹ Lit. 'they entered its mouth'.

²² So VH: L om. 'and they . . . penance'. Then LH add 'And he walked on further still and saw a fiery river and a great bridge over it. And some righteous men came and crossed over *it* with joy and exultation. And some sinners came, and the bridge was reduced to the thinnest thread. And they fell into the river confessing their sins, *and* saying, We have done every evil thing there is *to do*, and that is why we are being punished in this way. And they were begging for mercy; but no mercy was granted them'. ²³ So V: LH 'And he walked on further and saw'.

²⁴ V om.

²⁵ V om. 'he saw'.

²⁶ Lit. 'were not filling out in deed'.

47 they are judged in this way. And Esdras said, Lord, spare the sinners.

48 And he saw over against the setting of the sun a smelting-furnace of enormous size burning with fire, into which were being thrown
49 many kings and princes of this world. And many thousands of the poor were accusing them and saying, Those are the ones who made use of their power to oppress us, and turned free men²⁷ into slaves.

50 And he saw another furnace burning with pitch and sulphur, into which were being thrown sons who had laid hands upon their parents, and done them injury with their mouth.²⁸

51 And in a very dark place he saw another furnace burning, into which many women were being thrown; and he said, Who are those? The angels said, Those are they who conceived²⁹ children in adultery and killed them. And the little ones themselves were accusing them, saying, Lord, the souls thou gavest us, they have destroyed.³⁰ And he said, Who are those? The angels said, Those are the women who killed their children.³¹ And Esdras said, Lord, spare the sinners.

56 Then came Michael and Gabriel and said to him, Come to heaven.³² And Esdras said, As my Lord lives, I will not come before I see all the judgements of the sinners.³³

58 And they led him down into the nether regions a further fourteen steps. And he saw lions and little dogs³⁴ lying round a flame of fire; and the righteous were passing through them and crossing over into Paradise. And he saw many thousands of the righteous; and their dwellings were very splendid and enduring.³⁵

²⁷ Or 'turned *our* children'.

²⁸ LH add 'And into it were also being thrown those who had denied God and had not paid *their* hired servants the wages due to them'.

²⁹ Lit. 'had'.

³⁰ LH add 'And he saw other women hanging in the fire, and serpents sucking their breasts'.

³¹ LH add 'And did not give their breasts to others *who were* orphans'.

³² L adds 'that we may celebrate the Pasch'.

³³ LH add 'And he saw further some men who were being mauled by wild beasts. And he said, Who are those? And the angels said, Those are men who altered boundary-marks and gave false witness. And he said, Lord, spare the sinners'.

³⁴ LH 'lions and camels'.

³⁵ LH add 'Light is there, and joy, and prosperity. And every day they have manna from heaven, because they did many deeds of mercy while on earth. And

60 And after he had seen these things he was taken up into heaven;³⁶ and a host of angels came and said to him, Intercede with the Lord for the sinners. And they set him down in the Lord's presence.

61 And he said, Lord, spare the sinners. And the Lord said, Esdras, let them receive what is due to them from the record of their deeds.
62 And Esdras said, Lord, thou hast dealt more leniently with the animals than with us: they feed on grass and render thee no praises: they die and have no sin; but us thou dost torment *both*
63 *when* living and *when* dead. And the Lord said, Esdras, I fashioned man in my own image, and I commanded them that they should
64 not sin, and they did sin: that is why they are in torments. But the elect³⁷ will go to eternal rest by virtue of confession and penance³⁸
65 and the abundance of *their* works of mercy. And Esdras said, Lord,
66 what is it that the righteous do so that they escape judgement? And the Lord said to him, The slave who has done well for his lord will receive *his* freedom: so also the righteous the kingdom of heaven. Amen.

there are many there who did not do *them*, because they had not the wherewithal (L+ 'they were inhibited by *their* small means'). Nevertheless they enjoy a similar rest because of the goodwill they had. And so they praise the Lord our God, who has *always* loved righteousness'.

³⁶ L specifies that Esdras was taken up into the seventh heaven.

³⁷ Lit. 'And those who are chosen'.

³⁸ So VH: L 'by virtue of penance and prayer and confession'.

THE APOCALYPSE OF SEDRACH

INTRODUCTION

This work is extant only in Greek and was edited by M. R. James from a single MS in the Bodleian Library at Oxford (Bodl. Cod. Misc. gr. 56; 15th cent.), in which it occurs as the final item. The text, even more than the text of the Apocalypse of Esdras, is in many places very corrupt, with the result that the sense is often far from clear: particularly is this so in chap. xi, where Sedrach utters a lamentation over the various members of his body. Moreover, the original opening of the work seems at some stage to have been lost. The text as it now stands in the MS begins with a three-and-a-half page homily on love, which is obviously a separate piece and in all probability to be attributed to Ephraem Syrus. James printed only the opening and closing sections of this homily, and an abbreviated version of these sections has been included in our translation (chap. i).

The title 'The Apocalypse of Sedrach' is due to James. The title in the MS is 'The Word of . . . Sedrach', though whether or not this was the author's own title it is impossible to say – it may well be due to a later editor or scribe. But in any case the work is not an apocalypse as the term 'apocalypse' is usually understood; for, although Sedrach, like St. Paul, is caught up into 'the third heaven' (ii. 4: cp. 2 Cor. xii. 2), no revelation in the strict sense is made to him.¹ Instead, there follows a dialogue between Sedrach and God in which Sedrach questions God about His purposes in Creation and God defends himself against any charges of injustice and cruelty in His treatment of man.

The name 'Sedrach' also present a problem. 'Sedrach' appears in the Greek versions of the Book of Daniel as the equivalent of the Hebrew and Aramaic 'Shadrach' – i.e. it is the recognised Greek form of the name given to Daniel's friend Hananiah by the chief of

¹ It is also worth noting that, although the title explicitly states that the work is about 'the second coming of our Lord Jesus Christ' as well as 'love and repentance and orthodox Christians', there is no mention of the Second Coming in it anywhere.

the eunuchs at the Babylonian court (Dan. i. 7, etc.); and it may well be that our author had Shadrach-Hananiah in mind when he wrote. On the other hand, it is much more probable that James's conjecture is correct and that 'Sedrach' represents the corruption of an original 'Esdras'.

The main reason for thinking this is that the work is undoubtedly related both to 2 Esdras and to The Apocalypse of Esdras – it stands firmly, that is, within the apocryphal Esdras tradition. Not only is the theme of the justification of God's ways to man, so prominent in Sedrach, treated at length in both these other works: there are also a number of often very close parallels between Sedrach and one or other of them, or both. As examples of such parallels may be given: (1) God's particular choices – 'among animals the sheep, . . . among rivers the Jordan, among cities Jerusalem' (Sedr. viii. 3: cp. 2 Esdras v. 23–27); (2) Sedrach's reluctance to surrender his soul immediately he is asked to do so and, when he finally agrees, his question about what limb it would be taken out through (Sedr. ix–x: cp. Apoc. Esdras vi. 3–vii. 3); and (3) Sedrach's observation that 'it were better for man if he had not been born', his fundamental question why did God make man in the first instance if He would not have mercy on him, and God's reply that man's present condition is due to his disobedience in Paradise (Sedr. iv: cp. 2 Esdras iv. 12 and Apoc. Esdras i. 6, 21, v. 9, 14; 2 Esdras vii. 116–126 and Apoc. Esdras iii. 9; 2 Esdras iii. 5–7 and Apoc. Esdras ii. 10–17).

By way of contrast, there is little obvious contact between Sedrach and The Vision of Esdras. What parallelisms there are are few and insubstantial: they are confined to the section at the very end of the Vision;² and each of them is shared with the other Esdras books. All in all, the general impression created is that the author of the Vision selected for amplification from the elements in the tradition that found a place in the Apocalypse the details about the torments of the damned (i.e. Apoc. Esdras iv–v), while the author of Sedrach chose to concentrate on the more fundamental theme of

² They are: (1) the prophet's reluctance to surrender his soul (Sedr. ix–x: cp. Vision 56–57); (2) his questioning of God about the reasons for man's present evil lot (Sedr. iv: cp. Vision 62–63); and (3) his final entry into heaven (Sedr. xvi. 9: cp. Vision 60).

the justice of God's dealings with His creatures. If the question be asked why it should be thought that Sedrach represents a later stage in the tradition than the Apocalypse rather than *vice versa*, the answer is that a close study of the parallels suggests it. For instance, at Sedr. ix. 1 God's 'only-begotten Son' is very awkwardly introduced without warning as the agent chosen to demand Sedrach's surrender of his soul, whereas at Apoc. Esdras vi. 1–17 a band of angels is selected for this task and the only-begotten is only commissioned to lead them on a second attempt after their first attempt on their own had failed; and, in the same context, the argument with the angels that follows Esdras's question about which limb his soul should be taken out through at Apoc. Esdras vi. 5–14 makes much better sense than God's distinctly obscure reply to Sedrach's similar question at Sedr. x. 1–4. There should be no difficulty here in deciding which version is primary and which secondary.

If James's date for the Apocalypse of Esdras in the 9th cent. be acceptable, then the likelihood is that Sedrach will be 10th or 11th cent., though both may be very much earlier.³ In favour of a late date is the fact that the language of Sedrach abounds in neo-Greek forms and constructions and not infrequently (as James rather unfortunately put it) 'degenerates into modern Greek'. Nor is Sedrach mentioned in any of the lists of apocryphal books. Some scholars have claimed to be able to detect at various points evidence for the use of Jewish sources, which, it seems, were not used by the authors of the other Esdras books;⁴ but whatever justification there may, or may not, be for this claim, there is no gainsaying the evidence of such incontrovertibly Christian features as the introduction of Christ himself as the speaker at xii. 1, the references to 'apostles', 'gospels', 'services', and 'my holy churches' at xiv. 10–12, and the knowledge of books of the New Testament displayed at vi. 5, vii. 7–8, xiv. 5–6, and xv. 3, 6–7.

³ See above p. 930

⁴ e.g. R. Meyer, art. 'Sedrach-Apokalypse' in *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*,³ v (1961), col. 1631.

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The word of the holy and blessed Sedrach concerning love and repentance and orthodox Christians and concerning the second coming of our Lord Jesus Christ. Lord, give thy blessing.

I. Beloved, let us prefer nothing before unfeigned love. . . . There is no greater love than that a man lay down his life for his friends.

II. And an unseen voice sounded in his ears *saying*, Come, Sedrach, since you desire so earnestly to speak with God and to ask
2 him to reveal what you would enquire about. And Sedrach said, Why *so*, my lord? And the voice said to him, I am sent to you to
3 bring you up here into heaven. And he said, I would *indeed* speak face to face¹ with God; *but* I am not worthy, lord, to go up into the
4 heavens. And stretching out his wings the angel took him, and went up into the heavens, and set him down in the third heaven. And the flame of the Godhead rested upon him.

III. And the Lord said to him, It is well you have come, my beloved Sedrach. What is it that you would plead before the God who formed you, for you said, I would speak face to face¹ with God?
2 Sedrach said to him, I would indeed plead before thee, as a son with his father.² Why, my Lord, didst thou make the earth? The
3 Lord said to him, For the sake of man. Sedrach said, And why didst thou make the sea? Why didst thou sow every good thing upon the
4 earth? The Lord said, For the sake of man. Sedrach said to him, If thou didst these things, why didst thou *then* destroy him? The Lord said, Man is my work, and what my hands have fashioned, and I discipline him³ as I find *necessary*.

IV. Sedrach said to him, Thy discipline¹ is punishment and fire:
2 they are bitter, my Lord. It were better for man if he had not been born. Why then didst thou make *him*, my Lord? Why didst thou
3 weary thy unsullied hands with toil and fashion man, since thou wouldest not have mercy on him? God said to him, I made the first-formed Adam, and I set him in Paradise where grew² the tree
4 of life; and I said to him, *You may* eat of all the fruits, only keep away

¹ Lit. 'mouth to mouth'.

¹ Lit. 'mouth to mouth'.

² Lit. 'Yes: the son has a cause me the father'.

³ Or 'I educate him'.

¹ Or 'education'.

² Lit. '... Paradise, in the midst of'.

6 from the tree of life, for if you eat of it, you will most surely die. And he disobeyed my command and was deceived by the devil and ate of the tree.

V. Sedrach said to him, It was in accordance with thy will, my Lord, that Adam was deceived. Thou didst command thine angels to worship Adam; and the first of the angels who disobeyed thy command and did not worship him, thou didst banish, because he transgressed¹ thy command and refused to approach what thy hands had fashioned. If thou didst love man, why didst thou not kill the devil, who devises every kind of wickedness? Who can fight an invisible spirit? He enters the hearts of men like smoke (and) teaches them every sin. He even fights against thee, the immortal God. What then can wretched man do against him? But have mercy, Lord, and remit thy punishments: or else, count² me also among the sinners. If thou hast no mercy upon sinners, where are thy mercies, where is thy compassion, Lord?

VI. God said to him, You must understand that I gave Adam¹ dominion over all things. I made him wise and heir of heaven and earth, and I put all things under him. And every other living thing runs away from him and avoids his presence. But although he had received my gifts, he became estranged and an adulterer and a sinner. What father is there, tell me, who after giving his son his share of his estate, and the son, after taking what was now his, left his father, and went away into a foreign land and became the slave of a foreign master – what father is there,² seeing that his son has deserted him, will not be furious,³ and go after him and take his property back, and disown his son,⁴ because he deserted his father? How then should it be otherwise with me? I, the terrible and jealous God, gave Adam¹ all things, and he, after he had received them, became an adulterer and a sinner.

¹ MS 'Why did he transgress ...?'

² Lit. 'receive'.

¹ Lit. 'him'.

² Lit. 'and the father'.

³ Lit. 'his heart is smoking'.

⁴ Lit. 'and banish him from his glory'.

VII. Sedrach said to him, Thou, Lord, didst fashion man. Thou knowest of what kind his inclinations were, and of what kind our knowledge is, and yet thou dost plead man himself as the excuse for his punishment. But cast him out – surely I alone will not be sufficient to fill the heavenly places? (If not,) save man also, Lord; for wretched man has sinned, Lord, against thy will. (God said to him,) Why do you waste words on me, Sedrach? I fashioned Adam and his wife and the sun (and the moon), and I said, Look at one another, and see how bright the other¹ is (for the sun and Adam had the same stamp upon them²). The wife of Adam is more radiant in beauty than the moon; and he gave her life.³ Sedrach said, And what does beauty profit if it wastes away in the earth? How was it that thou didst say, Lord, Do not repay evil for evil? How is it, Lord? The word of thy Godhead never lies: so why dost thou reward man thus? Dost thou not will evil for evil? I know that among the animals no one of them is more contrary than the mule. Yet we force it to go where we want it to with a bridle. Thou hast angels: send them as guardians;⁴ and when man takes a step in the direction of sin, let them take hold of one of his feet so that he does not go where he would.

VIII. God said to him, If I were to take hold of his foot, he would only say, Thou didst show me no kindness in the world. So I left him to his will because I loved him. That is why I sent my righteous angels to guard him night and day. Sedrach said, I know, Lord, that among thy creatures thou didst love man first, among animals the sheep, among trees the olive, among fruits the grape, among winged creatures the bee, among rivers the Jordan, among cities Jerusalem. And all these things man also loves, my Lord. God said

¹ Lit. 'how bright he' or 'how bright it'.

² Lit. 'the sun and Adam were one stamp'.

³ This passage is more than usually obscure. From the text as it stands it is unclear whether the comparison is between Adam and Eve on the one side and the sun and moon on the other, or between Adam and the sun on the one side and Eve and the moon on the other. However, in either case, not a little must have disappeared from the original text. Perhaps, also, we should emend the final clause to read 'and I gave her life'.

⁴ Lit. 'send them to guard them'.

to Sedrach, I *will* ask you one question, Sedrach. If you can answer me, I can rightly take your part, although you have been cross-examining him who fashioned you. Sedrach said, What is the question,¹ my Lord God. (The Lord God said to him,) Since *the day that* I made all things, how many men have been born, how many have died, how many will die, and how many hairs have they? Tell me, Sedrach, since the heaven and the earth were created, how many trees have there been on the earth, how many have fallen, how many will fall, how many will there be, and how many leaves have they? Tell me, Sedrach, since I made the sea, how many waves have risen up, how many have fallen back again, how many will rise up, and how many winds blow on the seashore? Tell me, Sedrach, since the creation of the ages of the earth, when it rains, how many drops have fallen on the earth, and how many will fall? And Sedrach said, Thou alone, Lord, knowest all these things: thou alone hast understanding of all these things. Only, I pray thee, set man free from punishment; otherwise, I too must go to punishment and not be separated from our race.

IX. And God said to his only-begotten Son, Go, take the soul of my beloved Sedrach, and set it down in Paradise. The only-begotten Son said to Sedrach, (Give up what was entrusted to you),¹ what our Father deposited in your mother's womb, in the holy tabernacle of your *body* before you were born. Sedrach said, I will not give my soul to thee. **The Son**² said to him, Why then was I sent and came here, and you make excuses to me? For I was ordered by my Father not to take your soul by force:³ so then, give me your soul which he desires so much.

X. And Sedrach said to God, And how wilt thou take my soul? From what limb? And God said to him, Do you not know that your

¹ Lit. 'Sedrach said, Say'.

¹ Not in the MS: supplied from Apoc. Esdr. vi. 3 (see above, p. 939).

² Reading δ υἱός for δ Θεός. What follows immediately leaves no doubt that it is the Son who is speaking here, though there is some confusion later on (cp. especially x. 1 and xii. 1). A parallel ambivalence, if not necessarily a confusion, may be observed at Apoc. Esdr. vi. 16, 17, 19, and 21.

³ Lit. 'shamelessly'.

soul is centred in your lungs and your heart (and) is dispersed through all your limbs? It is brought up through throat and larynx and the mouth. And when the time comes for it to come out, it is first of all collected and gathered together from the toes and all the other limbs, and then it has to be separated from the body and parted from the heart. When Sedrach had heard all this, and thought about the reference to death, he was much disturbed. And Sedrach said to God, Grant me, Lord, a little *respite*⁴ so that I can weep; for I have heard (that) tears are a most powerful and effective medicine for the weak body that thou hast fashioned.

XI. And he began to say with tears and lamentation,

O head, *so* marvellous *and* adorned like heaven,
Bright as the sun that lights the heaven and earth!
Your hairs are wiser guides than Teman,
Your eyes than Bozrah,
Your ears than thunder,
Your tongue than a trumpet.¹
And your brain is *but* a tiny creature;
Yet the head controls the whole body's movement.
O fairest and most beloved of all *my members*,
Now must *you*² sink into the earth and be forgotten.
O hands, *so* gentle, docile, and hard-working,
Through which the body³ receives its food!
O hands, *so* well adapted to provide domestic needs.⁴
O fingers embellished and adorned with gold and silver!
Great works are wrought by the fingers.
The three joints unite the palms
And enhance their beauty.
And now you must become strangers to this world.

⁴ Reading $\tilde{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\omega\nu$ for $\tilde{\iota}\alpha\omega\nu$ (cp. Apoc. Esdr. v. 10).

¹ Lit. 'Those who know *are* your hairs from Teman, your eyes from Bozrah, your ears from thunder, your tongue from a trumpet'. (For Edom as the traditional home of wisdom cp. Jer. xlix. 7-22, where both Teman and Bozrah are specifically mentioned.)

³ Lit. 'the vessel'.

⁴ Lit. 'O hands, most apt of all, which heaping up, you equipped the houses'.

- 9 O feet that walk so well, that run of your own accord,
Most agile, that cannot be restrained!⁵
- 10 O knees, so joined that without you the body³ does not move!
- 11 The feet run *by the light of* sun and moon,
By night and by day:
They provide everything to eat and drink,
And give the body³ food.
- 12 O feet **most swift**⁶ and nimble, that stir up the dust of the
earth,
To stock houses with every good thing!
- 13 O feet that carry the whole body,
That run to the holy places to do penance⁷ and entreat the
saints!
Now must you stay motionless.
- 14 O head and hands and feet,
Now no longer may I keep you.⁸
- 15 O soul, what sent you into my lowly and wretched body?
16 Now must you be separated from it
And go up where the Lord calls you,
And the wretched body go away to judgement.
- 17 O body beautified: hair flowing like the stars:
Head embellished *and* adorned like heaven!
- 18 O face, fragrant with ointment:
Eyes that give light:
- 19 Voice *like* the sound of a trumpet: tongue most gentle:
Beard most handsome: hair like stars:
Head reaching up towards the sky:
Body most beautifully adorned, light-giving, **elegant**,⁹ all-
knowing!

⁵ Lit. 'Most swift, exceedingly invincible'.

⁶ Reading *ἀκύντατοι* for *ἀνθύτατοι*.

⁷ Or '... holy places in penitence'.

⁸ Lit. 'until now have I kept you'.

⁹ Reading *γλαφυρόν* for *γλέφρορον*.

- 20 Now must you sink into the earth,
And beneath the earth¹⁰ your beauty disappear.

XII. Christ said to him, Enough, Sedrach. How long will you shed tears and moan? Paradise has been opened for you, and by dying
2 you will live. Sedrach said to him, Yet once again will I speak to thee, Lord. How long have I to live before I die? Do not refuse me
3,4 my request. The Lord said to him, Speak, Sedrach. (Sedrach said,) If a man lives eighty (or) ninety years, or *even* a hundred, and lives them as a sinner,¹ and then turns again and lives in penitence, for how many days must he have lived in penitence *before* thou dost
5 forgive his sins? God said to him, If a man lives a hundred (or) eighty years, and *then* turns and repents for three years and has fruits of righteousness to show, and then death overtakes him, I will not remember any of his sins.²

XIII. Sedrach said to him, Three years are a long time, my Lord: suppose death overtakes him before he has completed his *three years*
2 of penitence. Have mercy, Lord, upon thine image, and have
3 compassion, for three years are a long time. God said to him, If a man lives a hundred years and then remembers his death and makes his confession¹ before men and I find him, after a time I will
4 forgive all his sins. Sedrach said again, Lord, yet again I implore
5 thy compassion (for) thy creature's sake. The time is long: suppose
6 death overtakes him and snatches him away at once. The Saviour said to him, I will put one question to you, Sedrach, my beloved: then shall you put yours to me.² If the sinner repents for forty days, I will remember none of the sins that he committed.

XIV. And Sedrach said to the archangel Michael, Hear me, powerful advocate, and help me, and act as *my* ambassador, *and*

¹⁰ Reading *ὑπὸ γῆς* for *ἑταγε*.

¹ Lit. 'lives them in sins'.

² Lit. 'all his sins'.

¹ Or 'confesses me' (cp. Matt. x. 32 | Luke xii. 8).

² Something seems to be missing from the text here, since God asks no question, nor does Sedrach reply with another question or repeat his previous one.

2 *plead* that God have mercy on the world. And falling down on their
 faces *together* they prayed to God and said, Lord, teach us how man
 is to be saved. What kind of penitence is necessary, and what in
 3 particular must he do? (God said,) Man is saved by acts of peni-
 tence, by intercessions, by services in church, by floods of tears, *and*
 4 by fervent lamentations. Do you not know that my prophet David
was saved by tears? And the rest too—do you *not* know that they were
 5 saved, *each of them*, at one critical moment? Do you *not* know,
 Sedrach, that there are Gentiles who, though they have not the
 6 law, (yet) fulfil (the requirements) of the law?¹ For (even though)
 they are unbaptised, yet my divine spirit has entered into them,
 and they are converted to my baptism, and I receive them with my
 7 righteous ones in Abraham's bosom. And there are some, who
 have been baptized with my baptism and have been anointed with
 my holy² oil, who yet turn their backs on it altogether and show no
 8 sign of a change of mind. But with deep compassion and an
 unfailing wealth of mercy I wait for their repentance, although
 they do what my Godhead hates and pay no attention to the wise
 9 man's saying, No sinner is ever acquitted.³ Do you really not know
 that Scripture says, And those who repent shall not see punish-
 10 ment? And (they pay no attention either to the) apostles, nor to my
 11 word in the gospels; and they make my angels sad. And more, in
 my assemblies and services they do not respect my messenger.⁴
 12 Neither do they **keep quiet**⁵ in my holy churches, but instead of
 falling on their knees in fear and trembling, they stand up and
 make fine speeches, which I do not accept myself, neither *do* my
 angels.

¹ Lit. '(yet) do (the things) of the law'.

² Lit. 'divine'.

³ Lit. 'In no wise do we justify a sinner'.

⁴ Meaning obscure (Gk. *ὁ προσερχοῦσιν τὸν ἄγγελόν μου*). The occurrence of *προσεῖχεν* in the active is unusual, to say the least. Furthermore, who is the *ἄγγελος*—Christ, or the angel presumed to be in attendance at the service, or the Christian minister in charge?

⁵ Reading *καθίστανται* for *ἵστανται* though the corruption is probably more deep-seated. It is possible that the details here have been suggested by the parable in Luke xviii. 9–14. (I owe this last observation to Dr. A. M. Allchin, who has kindly assisted me over some of the other liturgical passages in this document. Ed.)

XV. Sedrach said to God, Lord thou alone art sinless and of
 2 infinite compassion, and hast mercy and pity upon sinners. Yet thy
 Godhead said, I came not to call the righteous but sinners to
 3 repentance. And the Lord said to Sedrach, Do you not know,
 Sedrach that the robber was saved at one critical moment when he
 4 repented?¹ Do you not know that my apostle² and evangelist was
 5 also himself saved at one critical moment? (But sinners are not so
 saved,) because their hearts are like a decaying stone—these are
 those who follow unholy paths and are to be destroyed with
 6 Antichrist. Sedrach said, My Lord, thou didst also say, My divine
 spirit entered into the Gentiles, who though they have not the law
 7 (yet) fulfil (the requirements) of the law.³ As with the robber, and
 the apostle and evangelist, and the others who have **attained to**⁴
 8 thy kingdom, my Lord, so also, Lord, pardon those who have
 sinned at the last, for life is full of hardship and offers little
 opportunity for repentance.

XVI. The Lord said to Sedrach, I made three periods in man's
 2 life.¹ When he is a youth I overlook his failures because they are *the*
failures of a youth: when later *he becomes* a man, I keep watch over
 his thoughts; and when later *still* he grows old, I watch over him
 3 also, in the hope that he may repent. Sedrach said, Lord, thou
 knowest all these things and understandest *them*: only be compas-
 4 sionate towards sinners. The Lord said to him, Sedrach, my be-
 loved, I promise to be compassionate; and I will reduce the forty
 5 days to twenty.² And whoever makes mention of your name shall
 not see the place of punishment, but shall be with the righteous in a
 6 place of refreshment and rest. And if anyone records this admir-
 able discussion³ in writing, his sin shall never be reckoned *against*

¹ Lit. 'was saved . . . to repent'.

² Reading *ἀπόστολος* for *ἀπόστολοι*.

³ Lit '(yet) do (the things) of the law'.

⁴ Reading *φθάσαντες εἰς τὸ πταίσαντες*.

¹ Lit. 'I made man in three orders'.

² Lit. ' . . . compassionate even from below the forty days as far as twenty'.

³ Or 'saying'.

7 *him*. And Sedrach said, Lord, if anyone brings illumination to thy
 8 servant, deliver him, Lord, from every evil. And Sedrach, the
 9 servant of God, said, Now take my soul, Lord. And God took him
 and set him in Paradise with all the saints. To whom be glory and
 might for ever and ever. Amen.

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Kingdom: Job's k. is eternal 638; the advent of God's k. 612-14; the keys of the k. of heaven held by Michael 911.

Kittim: 79, 112.

Lamb of God, the: a christological title 593, 595 - cp. 592.

Law, the: the patriarchs obeyed it before it was written 876; man is justified by obedience to it 870; it is life 860; it is eternal 302, 887 - cp. 669; it is a lamp for Israel lit by Moses 850, 877; Israel will never want 'a son of the l.' 864; in the distress of exile there is nothing left to Israel but God and his l. 894.

Lawless One, the: 758, 766. *See* Son of Lawlessness.

Length of human life, the: 74-6.

Levi: chosen for the priesthood because of his zeal in the affair of Shechem 94; Isaac blesses him 97, 531, and teaches him the law of the priesthood 531; L.'s own visions of his appointment and that of his sons and of his installation 99, 528, 530-31; Jacob has a similar vision 531, he installs L. 99, and passes on to him the ancestral books before his death 129; L. and his sons must be accorded their proper reverence 97, 520, 525, 548; he was a prophet who foresaw everything that was about to happen 496, 499 - cp. 495; the service of the levitical priesthood the earthly counterpart of that of the angels in heaven 94, 97.

Leviathan: 239, 376, 384, 462, 856-57. *See also* Behemoth.

Lord of Spirits, the: a title for God 221 (and so regularly in 1 Enoch xxxvii-lxxi).

Lord's Day, the: 947.

Love of God: associated with love of neighbour xvii, 554, 555, 564.

Luke (St.): 938.

Mankind: the number of those to be born was fixed when death was decreed 854 - cp. 868.

Marriage: with Canaanites forbidden 66, 72, 80-1, 86 - cp. 542-46, with Gentiles 93-4, 531 - cp. 831.

Mastema: 41, 45, 61-2, 66, 132-34.

Matthew (St.): 938.

Melchizedek: his birth 360-61; put by Gabriel in the garden of Eden to keep him safe from the flood 362; cp. 325-26.

Messiah (= Anointed One), the: so named 230, 232, 681, 856, 857, 861, 884 - cp. 679; otherwise the Elect (Chosen) One (q.v.), the Righteous One 221, the Righteous and Chosen One 233, the Son of Man (q.v.), the Son of David 678, My Son 313; he will spring from Judah 97, 530, 549-50, 592, from Levi 536-37, from Judah and/or Levi 520, 565; the signs of his advent 855-57, 884; his rôle and activities 549, 565, 678-80, 681, 857, 861, 884; the (Messianic) age and its joys 13-14, 76-7, 196-98, 226-27, 236-37, 245, 256, 536-37, 550-51, 565, 612-14, 861, 884-85.

Millennium, the: 439, 773 - cp. 857.

Moon, the: journeyings of the: 260-63, 333-34, 920.

Moses: the intercessor for Israel 616; the mediator of God's covenant and commandments 607, 609; revelations concerning the natural order and the future made to him on Sinai 11-14, 842, 877.

Music in the heavens: 331-38, 376, 380-82, 421, 436-38, 451, 646-47, 797-801, 805-6.

Name, the: 110, 785 - cp. my N. 843, thy N. 664; the great N. 76, 827 - cp. thy great N. 843, his great N. 234.

One, the: 797, 805.

Ophannim: 242, 255, 336, 340.

Paradise (= Eden): Adam and Eve in P. 19-21, 147, 162-67, 385-86, etc; Enoch was translated there and keeps his records there 23; it is in charge of Gabriel 209; angels eat its honey and no mortal who eats will ever die 490; the P. shown to Enoch in the third heaven was prepared for the righteous 331; the new priest will open its gates for them to enter 537; here they will find their eternal resting-place 353, 409, 421, 565; the P. of righteousness (the righteous) described 153-54, 331, 345, 701-2, 938; the heavenly archetype (?) is preserved with God 842. *See* Garden.

Passover, the. *See* Feasts.

Paul (St.): 933, 938; Benjamin prophesies his mission and fame 599-600.

Penitence: 488-90, 963-64; the p. of Adam and Eve 147-151; the p. of Aseneth 481-86: see also 949, 951.

Peter (St.): 791, 938.

Phoenix, the: 908 - cp. 336.

Plant of righteousness (= Israel), the: 59, 110, 196, 294, 295 - cp. 'an upright plant' 12.

Priest: the anointed high p. who is to come 520; a new p. will be raised up 536; a king will arise from Judah who will establish a new priesthood for the Gentiles 530.

Punishment of sinners, the: it is eternal 332, 391, 409, 921, 933; references to the place(s) of p. 34, 41, 42, 72, 205-10, 212, 216, 246, 310, 318, 331-32, 344-45, 383, 386, 391, 413, 756, 864, 923, 924; the torments and the tormentors 411, 434-36, 447-48, 756, 857, 919-22, 924, 936, 937, 938, 947-50.

Qumran: 5, 6, 172, 174-77, 325, 511, 684.

Rebirth: to life eternal by water and the Holy Spirit 158.

Remembrance, Days of (marking the four divisions of the year): 30.

Repentance: the Day of (national) R. before the final consummation 607; r. secures salvation for the individual 413, 575, and eternal life 224, though the opportunities will not be available indefinitely 895 (cp. 245-46); r. still possible till the judgement 924-25; questions about how long the period of penitence must be before forgiveness is secured and what form the penitence should take 963-64.

Resurrection, the: of Adam 166, of the patriarchs 550, 561, 599, of Job 623; sometimes it is to be a r. of all the dead 231, 550, 561, 599, 793, 857(?), 862, 869, 937(?), sometimes of the righteous only 245, 292, 294, 659, 770-1; it is to be a r. of the body, inasmuch as the dead will rise looking as they did when they died, so that they can be recognized, transformation in their appearance for better or

worse supervening upon the judgement 869–70; the sabbath is a sign of the r. and the rest of the age to come 161.

Resuscitation of Jeremiah after three days, the: 832.

Righteous, the: their merits and good deeds are presented by Michael to God 912–13; they have a store of good works laid up in the heavenly treasuries 849, 854, and recorded in the heavenly books 95, 309, 312, 318, 921, which will be opened and inspected at the judgement 228–29, 349, 854; descriptions of their future blessings vary – they may be rewarded by an extended life on earth 214–15 (contrast 852), though almost invariably their life is eternal 236–37, 353, in a world that endures for ever 864, 869; sometimes the emphasis is on the joys of their condition 309–10, 312, 318–19, 874, and they may be clothed in heavenly garments 245, 792–812, or become (like) angels 231, 312, 870–71; sometimes it is on the place of light and peace to which they go 222–24, 428, 965, which is often Paradise 353, 409, 870–71, 932, 963, 966, and there, it seems, individual resting-places may be allotted them 351, 448.

Sabbath, the. *See* Feasts.

Samaritans: their origin 831.

Saviour (= God): 566, 582, 667, 676.

Saviour of the world (= Christ): 531, 595 – cp. 593, 762.

Scales. *See* Weighing.

Sea-monster, the great: 485.

Seraphim: 242, 255, 337, 340, 437, 438, 832; the song of the s. 457.

Serpent, the: wisest of all the animals 162; originally had hands and feet like a man's, and six wings, 385; used by the devil as his mouthpiece to beguile Eve 162–63; used as a cloke by Sammael to tempt Adam 910; as a result he is cursed and loses his hands, feet, ears, and wings 165–66 – cp. 20.

Shameless One (= the Antichrist), the: 768, 769, 770, 772.

Shechemites: vengeance on the Sh. 93, 529; their destruction became a legend 495, 496.

Signs of the End: 855–56, 867–68, 883 – cp. 613.

Solomon: his wisdom a gift from God 740, 741, 748, 750, but taken away from him because of his idolatry 751.

Son of David (= the Messiah), the: 678–80.

Son of God, the: of Joseph 478, 479 – cp. 'the first-born s. of G.' 493; of Christ 158, 431, 745, 832, 833 – cp. 'his s.' 762, 'his only begotten s.' 939, 960 (also 598 and 806), 'my s.' (of the Messiah?) 313.

Son of Lawlessness (= the Antichrist), the: 762, 767–73.

Son of Man (= the Messiah), the: 174–75, 227, 229, 239, 244, 245, 246, 254, 256.

Son of Perdition (= the Antichrist), the: 758, 766.

Spirit of God (the Lord), the: 249, 477, 522, 598 – cp. 25, 481, 785, 852(3). *See* Holy Spirit.

Spirits of truth and error, the two: 547.

Stone: Jeremiah's memorial st. 833.

Sun, the journeyings of the: 257–60, 332–33, 908–10.

Tabernacles. *See* Feasts.

Tablets: two sets of t., one of clay and the other of stone, recording the lives of Adam and Eve, made by Seth 160–161; 'the heavenly t.' are the heavenly original of the levitical laws 19, 21, 24, 26, 29, 30, 31, 56, 59, 63, 88, 93, 100, 101, 103, 135, 579, record good men's names and deeds 57, 64, 95, 99, 270, 309, 528, and predict the events of the future 77, 80, 295, 317, 581.

Tartarus: 208, 777, 935, 938, 947, 948, 949.

Taxo: 603–4, 612.

Terah: is a worshipper of idols, Abraham argues with him, and sets fire to his idols' house 47–48; he is not only an idolater but also a craftsman who makes and sells idols, Abraham argues with him, and his house is destroyed by act of God 369–75.

Throne(s): the throne of God 164, 202, 207, 214, 289, 329, 336, 337, 339, 341, 381–82, 609, 613 – cp. 'the throne of (his) glory' 226, 228, 235, 238, 242, 243, 244, 254, 255, 457, 528; thrones are prepared in heaven for the patriarchs 428, for Job 637, 642, and for the righteous 762, 770, 802, 803, 804, 812.

Torments of the damned, the. *See* Punishment.

Treasuries, heavenly: tr. where the righteous have a store of good works laid up 849, 854; tr. in which their souls are preserved after death 857 – cp. 853.

Tree(s): the tree of knowledge in Eden 154, 156, was variously a fig-tree 164, or a date-palm 385, or a vine 906 – cp. 'the tree of wisdom' 219; the tree of mercy from which flows the oil of life 157, 158; the tree of life 163, 164, 166, 331, 451, 537, 771, 832, 957–58 (eaten by Adam) – cp. 213–15 (a date-palm); God's 'holy ones' are 'trees of life' 673.

Trinity, the: 429, 437, 709, 714, 801, 806, and in doxologies 439, 452, 941.

Trisagion hymn, the: 421.

Unction: 964, 'the unction of incorruption', 480, 488.

Unleavened Bread. *See* Feasts.

Vessels of the Temple, the: carried away by Nebuchadnezzar 608; consigned to the earth to prevent this happening, by Jeremiah 823, by an angel 843–44, 889.

Vine, the: as the human race was condemned through the v., so it will be restored (through the Eucharist) 907.

Watchers (= archangels): 198, cp. 208, 223, 243, 255, also 335.

(= fallen angels): 22 (?), 23, 33, 36, 41, 184, 195, 198, 200, 203, 204, 205, 293, 334–35, 519, 569. *See* Angels (fallen).

Ways, the two: 577, 578 – cp. 291, 294, 296, also 408–10.

Weeks. *See* Feasts.

Weighing of souls at the Judgement: 224, 242, 349, 410, 412, 924.

Wisdom: God's agent in creation 340; from heaven she sought a dwelling-place on earth and did not find it 225.

Wood: regulations about the w. to be used in sacrifices 69.

Word (of God), the: 47, 702, 703, 706, 722, 729, 730, 852(?).

Worship God: men (or women) who w. G. 477, 480, 493, 494–95, 496, 501, 503, 585.

Writing(s): Seth makes two sets of tablets, one of clay, the other of stone, recording the lives of Adam and Eve 160–61; the writings of Adam and Seth are to endure to the end of time 341 – cp. 342; the angel Penemue taught men the art of writing with ink and paper, through which many have been led astray 252; Enoch was the first among men to write 22–3 – cp. 274; Vreveil dictates the books to Enoch 338, and Enoch is to give them to his children as a permanent legacy for future generations 341–42; Kainam finds and transcribes an ancient inscription on a rock, containing the teaching of the Watchers 36; Noah writes a medical treatise and leaves everything he had written to Shem 42; Abraham transcribes and studies his fathers' books 49, and commends them to Isaac (i.e. 'the words of Enoch' and 'the words of Noah') 68; Jacob reads from 'the words of Abraham' 116, and passes on the ancestral books to Levi 129; Levi used to see 'letters written in the heavens' and read and interpret them to Aseneth 495; Zebulon refers to 'the writing of my fathers' 560.